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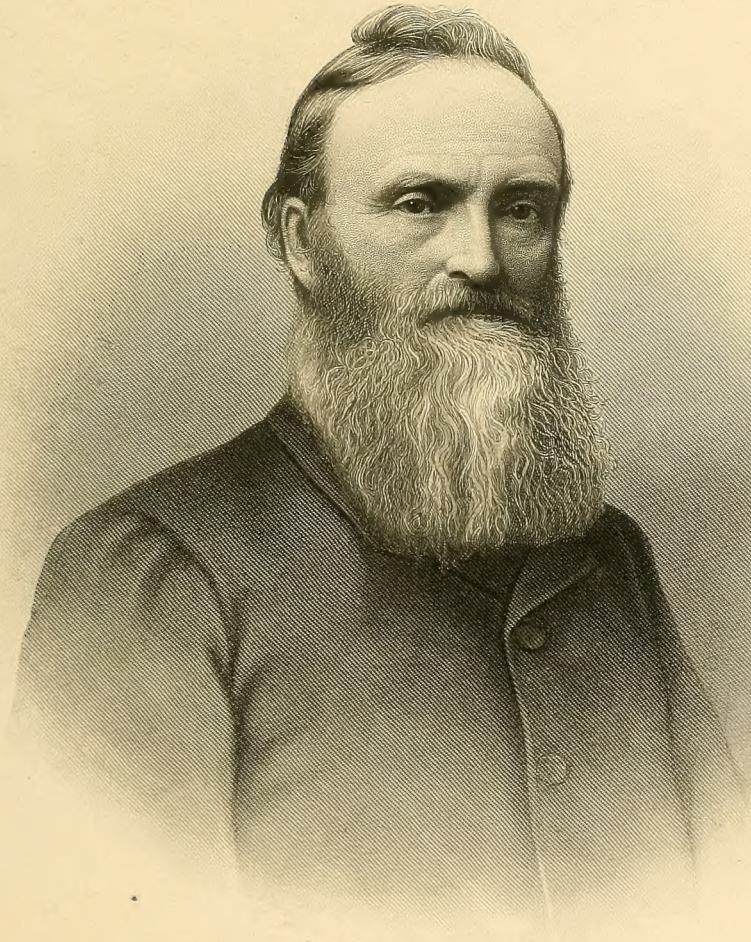
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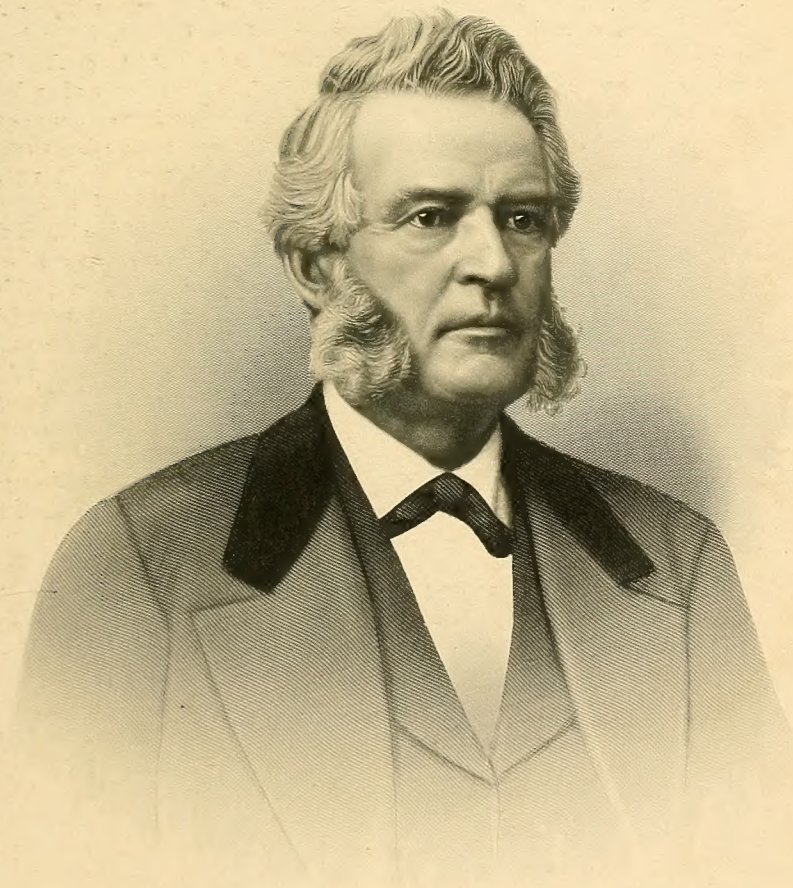


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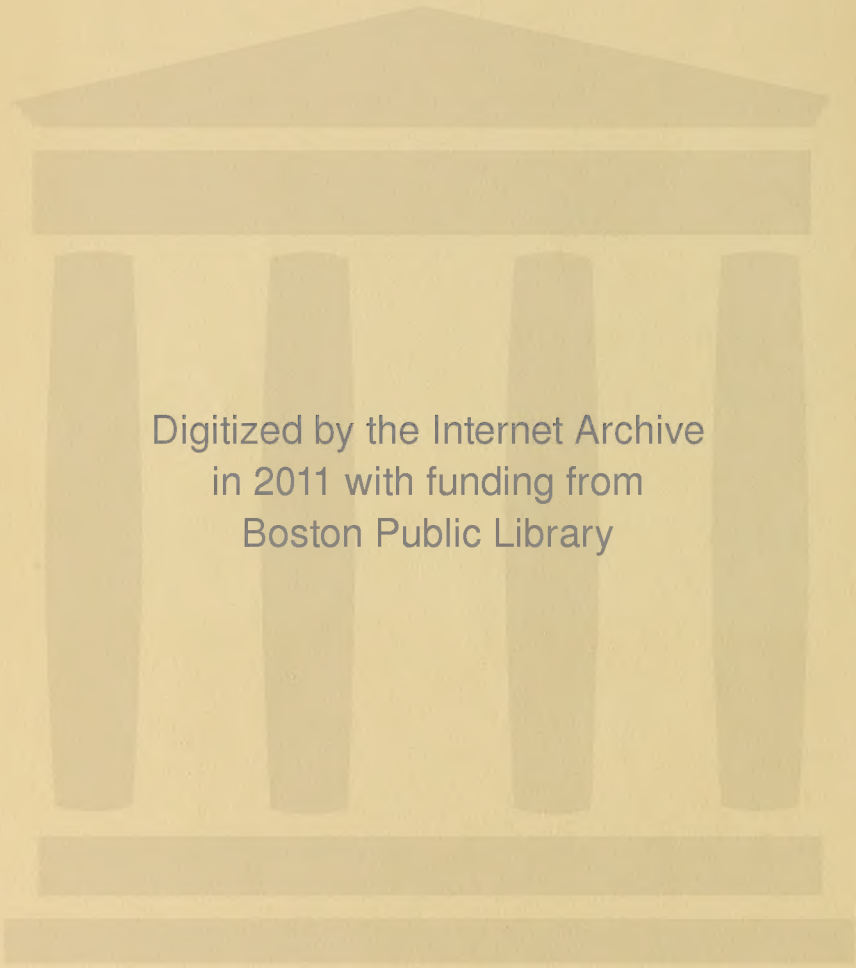
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HISTORY

OF

MIDDLESEX COUNTY,

MASSACHUSETTS,

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

OF MANY OF ITS

PIONEERS AND PROMINENT MEN.

COMPILED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

D. HAMILTON HURD.

VOL. I.

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PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

THE History of Middlesex County, contained in these volumes, has been prepared by the publishers with a due sense of the responsibility resting upon them, and with an earnest effort to meet the just expectations of the public. Their undertaking was a formidable one, involving, as it did, histories of six cities and forty-eight towns, together with histories of the county proper, with its courts and officers, and of the bench and bar, as well as notices of many of its prominent men. As far as it was possible these histories and notices have been confided to local historians of acknowledged capacity for the work, a few of them only having been prepared by other writers accustomed to historical research and possessing literary skill. The chapters relating to the county, and the bench and bar, will be found of especial value, entering, as they do, a field hitherto unexplored. In presenting these volumes, while the publishers cannot expect to wholly escape criticism, they look with hope, if not with confidence, for an approval of their work.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

GENERAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY i

CHAPTER II.

BENCH AND BAR xxiv

CITIES AND TOWNS.

CHAPTER I.

CAMBRIDGE 1
Introduction.

CHAPTER II.

CAMBRIDGE—(*Continued*) 4
The Indians of Cambridge and Vicinity.

CHAPTER III.

CAMBRIDGE—(*Continued*) 11
Ecclesiastical History.

CHAPTER IV.

CAMBRIDGE—(*Continued*) 77
Harvard University.

CHAPTER V.

CAMBRIDGE—(*Continued*) 140
The Divinity School of Harvard University.

CHAPTER VI.

CAMBRIDGE—(*Continued*) 142
The Public Schools.

CHAPTER VII.

CAMBRIDGE—(*Continued*) 151
Literature.

CHAPTER VIII.

CAMBRIDGE—(*Continued*) 153
Musical.

CHAPTER IX.

CAMBRIDGE—(*Continued*) 158
Medical History.

CHAPTER X.

CAMBRIDGE—(*Continued*) 176
Military.

CHAPTER XI.

CAMBRIDGE—(*Continued*) 190
Civil History.

CHAPTER XII.

CAMBRIDGE—(*Continued*) 198
Banking and Insurance.

CHAPTER XIII.

CAMBRIDGE—(*Continued*) 201
Manufacturing and Industrial.

CHAPTER XIV.

CAMBRIDGE—(*Continued*) 210
Miscellaneous.

CHAPTER XV.

ACTON 238

CHAPTER XVI.

ASHBY 306
Description.

CHAPTER XVII.

ASHBY—(*Continued*) 314
Mechanical Industries.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ASHBY—(*Continued*) 316
Ecclesiastical Affairs.

CHAPTER XIX.

ASHBY—(*Continued*) 319
The Great Civil War.

CHAPTER XX.

ASHBY—(*Continued*) 319
Miscellaneous.

CHAPTER XXI.

ASHBY—(*Continued*) 325
Civil History.

CHAPTER XXII.

ASHBY—(*Continued*) 327
Post-Offices, Physicians, Agricultural, Personal Notices.

CHAPTER XXIII.

WOBURN 334
Introduction.

CHAPTER XXIV.

WOBURN—(*Continued*) 336
Civil History to 1800.

CHAPTER XXV.

WOBURN—(*Continued*) 355
Civil History from 1800 to Present Time.

CHAPTER XXVI.

WOBURN—(*Continued*) 365
Woburn as a City.

CHAPTER XXVII.

WOBURN—(*Continued*) 366
The Medical and Legal Professions: Colonial, Provincial and Later Periods.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

WOBURN—(*Continued*) 377
Military History—The Colonial and Provincial Periods, 1642-1775.

CHAPTER XXIX.

WOBURN—(*Continued*) 389
Military History—The Revolutionary and Later Periods to 1861, etc.—The Civil War of 1861-65.

CHAPTER XXX.

WOBURN—(*Continued*) 410
Biographical Notices.

CHAPTER XXXI.

WOBURN—(*Continued*) 414
Ecclesiastical History.

CHAPTER XXXII.

SHIRLEY 456

CHAPTER XXXIII.

WESTON 486

CHAPTER XXXIV.

WESTON—(*Continued*) 498
Biographical.

CHAPTER XXXV.

NATICK . . . . .
Natural Features and Productions.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

NATICK—(*Continued*) . . . . .
Indian Settlement, 1650-1700.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

NATICK—(*Continued*) 520
1700-1800: Anomalous Condition of the Township—Change in the Indian Government—Their Records—Population—Acts as Proprietors—Allotment of Lands—Sale of the Same—Natick as a Parish—Acts of General Court Relating to it—Parish Meetings—Warning Out of Town—In the Revolutionary War—Parish Declaration Regarding Independence—Natick Soldiers—Oath of Allegiance—Town Incorporated.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

NATICK—(*Continued*) 525
1800-1890: Prospects of the Town more Encouraging—General Progress—Town Action Respecting the Pastors of the Church—Town Hall Erected—The Town in Suppressing the Great Rebellion—Losses in the same—Financial Condition—The Centennial Celebration—Town Officers and Representative in the General Court.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

NATICK—(*Continued*) 536
ECCLESIASTICAL: Organization of the Indian Church—Eliot's Translation of the Bible—The Printing and Distribution of the same—Mr. Eliot's Death—Memorial Windows to Perpetuate his Memory—Pastor Takawambait—Rev. Messrs. Peabody and Badger Missionaries to the Natick Indians—Organization of the Congregational Church in the Centre of the Town—Sketches of its Pastors—The Baptist Church—The Methodist Episcopal Church—St Paul's Episcopal Church—The Roman Catholic Churches—The Unitarian or Eliot Church—The John Eliot Church—The Universalist Church.

CHAPTER XL.

NATICK—(*Continued*) 546
EDUCATIONAL: Schools—Libraries—Morse Institute—College and University Honors.

CHAPTER XLI.

NATICK—(*Continued*) 553
MISCELLANEOUS: Population—Water Department—Fire Department—Natick Gas-Light Company—Natick Electric Company—Natick National Bank—Natick Five-Cents Savings Bank—Henry Wilson Co Operative Bank—Post-Offices—Manufacturers—South Natick Business—Cemeteries—Lawyers—Physicians—Express Companies—Coal, Wood, etc.—The Press—Biographical.

CHAPTER XLII.

TOWNSEND 569

CHAPTER XLIII.

LEXINGTON 604
Topography and Scenery.

CHAPTER XLIV.

LEXINGTON—(*Continued*) 606
Civil History.

CHAPTER XLV.

LEXINGTON—(*Continued*) 615
Military History.

CHAPTER XLVI.

LEXINGTON—(*Continued*) 621
Education—Schools and Libraries.

CHAPTER XLVII.

LEXINGTON—(*Continued*) 623
Ecclesiastical Affairs—Churches, Sunday-Schools and Benevolent Organizations.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

LEXINGTON—(*Continued*) 630
Miscellaneous.

CHAPTER XLIX.

STOW 637

CHAPTER L.

BURLINGTON 663
Introduction.

CHAPTER LI.

BURLINGTON—(*Continued*) 665
Civil History.

CHAPTER LII.

BURLINGTON—(*Continued*) 670
Ecclesiastical History.

CHAPTER LIII.

SHERBORN 680

CHAPTER LIV.

CARLISLE 708

CHAPTER LV.

DUNSTABLE 736
Present Condition of the Town—Topography—Business Interests.

CHAPTER LVI.

DUNSTABLE—(*Continued*) 738
Origin and Early Settlement—1643-1723.

CHAPTER LVII.

DUNSTABLE—(*Continued*) 742
Continued Attacks from the Indians—Growth of the Town—Church and School Affairs—1723-1768.

CHAPTER LVIII.

DUNSTABLE—(*Continued*) 751
The Town as Represented in the American Revolution—Educational, Religious and other Affairs—1768-1820.

CHAPTER LIX.

DUNSTABLE—(*Continued*) 757
Church Erected—Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion—Dunstable Cornet Band Formed—Nashua, Acton and Boston Railroad Opened—Bi-Centennial Celebration—1821-1890.

CHAPTER LX.

DUNSTABLE—(*Continued*) 762
Biographical.

GENERAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY.

BY WILLIAM T. DAVIS.

THOUGH it may be assumed that the reader is familiar with the history of the settlement of Massachusetts Colony, it may be well to hastily recount its chief incidents occurring before the incorporation of the county which includes a part of its territory.

On the 20th of April, 1606, King James issued letters-patent dividing a strip of land one hundred miles wide along the Atlantic coast of North America, extending from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, between two companies, generally called the Southern and Northern Virginia Companies. This territory was known as Virginia, so called after Queen Elizabeth. The Southern Company was composed of knights, gentlemen, merchants and adventurers of London, and was granted all the lands between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees; while the Northern Company, composed of persons of the same description, was granted the lands between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees. That portion lying between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth which was included in both grants was open to the company first occupying it; and it was stipulated that neither company should settle within one hundred miles of any previous settlement of the other company. On the 3d of November, 1620, Sir Ferdinand Gorges and his associates, the members of the Northern Virginia Company, received a new patent, which passed the seal on the 3d of the following July under the title of "The council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ordering, ruling and governing of New England in America." Under this patent the company was authorized to hold territory extending from sea to sea and in breadth from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude; and to make laws, appoint governors and other officers and generally to establish all necessary forms of government.

The motive inspiring the issue of this new patent seems to have been to show special favors to this company and to inflict thereby a slight on the Southern Company. The King had for some reason fallen out with Sir Edwin Sandys the governor and treasurer of the Southern Company, and forebade his re-election. The Earl of Southampton, the successor of Sir Edwin, was equally obnoxious to the King, and the new charter of the Northern Company was the consequence. The new patent included all the territory between Central New Jersey and the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the Atlantic coast and the northern part of California, Oregon and nearly all of Washington on the Pacific, with a line running through Lake Superior for its northern boundary and one through Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois for its southern.

The colony settling at Plymouth in 1620 had received a patent from the Southern Company authorizing a settlement within their territory at some point south of New York harbor; but finding themselves outside of the jurisdiction of the company from whom they had received their patent, they sent by the "Mayflower," on her return, for a patent from the Northern Company. The Northern Company, under its new charter, consequently issued a patent, under date of June 1, 1621, to John Pierce and his associates in trust for the Plymouth Colony. This patent was brought to Plymouth in 1621 in the ship "Fortune," and is preserved in Pilgrim Hall in that town. It is engrossed on parchment and bears the signatures of the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Warwick, Lord Sheffield and Sir Ferdinand Gorges. Another signature is illegible, which may be that of either Thomas, Earl of Arundel, or the Marquis of Buckingham. This is the oldest state paper in New England.

On the 30th of December, 1622, the Northern Company, which, for convenience, may be still so called, notwithstanding its new charter and change of title, granted to Robert Gorges all that part of the main land "commonly called or known by the name of the Messachusiack" situated "upon the northeast side of the Bay called or known by the name of the Messachusett." This included the shore "for ten English miles towards the northeast and thirty English miles unto the main land through all the breadth afore-

said," with all the rivers, islands, etc. This grant included a part of Middlesex County. Up to this date the only white men known to have visited this locality were John Smith, the navigator, who visited it in 1614, and a party of ten members of the Plymouth Colony who came by water from Plymouth on an expedition, partly to trade and partly to conclude peace with the Massachusetts Indians. It is probable that on this expedition Point Allerton and the Brewsters, at the entrance of Boston harbor, received their names from Isaac Allerton and William Brewster, two of the "Mayflower" Pilgrims.

John Smith, after his expedition to Virginia in 1606, in the service of the Southern Virginia Company and some years connection with the Virginia colony, returned to England, and in 1614 sailed with two ships under the auspices of English adventurers "to take whales and also to make trials of a mine of gold and copper." He anchored his vessels near the mouth of the Penobscot River and sailed with eight men in a shallop along the coast as far as Cape Cod, giving the name of New England to the country and "drawing a map from point to point, isle to isle, and harbor to harbor, with the soundings, sands, rocks and landmarks." After his return to England Prince Charles, afterwards Charles the First, attached names to many places on the coast as indicated on the map, of which only Plymouth, Charles River, named after himself, and Cape Anne, named after his mother, Anne of Denmark, still adhere to the localities then designated. Among the many other names affixed to the map by Prince Charles were Cape James for Cape Cod, Milford Haven for Provincetown Harbor, Stuard's Bay for Barnstable Bay, Point George for Branches Point, Oxford for Marshfield, London for Cohasset, Cheviot Hills for the Blue Hills, Talbot's Bay for Gloucester Harbor, and Dartmouth, Sandwich and Cambridge for places near Portland. It is possible that besides John Smith and the Pilgrim party, De Monts, with Champlain, may have also visited this locality in 1604.

Robert Gorges, having received the grant abovementioned in 1622, was appointed by the Plymouth Council in 1623 Lieutenant-General of New England, and arrived in Massachusetts Bay in September of that year, with what are described in the record as "passengers and families." At the end of a year, after futile efforts to establish his colony, he returned to England, and at his death, which soon after occurred, his brother John, to whom his rights had descended, leased a portion of his grant to John Oldham and John Dorrill. This lease included "all the lands within the Massachusetts Bay between Charles River and Abousett (now Saugus River) containing in length by straight line five miles up the Charles River into the main land northwest from the border of said bay, including all creeks and points by the way; and three miles in length from the mouth of the aforesaid river Abousett up into the main land, upon a straight line southwest, including all creeks and points; and all the land in breadth and length between the foresaid rivers, with all prerogatives, royal mines excepted.

In the mean time the same territory which had been granted to Robert Gorges had been granted, with other lands, to the Massachusetts Company. By this grant, dated March 19, 1627–28, the Plymouth Council issued a patent to Sir John Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey, John Endicott, and Simon Whitcomb covering a territory extending from three miles north of the Merrimac River to three miles south of the Charles River. The following is the text of the letters-patent issued March 4, 1628–29:

"Charles By The Grace of God Kinge of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Ireland, Defendor of the Fayth etc, To All to whome these Presents shall come Greeting. Whereas our most deare and royall father Kinge James, of blessed memory, by his Highness letters patents beareing date at Westminster the third day of November in the eighteenth yeare of his raigne, hath given and graunted unto the Councell established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of Newe England in America, and to their successors and assignes for ever; All that parte of America lyeing and being in bredth from forty degrees of northerly latitude from the equinoctiall lyne to forty-eight degrees of the saide northerly latitude inclusively, and in length of and within all the breadth aforesaid throughout the maine landes from sea to sea, together also with all the firme lands, soyles, groundes, havens, portes, rivers, waters, fishery, mynes and mynerals, as well royall mynes of gould and silver as other mynes and mynerals, precious stones, quarries and all and singular other comodities, jurisdiccons, royalties, priviledges, franchesies and prehemynences, both within the said tract of lande upon the mayne and also within the islandes and seas adioining; Provided alwayes That the said islandes or any the premises by the said letters patents intended and meant to be graunted were not then actuallie possessed or inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State now within the bounds, lymitts or territories of the Southerne Colony then before graunted by our said deare father, to be planted by divers of his loving subiects in the south partes. To Have and to houlde, possesse and enioy all and siugular the aforesaid continent, landes, territories, islands, hereditaments and precincts, seas, waters, fisherys, with all and all manner their comodities, royalties, liberties, prehemynences and profitts that should from thenceforth arise from thence, with all and singular their appurtenances and every parte and parcell thereof unto the saide Councell and their successors and assignes forever, To the sole and proper use, benefitt and behoofe of them the saide Councell and their successors and assignes forever: To be houlden of our said most deare and royall father, his heires and successors as of his mannor of Eastgreenewich, in the County of Kent in free and comon Soccage, and not in capite nor by Knights service. Yeildinge and paying therefore to the saide late Kinge, his heires and successors, the fifte parte of the oare of gould and silver which should, from tyme to tyme and at all tymes there after, happen to be found, gotten, had and obteyned in, att or within any of the saide landes, lymitts, territories and precincts, or, in or within any parte or parcell thereof, for or in respect of all and all manner of duties, demaunds and services whatsoever to be don, made or paide to our saide dear father, the late Kinge, his heires and successors, as in and by the said letters patent (amongest sundrie other clauses, powers, priviledges and grauntes therein conteyned) more at large appeareth. And whereas the saide Councell established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the plantinge, ruling, ordering and governing of Newe England in America, have by their deede indented under their comon seale bearing date the nyneteenth day of March last past in the third year of our raigne, given, graunted, bargained, soulde, enfeoffed, aliened and confirmed to Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Young Knightes, Thomas Southcott, John Humphrey, John Endecott and Symon Whetcombe, their heirs and associates for ever, All that parte of Newe England in America aforesaid which lyes and extendes betweene a greate river there comonlie called Monomack alias Merriemack and a certen other river there called Charles river, being in the bottome of a certayne bay there comonly called Massachusetts alias Mattachusetts alias Massatusetts bay, and also all and singular those landes and hereditaments whatsoever lying with-

in the space of three English miles on the south parte of the said Charles river, or of any or everie parte thereof: And also all and singular the landes and hereditaments whatsoever lyeing and being within the space of three English myles to the southwarde of the southermost parte of the said bay called Massachusetts alias Mattachusetts alias Massatusets bay: and also all those landes and hereditaments whatsoever which lye and be within the space of three English myles to the northward of the saide river called Monomack alias Merrymack, on to the northward of any and every parte thereof: And all landes and hereditaments whatsoever lying within the lymitts aforesaide, north and south, in latitude and bredth, and in length and longitude, of and within all the bredth aforesaide throughout the mayne landes there, from the Atlantick and westerne sea and ocean on the east parte, to the south sea on the west parte, and all landes and groundes, place and places, soyles, woodes and wood groundes, *havens*, portes, rivers, waters, fishings and hereditaments, whatsoever, lyeing within the said boundes and lymitts and everie parte and parcell thereof; And also all islandes lyeing in America aforesaide in said seas or either of them on the westerne or easterne coastes or partes of the saide trades of lande by the saide indenture, mencoed to be given, graunted, bargained, sould, enfeoffed, aliened and confirmed or any of them: And also all mynes and myneralls, as well royall mynes of gould and silver as other mynes and myneralls whatsoever in the saide landes and premises or any parte thereof: And all jurisdiccons, rights, royalties, liberties, freedomes, ymmunities, priviledges, franchises, prehemeninces and comodities whatsoever which they, the said Councell, established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruleing, ordereing and governing of Newe England in America, then had or might use, exercise or enioy in and within the said landes and premisses by the saide indenture mencoed to be given, graunted, bargained, sould, enfeoffed and confirmed or in or within any parte or parcell thereof. To have and to hould the saide parte of Newe England in America, which lyes and extendes and is abutted as aforesaide, and every parte and parcell thereof; And all the saide islandes, rivers, portes, havens, waters, fishings, mynes and mineralls, jurisdiccons, franchises, royalties, liberties, priviledges, comodities, hereditaments and premisses whatsoever with the appurtenances unto the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott and Simon Whetcombe, their heires and assignes and their associats to the onlie proper and absolute use and behoofe of the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott and Symon Whettecombe, their heires and assignes and their associatts for evermore. To be Houlden of us, our heires and successors, as of our maunor of Eastgreenewich in the County of Kent, in free and comon socage and not in capite, nor by Knightes service, yeilding and payeing therefore unto us, our heires and successors, the fifte parte of the oare of gould and silver which shall, from tyme to tyme and all tymes hereafter, happen to be founde, gotten, had and obtayned in any of the saide landes within the saide lymitts or in or within any parte thereof, for and in satisfacon of all manner, duties, demaunds and services whatsoever, to be donn, made or paid to us, our heires or successors, as in and by the saide recited indenture more at large maie appeare. Nowe knowe yee that wee, at the humble suite and peticon of the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott and Simon Whetcombe and of others whom they have associated unto them, Have for divers good causes and consideracons us moveing, graunted and confirmed, And by thes presents, of our own especiall grace certen knowledge and meere mocon, doe graunt and confirme unto the saide Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott and Simon Whetcombe, and to their associats hereafter named [videlicet] Sir Richard Saltonstall Knight, Isaack Johnson, Samuel Aldersey, John Ven, Mathew Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pincheon and George Foxcrofte, their heires and assignes, all the said parte of New England in America, lyeing and extending betweene the boundes and lymitts in the said recited indenture expressed, and all landes and groundes, place and places, soyles, woodes and wood groundes, havens, portes, rivers, waters, mynes, mineralls, jurisdiccons, rights, royalties, liberties, freedomes, immunities, priviledges, franchises, preheminences, hereditaments and comodities whatsoever to them, the saide Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott and Simon Whetcombe, their heires and assignes and to their associates by the saide recited indenture given, graunted, bargayned, sold, enfeoffed, aliened and confirmed or mencoed or intended thereby to be given, graunted, bargayned, sold, enfeoffed, aliened and confirmed. To have and to hould the saide parte of Newe England in America and other the premisses hereby mencoed to be graunted and confirmed, and every parte and parcell thereof with the appurtenances to the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Simon Whetcombe, Isaack Johnson, Samuell Aldersey, John Ven, Mathewe Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Pery, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pincheon and George Foxcrofte, their heires and assignes forever to their onlie proper and absolute use and behoofe for evermore. To be holden of us, our heires and successors as of our mannor of Eastgreenewich aforesaid in free and comon socage and not in capite nor by knights service, and also yeilding and paying therefore to us, our heires and successors, the fifth parte onlie of all oare of gould and silver which from tyme to tyme and att all tymes hereafter shalbe there gotten, had or obteyned for all services, exacons and demaunds whatsoever according to the tenure and reservacion in the said recited indenture expressed. And further knowe yee That of our more especiall grace, certen knowledg and meere mocon Wee have given and graunted, And by theis presents doe for us, our heires and successors, give and graunt unto the said Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Symon Whetcombe, Isaack Johnson, Samuell Aldersey, John Ven, Mathewe Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Pery, Richard Billingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchens, William Vassall, William Pincheon and George Foxcrofte, their heires and assignes, All that parte of Newe England in America which lyes and extendes betweene a great river there comonlie called Monomack river alias Merrimack river and a certen other river there called Charles River, being in the bottome of a certen bay, there comonlie called Massachusetts alias Mattachusetts alias Massatusetts bay: And also all those landes and hereditaments whatsoever which lye and be within the space of three English myles to the northward of the saide river called Monomack alias Merrymack, or to the norward of any and every parte thereof, and all lands and hereditaments whatsoever lyeing within the lymitts aforesaide north and south in latitude and bredth and in length and longitude of and within all the bredth aforesaide throughout the mayne landes there from the Atlantick and westerne sea and ocean on the east parte to the south sea on the west parte; And all landes and groundes, place and places, soyles, woodes and wood groundes, havens, portes, rivers, waters and hereditaments whatsoever lying within the said boundes and lymitts, and every parte and parcell thereof, and also all islandes in America aforesaide in the said seas or either of them on the westerne or easterne coastes or parts of the said tracts of landes hereby mencoed to be given and graunted or any of them, and all mynes and myneralls whatsoever in the said landes and premisses or any parte thereof and free libertie of fishing in or within any the rivers or waters within the boundes and lymytts aforesaid and the seas thereunto adioining: And all fishes, royal fishes, whales, balan, sturgeons and other fishes of what kinde or nature soever that shall at any tyme hereafter be taken in or within the said seas or waters or any of them by the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Simon Whetcombe, Isaack Johnson, Samuel Aldersey, John Ven, Mathewe Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Noell, Richard Pery, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophelus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchens, William Vassall, William Pincheon and George Foxcrofte, their heires and assignes or by any other person or persons whatsoever there inhabiting by them or any of them to be appointed to fishe therein, Provided alwayes that yf the said landes, islandes or any other the premisses herein before mencoed and by their presents intended and meant to be graunted were at the tyme of the graunting of the saide former letters patents dated the third day of November in the eighteenth year of our said deare fathers raigne aforesaid actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State, or were within the boundes, lymytts or territories of that southern colony then before graunted by our said late father, to be planted by divers of his loveing subjects in the south partes of America, That then this present graunt shall not extend to any such partes or parcells thereof soe formerly inhabited or lyeing within the boundes of the southerne plantacon as aforesaide, but as to those partes or parcells soe possessed or inhabited by such Christian

Prince or State or being within the bounders aforesaid shalbe utterly voyd, their presents or any thinge therein conteyned to the contrarie notwithstanding. To Have and to hould, possesse and enioy the saide partes of Newe England in America which lye, extend and are abutted as aforesaide and every parte and parcell therof; And all the islandes, rivers, portes, havens, waters, fishings, fishes, mynes, mineralls, jurisdiccons, franchises, royalties, liberties, priviledges, comodities and premises whatsoever with the appurtenances unto the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Simon Whetcombe, Isaack Johnson, Samuell Aldersey, John Ven, Mathewe Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchons, William Vassall, William Pincheon and George Foxcroft, their heires and assignes forever to the onlie proper and absolute use and behoufe of the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humphrey, John Endecott, Simon Whetcombe, Isaac Johnson, Samuell Aldersey, John Ven, Mathewe Cradocke, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Pery, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuel Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchens, William Vassall, William Pincheon and George Foxcroft, their heires and assignes forevermore. To be holden of us, our heires and successors as of our mannor of Eastgreenewich, in our Countie of Kent, within our realme of England, in free and comon socage, and not in capite nor by Knight's service; and also yeilding and payeing therefore to us, our heires and successors the fifte parte onlie of all oare of gould and silver which from tyme to tyme, and at all times hereafter, shalbe there gotten, had or obteyned for all services, exaccons and demaundes whatsoever, Provided alwaies and our expresse will and meanenge is That onlie one-fifte parte of the gould and silver oare abovemencoed in the whole and noe more be reserved or payeable unto us, our heires and successors by collour or vertue of their presents. The double reservacons or recitals aforesaid or any thinge herein conteyned notwithstanding. And foreasmuch as the good and prosperous successe of the plantacon of the saide partes of Newe England aforesaide intended by the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humphrey, John Endecott, Simon Whetcombe, Isaack Johnson, Samuell Aldersey, John Ven, Mathewe Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Noell, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassal, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchens, William Vassall, William Pincheon and George Foxcrofte to be speedily set upon, cannot but chiefly depend next under the blessing of Almightie God and the support of our royal authoritie upon the good government of the same, To the ende that the affaires, buyssinesses which from tyme to tyme shall happen and arise concerning the said landes and the plantation of the same maie be the better managed and ordered. Wee have further, hereby, of our especiall grace, certen knowledge and meere mocon given, graunted and confirmed And for us, our heires and successors doe give, graunt and confirme unto the saide trustee and welbeloved subjects, Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humphrey, John Endecott, Simon Whetcombe, Isaack Johnson, Simon Aldersey, John Ven, Mathewe Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Pery, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuel Vassal, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchens, William Vassall, William Pincheon and George Foxcrofte: And for us, our heires and successors wee will and ordeyne That the saide Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Young, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humphrey, John Endecott, Symon Whetcombe, Isaack Johnson, Samuel Aldersey, John Ven, Mathewe Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Noell, Richard Pery, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuel Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchens, William Vassall, William Pincheon and George Foxcrofte and all such others as shall hereafter be admitted and made free of the Company and Society hereafter mencoed shall from tyme to tyme and at all tymes for ever hereafter be by vertue of theis presents one body corporate and politique, in fact and name, by the name of the Governor and Company of the Mattachusetts Bay, in Newe England: And them by the name of the Governor and Company of the Mattachusetts Bay in Newe England, one bodie politique and corporate in deede, fact and name, Wee doe for us, our heires and successors make, ordeyne, constitute and confirme by theis presents, and that by that name they shall have perpetuall succession, And that by the same name they and their successors shall and maie be capeable and enabled, as well, to implead and to be impleaded, and to prosecute, demaund and aunswere and be aunsweared unto on all and singular suites, causes, quarrels and accons, of what kind or nature soever. And also to have, take, possesse, acquire and purchase any landes, tenements or heriditaments or any goods or chattells, and the same to leave, graunt, demene, alien, bargaine, sell and dispose of as other our liege people of this our realme of England or any other corporacon or body politique of the same maie lawfullie doe: And further that the said Governor and Companye and their successors maie have forever one comon seale, to be used in all causes and occasions of the said Company, and the same seale maie alter, chaunge, breake and newe make from tyme to tyme at their pleasures, And our will and pleasure is, And we do hereby, for us, our heires and successors, ordeyne and graunte That from henceforth, for ever, there shalbe one Governor, one Deputy Governor and eighteene assistants of the same Company to be from tyme to tyme constituted, elected and chosen out of the freemen of the saide Company for the tyme being in such manner and forme as hereafter in theis presents is expressed, Which said officers shall applie themselves to take care for the best disposeing and ordering of the generall buysines and affaires of, for and concerning the saide lands and premisses hereby mencoed to be graunted, and the plantacion thereof, and the government of the people there, And for the better execucon of our royal pleasure, and graunt in their behalf, wee doe, by theis presents, for us, our heires and successors, nominate, ordeyne, make and constitute our welbeloved, the saide Mathewe Cradock, to be the first and present Governor of the said Company, and the said Thomas Goffe to be Deputy Governor of the saide Company, and the said Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaack Johnson, Samuell Aldersey, John Ven, John Humphrey, John Endecott, Simon Whetcombe, Increase Noell, Richard Pery, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Adams, Thomas Hutchens, John Browne, George Foxcrofte, William Vassall and William Pincheon to be the present Assistants of the saide Company, to continue in the saide severall offices respectivelie for such tyme and in such manner as in and by theis presents is hereafter declared and appointed. And further we will and by theis presents for us, our heires and successors, doe ordayne and graunt, That the Governor of the saide Company, for the tyme being, or, in his absence, by occasion of sickues, or otherwise, the Deputie Governor, for the tyme being, shall have authoritie, from tyme to tyme, upon all occasions, to give order for the assembling of the saide Company and calling them together to consult and advise of the businesses and affaires of the saide Company; And that the said Governor, Deputie Governor and Assistants of the saide Company, for the tyme being, shall or maie, once every moneth, or oftener, at their pleasures assemble and houlde and keepe a Courte or Assemblie of themselves for the better ordering and directing of their affaires, And that any seaven or more persons of the Assistants, together with the Governor or Deputie Governor, soe assembled, shalbe saide, taken, held and reputed to be and shalbe a full and sufficient Courte or Assemblie of the saide Company for the handling, ordering and dispatching of all such buysinesses and occurants as shall, from tyme, to tyme happen, touching or concerning the said Company or plantacon, and that there shall or maie be held and kept by the Governor or Deputie Governor of the said Company, and seaven or more of the said Assistants, for the tyme being, upon every last Wednesday in Hillary, Easter, Trinity and Michas terms respectivelie, for ever, one greate generall and solempe Assemblie, which four Generall Assemblies shalbe stiled and called the Foure Greate and Generall Courts of the saide Company: In all and every or any of which said Greate and Generall Courts soe assembled We doe for us, our heires and successors, give and graunte to the said Governor and Company and their successors That the Governor, or, in his absence, the Deputie Governor of the saide Company, for the tyme being, and such of the Assistants and freemen of the saide Company as shalbe present or the greater number of them soe assembled, whereof the Governor or Deputie Governor and six of the Assistants at the least, to be seaven shall have full power and authoritie to choose, nominate and appointe such, and soe many others as they shall thinke fitt, and that shall be willing to accept the same to be free of the said Company and Body and them into the same to admitt and to elect and constitute such officers as they shall think fitt and requisite for the ordering, mannaging and dispatching of the affaires of the saide Governor and Company and their successors, And to make lawes and ordinnces for the good and welfare of the saide Company, and for the government and ordering of the said lands and plantacon, and the people inhabiting and to inhabite the same as to them from tyme to tyme shalbe thought meet, Soe as such lawes and ordinances be not contrarie or repugnant to the lawes and statuts of this our realme of England; And

our will and pleasure is And we do hereby for us, our heires and successors, establish and ordeyne That yearely once in the yeare for ever hereafter, namely: the last Wednesday in Easter tearme yearely the Governor, Deputy Governor and Assistants of the said Company, and all other officers of the saide Company shalbe in the Generall Court or Assembly, to be held for that day or tyme newly chosen for the yeare ensueing by such greater parte of the said Company, for the tyme being, then and there present as is aforesaide; And yf it shall happen the present Governor, Deputy Governor and Assistants by theis presents appointed, or such as shall hereafter be newly chosen into their roomes or any of them or any other of the officers to be appointed for the said Company to dye or to be remouved from his or their severall offices or places before the saide generall day of elecon (whome we doe hereby declare for any misdemeanor or defect to be removeable by the Governor, Deputie Governor, Assistants and Company, or such greater parte of them in any of the publique Courts to be assembled as aforesaid), That then and in every such case it shall and maie be lawfull to and for the Governor, Deputie Governor, Assistants and Company aforesaide or such greater parte of them soe to be assembled, as is aforesaid, in any of their assemblies to proceade to a new eleccon of one or more others of their Company in the roome or place, roomes or places of such officer or officers soe dying or removed according to their discrecons. And ymediately upon and after such eleccon and eleccons made of such Governor, Deputie Governor, Assistant or Assistants, or any other officers of the saide Company in manner and forme aforesaid, the authoritie, office and power before given to the former Governor, Deputie Governor, or other officer and officers soe removed in whose steede and place newe shalbe soe chosen, shall as to him and them and everie of them, cease and determine. Provided also—and our will and pleasure is That as well such as are by theis presents appointed to be the present Governor, Deputie Governor and Assistants of the said Company as them that shall succeed them, and all other officers to be appointed and chosen as aforesaid,—shall, before they undertake the exaccon of their saide offices and places respectivelie, take their corporall oathes for the due and faithfull performance of their duties in their severall offices and places before such person or persons as are by theis presents hereunder appointed to take and receive the same; That is to saie, the said Mathewe Cradock—whoe is hereby nominated and appointed the present Governor of the saide Company—shall take the saide oathes before one or more of the Masters of our Courte of Chauncery, for the tyme being, unto which Master or Masters of the Chauncery Wee doe by theis presents give full power and authoritie to take and administer the said oathe to the said Governor accordingly. And after the saide Governor shalbe soe sworne, then the said Deputy Governor and Assistants—before by theis presents nominated and appointed—shall take the said severall oathes to their offices and places respectivelie belonging, before the said Mathew Cradock, the present Governor, soe formerlie sworne, as aforesaide. And every such person as shalbe at the tyme of the annuall eleccon, or otherwise, upon death or removeall, be appointed to be the newe Governor of the said Company, shall take the oathes to that place belonging, before the Deputy Governor or two of the Assistants of the said Company, at the least, for the tyme being. And the newe elected Deputie Governor and Assistants, and all other officers to be hereafter chosen, as aforesaide, from tyme to tyme, to take the oathes to their places respectivelie belonging, before the Governor of the said Company, for the tyme being, Unto which said Governor, Deputie Governor and Assistants Wee doe by theis presents give full power and authoritie to give and administer the said oaths respectively, according to our true meaning, herein before declared, without any comission or further warrant, to be had and obteyned of us, our heires or successors, in that behalf, And Wee doe further, of our especiall grace, certain knowledge and meere mocon, for us, our heires and successors, give and graunt to the said Governor and Company and their successors forever by theis presents That it shalbe lawfull and free for them and their assignes at all and every tyme and tymes hereafter, out of any our realmes or domynions whatsoever to take, leade, cary and transport for and into their voyages, and for and towards the said plantacon in Newe England, all such and soe many of our loving subjects or any other strangers that will become our loving subjects and live under our allegiance, as shall willinglie accompanie them in the same voyages and plantacon, and also shipping armour, weapons, ordenance, municon, powder, shott, corne, victualls and all manner of clothing, implements, furniture, beastes, cattle, horses, mares, merchandizes and all other thinges necessarie for the saide plantacon, and for their use and defence, and for trade with the people there, and in passing and returning to and fro, any lawe or statute to the contrarie hereof in any wise notwithstanding, and without payeing or yielding any custome, or subsedie, either inward or outward, to us, our heires or successors for the same by the space of seaven yeares from the day of the date of theis presents, Provided that none of the saide persons be such as shalbe hereafter by especiall name restrayned by us, our heires or successors. And for their further encouragement of our especiall grace and favor wee doe by theis presents for us, our heirs and successors, yield and graunt to the saide Governor and Company and their successors and every of them their factors and assignes, That they and every of them shalbe free and quitt from all taxes, subsidies and customes in New England for the like space of seaven years, and from all taxes and imposicons for the space of twenty and one yeares upon all goodes and merchandises at any tyme or tymes hereafter, either upon importacon thither or exportacon from thence into our realme of England, or into any other our domyneons by the saide Governor and Company and their successors, their deputies, factors and assignes or any of them except onlie the five poundes per centum due for custome upon all such goodes and merchandises as after the saide seaven yeares shalbe expired shalbe brought or imported into our realme of England or any of our dominions according to the auncient trade of merchants, which five poundes per centum onlie being paide it shall be thenceforth lawfull and free for the said adventurers the same goods and merchandises to export and carry out of our said dominions into forrane partes without any custome, tax or other dutie to be paid to us, our heirs or successors, or to any other officers or ministers of us our heires and successors. Provided that the said goodes and merchandises be shipped out within thirteene monethes after their first landing within any parte of the saide domynions, And wee doe for us, our heirs and successors, give and graunte unto the saide Governor and Company and their successors That whensoever or soe often as any custome or subsidie shall growe due or payiable unto us, our heirs or successors, according to the lymittacon and appointment aforesaide by reason of any goodes, wares, or merchandises to be shipped out or any retorne to be made of any goodes, wares or merchandise unto or from the said partes of Newe England hereby mencoed to be graunted as aforesaide or any the lands or territories aforesaide, That then and soe often and in such case the farmers, customers and officers of our customes of England and Ireland and everie of them for the tyme being, upon request made to them by the saide Governor and Company or their successors, factors or assignes, and upon convenient security to be given in that behalf, shall give and allowe unto the said Governor and Company and their successors and to all and everie person and persons free of that company as aforesaide six monethes tyme for the payement of the one half of all such custome and subsidy as shalbe due and payeable unto us, our heirs and successors, for the same, For which theis our letters patents or the duplicate or the enrollm[t] thereof shalbe unto our saide officers a sufficient warrant and discharge. Nevertheless our will and pleasure is That if any of the saide goodes, wares and merchandise which be or shalbe at any tyme hereafter landed or exported out of any of our realmes aforesaide and shalbe shipped with a purpose not to be carried to the partes of Newe England aforesaid, but to some other place, That then such payment, dutie, custome, imposicon or forfyture shalbe paid or belonge to us, our heires and successors, for the said goodes, wares and merchandise soe fraudulently sought to be transported, as yf this our graunte had not been made nor graunted. And Wee doe further will, And by theis presents our heirs and successors firmely enioine and comaunde as well the Treasurer, Chauncellor and Barons of the Exchequer of us, our heires and successors, as also all and singular the customers, farmers, and collectors of the customes, subsidies and imports and other the officers and ministers of us, our heirs and successors, whatsoever for the tyme being, That they and every of them upon the shewing forth unto them of these letters patents or the duplicate or exemplificacon of the same, without any other writt or warrent whatsoever from us, our heirs or successors, to be obteyned on said faith, doe and shall make full, whole, entire and due allowance and cleare discharge unto the saide Governor and Company and their successors of all customes, subsidies, imposicons, taxes and duties whatsoever that shall or maie be claymed by us, our heirs and successors, of or from the said Governor and Company and their successors, for or by reason of the said goodes, chattells, wares, merchandises and premises to be exported out of our saide domynions or any of them into any parte of the saide landes or premises hereby mencoed to be given, graunted and conferred or for or by reason of any of the saide goodes, chattells, wares or merchandises to be imported from the said landes and premises hereby mencoed to be given, graunted or conferred into any of our saide dominions or any parte thereof as aforesaide, exepting onlie the saide five poundes per centum hereby reserved and payeable after the expiracon of the said terme of seaven years as aforesaid and not before. And that our letters patents or the enrollment, duplicate or exemplificacon of the same shalbe [illegible]

ever hereafter from time to tyme as well to the Treasurer, Chancellor and Barons of the Exchequer, of us, our heires and successors, as to all and singular the customers, farmers and collectors of the customes, subsidies and imports of us, our heirs and successors, and all searchers and others, the officers and ministers whatsoever of us, our heirs and successors, for the time being a sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf, And further our will and pleasure is, And Wee doe hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordayne, declare and graunt to the saide Governor and Company and their successors, That all and every of the subjects of us, our heirs or successors, which shall goe to and inhabite within the saidee laneds and premises hereby mencoed to be graunted and every of their children which shall happen to be borne there on the seas in going thither or retorneing from thence shall have and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and naturall subjects within any of the domynions of us, our heiers or successors, to all intents, construccons and purposes whatsoever as yf they and everie of them were borne within the realme of England. And that the Governor and Deputie Governor of the said Company for the tyme being or either of them and any two or more of such of the saide Assistants as shalbe thereunto appointed by the said Governor and Company at any of their courts or assemblies to be held as aforesaide shall and maie at all tymes, and from tyme to tyme hereafter, have full power and authoritie to minister and give the oathe and oathes of supremacie and allegiance or either of them to all and everie person and persons which shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter goe or passe to the landes and premises hereby mencoed to be graunted to inhabite the same. And wee doe, of our further grace, certen knowledg and meere mocon, give and graunt to the saide Governor and Company and their successors, That it shall and maie be lawfull to and for the Governor or Deputie Governor and such of the Assistants and Freemen of the said Company, for the tyme being, as shalbe assembled in any of their General Courts aforesaide, or in any other Courts to be specially sumoned and assembled for that purpose or the greater parte of them (whereof the Governor or Deputie Governor and six of the Assistants to be alwaies seaven) from tyme to tyme to make, ordaine and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable orders, lawes, statutes and ordinnces, direccons and instruccon not contrarie to the laws of this our realme of England, as well for setling of the formes and ceremonies of governm^t, and magistracy fitt and necessery for the said plantacon and the inhabitants there, and for nameing and stiling of all sortes of officers both superior and inferior which they shall find needeful for that government and plantacon, and the distinguishing and setting forth of the severall duties, powers and lymitts of every such office and place and the formes of such oathes warrantable by the laws and statutes of this our realme of England, as shalbe respectivelie ministered unto them for the execucon of the said severall offices and places, as also for the disposing and ordering of the eleccons of such of the said officers as shalbe annuall and of such others as shalbe to succede in case of death or removeall, and ministring the said oathes to the newe elected officers and for imposicons of lawfull fynes, mulcts, imprisonment or other lawfull correction according to the course of other corporacons in this our realme of England, and for the directing, ruling and disposeing of all other matters and thinges whereby our said people inhabitants there maie be so religiously, peaceablie and civilly governed as their good life and orderlie conversacon maie wynn, and incite the natives of country to the knowledge and obedience of the onlie true God and Saviour of mankinde and the Christian fayth, which in our royal intencon and the adventurers free profession is the peacefull ende of this plantacon. Willing, comaunding and requireing and by their presents for us, our heirs or successors, ordeyning and appointing, That all such orders, lawes, statuts and ordinnces, instruccons and direccon as shalbe soe made by the Governor and Deputie Governor of the said company and such of the Assistants and Freeman as aforesaide and published in writing under their comon seale shalbe carefullie and dulie observed, kept, pformed and putt in execucon according to the true intent and meaning of the same, And theis our letters patents, or the duplicate or exemplicacon thereof, shalbe to all and everie such officer superior and inferior, from tyme to tyme, for the putting of the same orders, lawes, statutes and ordinnces, instruccons and direccons in due execucon against us, our heires and successors, a sufficient warrant and discharge, And wee doe further, for us, our heires and successors, give and graunt to the said Governor and Company and their successors by theis presents, That all and everie such chiefe comaunders, captaines, governors and other officers and ministers as, by the said orders, laws, statuts, ordinnces, instruccon or direccons of the said Governor and Company for the tyme being, shalbe from tyme to tyme hereafter ymploied either in the government of the said inhabitants and plantacon or in the waye by sea thither or from thence according to the natures and lymytts of their offices and places respectively shall from tyme to tyme hereafter forever within the precincts and partes of Newe England hereby mencoed to be graunted and conformed or in the waie by sea thither or from thence, have full and absolute power and authoritie to correct, punishe, pardon, governe and rule all such the subjects of us, our heirs and successors, as shall from tyme to tyme adventure themselves in any voyadge thither or from thence or that shall at any tyme hereafter inhabite within the precincts and partes of Newe England aforesaid according to the orders, lawes, ordinnces, instruccons and direccons aforesaid not being repugnant to the lawes and statutes of our realme of England as aforesaid, And wee doe further, for us, our heirs and successors, give and graunte to the said Governor and Company and their successors by theis presents, That it shall and maie be lawfull to and for the chiefe comaunders, governors and officers of said company for the time being who shalbe resident in the said parte of Newe England in America by theis presents graunted and others there inhabiting by their appointment and direccon from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter for their speciall defence and safety to incounter, expulse, repell, and resist by force of armes as well by sea as by lande and by all fitting waies and means whatsoever, all such person and persons as shall at any tyme hereafter attempt or enterprise the destruccon, invasion, detriment or annoyaunce to the said plantation or inhabitants; and to take and surprise by all waies and meanes whatsoever all and every such person and persons with their shippes, armour, munican and other goodes as shall in hostile manner invade or attempt the defeating of the said plantacon or the hurt of the said company and inhabitants. Nevertheles, our will and pleasure is, and wee doe hereby declare to all Christian Kinges, Princes and states that yf any person or persons which shall hereafter be of the said Company or plantacon, or any other by lycense or appointment of the said Governor and Company for the tyme being, shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter robb or spoyle by sea or by land, or due any hurt, violence or unlawfull hostility to any of the subjects of us, our heires or successors, or any of the subjects of any Prince or State being then in league and amytie with us, our heires and successors, and that upon such iniury don and upon inst complaint of such Prince or State or their subjects Wee, our heires or successors, shall make upon proclamacon within any of the partes within our realme of England comodious for that purpose, That the person or persons haveing comitted any such roberie or spoyle shall within the terme lymytted by such a proclamacon make full restitucon or satisfaccon of all such iniuries don soe as the said Princes or others soe complayning maie hould themselves fullie satisfied and contented. And that yf the said person or persons having comitted such robbery or spoile shall not make or cause to be made satisfaccon accordinglie within such time soe to be lymytted, That then it shalbe lawfull for us, our heires and successors, to putt the said pson or psons out of our allegiance and protecton: And that it shalbe lawfull and free for all Princes to prosecute with hostilitie the said offendors and every of them, their and every of their procurers, ayders, abettors and comforters in that behalf. Provided also and our expresse will and pleasure is, and wee doe by theis presents for us, our heires and successors, ordeyne and appoint That theis presents shall not in any manner enure or be taken to abridge, barr or hinder any of our loving subjects whatsoever to use and exercise the trade of fishing upon that coast of New England in America by theis pesents mencoed to be graunted; But that they and every or any of them shall have full and free power and liberty to continue and use their said trade of fishing upon the said coast in any the seas thereunto adioyning on any armes of the seas or saltwater rivers where they have byn wont to fishe and to build and sett up upon the landes by theis presents graunted such wharfes, stages and workehouses as shalbe necessarie for the salting, drying, keeping and tacking up of their fish to be taken or gotten upon that coast; and to cutt downe and take such trees and other materialls there groweing or being or shalbe needfull for that purpose, and fell all other necessarie easements, helpes and advantage concerning their said trade of fishing there in such manner and form as they have byn heretofore at any tyme accustomed to doe without making any wilfull waste or spoyle, anything in theis presents conteyned to the contrarie notwithstanding. And Wee doe further for us, our heires and successors, ordeyne and graunte to the said Governor and Company and their successors by theis presents, That theis, our letters patents, shalbe firme, good, effectuall and availeable in all thinges and to all intents and construccons of lawe according to our true meaning herein before declared, and shalbe construed, reputed and adiudged in all cases most favourable on the behalf and for the benefitt and behoofe of the saide Governor and Company and their successors, although expresse mencon of the true yearely value or certenty of the premisses or any of them or of any other guiftes or grauntes by us or any of our progenitors or predecessors to the foresaid Governor or Company before this time,

made in theis presents or not made, or any statute, acte, ordinnce, provision, proclamacon or restrainte to the contrarie thereof heretofore had, made, published, ordeyned or provided or any other matter, cause or thinge whatsoever to the contrarie thereof in any wise notwithstanding. In witnes whereof wee have caused theis our letters to be made patents, Witnes ourself at Westminster the fourth day of March, in the fourth yeare of our raigne

"Per Breve de Privato Sigillo,

"WOLSELEY.

"Prædict Matthæus Cradocke Juratus est de Fide et Obedientia Regi et Successoribus suis, et de Debita Exequutione Officij Gubernatoris iuxta Tenorem Presentium 18°. Martij, 1628, Coram me Carolo Cæsare, Milite in Cancellaria Mro.

"CHAR. CÆSAR."

By this charter the claim of John Gorges, the assignee of his brother Robert, and also that of John Oldham and John Dorrill, the lessees of John, seem to have been extinguished. But another claim had, in the mean time, sprung up which it was necessary to silence before the Massachusetts Company could become unobstructed possessors under their charter. John Gorges, under the grant made to his brother by the Plymouth Council, conveyed, by a deed dated January 10, 1629, to Sir William Brereton, of Handforth, in the County of Chester, England, "all the land in breadth lying from the east side of Charles River to the easterly part off the cape called Nahant, and all the lands lying in length twenty miles northeast into the main land from the mouth of the said Charles River, lying also in length twenty miles into the main land northeast from the said Cape Nahant; also two islands lying next unto the shore between Nahant and Charles River, the bigger called Brereton and the lesser Susanna." This claim also was finally rejected by the Massachusetts Company with a proposition to the claimant, dated February 10, 1630, to join the company according to their charter and receive all courteous respect and be accommodated with land and whatever might be necessary.

Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Young and Thomas Southcott sold out their interest to John Winthrop, Isaac Johnson, Matthew Cradock, Thomas Goffe and Sir Richard Saltonstall, who, with John Humfrey, John Endicott and Simon Whitcomb, the remaining original grantees, formed a new company. The financial affairs of the company were at first managed in England, and Matthew Cradock, who had been named by the King as Governor, was chosen to that office. John Endicott was sent out with a company in the summer of 1628, arriving at Salem in the ship "Abigail," on the 6th of September of that year. Endicott was followed by Rev. Francis Higginson, and about two hundred persons with him, embarking in the "George Boneventure," reaching New England on the 22d of June, and the "Talbot" and "Lion's Whelp" reaching New England on the 29th. While Cradock remained the Governor of the company in England, Endicott was, in a certain sense, the Governor of the Colony, and so remained until the arrival of John Winthrop with the charter, in 1630. The "Boneventure" brought from the company a letter to Endicott, urging him to occupy the lands about Massachusetts Bay claimed by Oldham and Brereton, which extended from Charles River to Nahant along the coast and from five to twenty miles inland. They wrote as follows:

"We fear that as he (Oldham) hath been obstinate and violent in his proceedings here, so he will persist and be ready to draw a party to himself there to the great hindrance of the common quiet; we have, therefore, thought fit to give you notice of his disposition to the end you may beware how you meddle with him, as also you may use the best means you can to settle an agreement with the old planters so as they may not hearken to Mr. Oldham's dangerous though vaine propositions.

"We pray you and the council there to advise seriously together for the maintenance of our privileges and peaceable government, which, if it may be done by a temperate course, we much desire it, though with some inconvenience so as our government and privileges be not brought in contempt, wishing rather there might be such an union as might draw the heathen, by our good example, to the embracing of Christ and his Gospel, than that offence should be given to the heathen and a scandal to our religion through our disagreement amongst ourselves. But if necessity require a more severe course when fair means will not prevail, we pray you to deal as in your discretion you shall think fittest for the general good and safety of the plantation and preservation of our privileges. And because we would not omit to do anything which might strengthen our right we would have you (as soon as the ships or any of them arrive with you, whereby you may have men to do it) send forty or fifty persons to Massachusetts Bay to inhabit there, which we pray you not to protract but to do it with all speed; and if any of our company in particular shall desire to settle themselves there or to send servants thither we desire all accommodation and encouragement may be given them thereunto whereby the better to strengthen our possession there against all or any that shall intrude upon us which we would not have you by any means give way unto; with this caution notwithstanding—That for such of our countrymen as you find there planted so as they be willing to live under government you endeavor to give them all fitting and due accommodation as to any of ourselves; yea, if you see cause for it, though if it be with more than ordinary privileges in point of trade."

In accordance with the above instructions, on the 24th of June, only two days after the arrival of the "Boneventure," Thomas Graves and Rev. Francis Wright arrived at Charlestown from Salem, and, as it is now agreed, gave the date to the foundation of that town.

On the 20th of October, 1629, at "a Generall Court holden in England, at Mr Goffe the Deputye's House," the record states that

"Now the Court proceeding to the election of a new Gouernor, Deputie and Assistants, which upon serious deliberation hath been and is conceived to be for the especial good and advancement of their affairs, and having received extraordinary great commendations of Mr John Winthrop both for his integrity and sufficiency as being one every way well fitted and accomplished for the place of Governor, did put in nomination for that place the said Mr. John Winthrop, Sir R. Saltonstall, Mr. Isaac Johnson and Mr. John Humfreys; and the said Mr. Winthrop was with a general vote and full consent of this court by erection of hands chosen to be Governor for the ensuing year, to begin on this present day; who was pleased to accept thereof and thereupon Took the oath to that place appertaining. In like manner and with like free and full consent Mr. John Humfrey was chosen Deputy Governor, and

"Sir R: Saltonstall	Mr Thomas Sharpe
Mr Isaac Johnson	Mr John Revell
Mr Thomas Dudley	Mr Matt: Cradock
Mr Jo: Endecott	Mr Thomas Goffe
Mr Noell	Mr Aldersey
Mr Wm Vassall	Mr John Venn
Mr Wm Pinchon	Mr Nath: Wright
Mr Sam: Sharpe	Mr Theoph: Eaton
Mr Edw: Rossiter	Mr Tho: Adams

were chosen to be Assistants; which said Deputy and the greatest part

of the said Assistants being present took the oaths to their said places appertaining respectively."

In April, 1630, Winthrop sailed from England and arrived in Massachusetts on the 12th of June, at once assuming power in the place of Endicott as Governor under the charter which he had brought with him.

The first Court of Assistants, according to a statement of Johnson, in "Wonder-Working Providence," was held at Charlestown, August 23d, on the ship "Arbella." The date mentioned is probably correct, but the place of the meeting has been doubted by antiquaries. At that meeting it was ordered that the next meeting should be held at the Governor's house on the 7th of September and the third meeting was held at the same place September 28th.

On the 19th of October the first General Court was held in Boston, and at its first session an important change was made in the form of government. The record states that at this General Court "it was propounded if it were not the best course that the freemen should have the power of choosing assistants when they are to be chosen, and the assistants from amongst themselves to choose a Governor and Deputy Governor, who with the assistants shall have the power of making laws and choosing officers to execute the same. This was fully assented unto by the general vote of the people and erection of hands." Thus the only power retained by the freemen or people was the power to choose Assistants.

At a General Court held at Boston on the 9th of May, 1632, another change was made, and "it was generally agreed upon by erection of hands that the Governor, Deputy Governor and assistants should be chosen by the whole court of Governor, Deputy Governor, Assistants and freemen, and that the Governor shall always be chosen out of the assistants."

At a General Court held on the 14th of May, 1634, still more power was assumed by the people. "It was agreed that none but the General Court hath power to choose and admit freemen." "That none but the General Court hath power to make and establish laws nor to elect and appoint officers as Governor, Deputy Governor, Assistants, Treasurer, Secretary, Captain, Lieutenants, Ensigns or any of like moment, or to remove such upon misdemeanor, as also to set out the duties and powers of the said officers." "That none but the General Court hath power to raise moneys and taxes and to dispose of lands, viz., to give and confirm proprieties." An important change was also made at this court in the constitution of the court itself. It was ordered "that it shall be lawful for the freemen of every plantation to choose two or three of each town before every General Court to confer of and prepare such public business as by them shall be thought fit to consider of at the next General Court, and that such persons as shall be hereafter soe deputed by the freemen of the several plantations to deal in their behalf in the public affairs of the Commonwealth shall have the full power and voices of all the said freemen derived to them for the making and establishing of laws, granting of lands, etc., and to deal in all other affairs of the Commonwealth wherein the freemen have to do, the matter of election of magistrates and other officers only excepted, wherein every freemen is to give his own voice."

For the election of officers the whole body of freemen met annually in the meeting-house in Boston, but at last the inconvenience of this arrangement was found to be so great that it was provided that Salem, Ipswich, Newbury, Saugus, Weymouth and Hingham might retain as many of their freemen at home at the annual elections as the safety of the towns required, and that the votes of them might be sent by proxy. A general law was passed at a later date to the same effect applicable to all the freemen in all the towns.

Through all these changes such judicial power as existed was in the hands of the Court of Assistants. At first the Assistants and Deputies met together, but in 1644 it was agreed that the two branches should sit apart and that each should have a negative on the other. Under this new arrangement the Governor presided in the Court of Assistants and the office of Speaker was appointed for the popular branch, which had now become a Court of Deputies. In this form the General Court became the model from which the General Court of our own day took its shape.

During the colonial period the Governors were: John Endicott, 1629, 1644 to 1645, 1649 to 1650, 1651 to 1654, 1655 to 1665; John Winthrop, 1630 to 1634, 1637 to 1640, 1642 to 1644, 1646 to 1649; Thomas Dudley, 1634 to 1635, 1640 to 1641, 1645 to 1646, 1650 to 1651; John Haynes, 1635 to 1636; Henry Vane, 1636 to 1637; Richard Bellingham, 1641 to 1642, 1654 to 1655, 1665 to 1672; John Leverett, 1672 to 1679; Simon Bradstreet, 1679 to 1686, 1689 to 1692. From 1686 to 1689 Joseph Dudley and Edmund Andros had jurisdiction over New England by appointment of the King.

The Deputy Governors were: Thomas Dudley, 1629 to 1634, 1637 to 1640, 1646 to 1650, 1651 to 1653; Roger Ludlow, 1634 to 1635; Richard Bellingham, 1635 to 1636, 1640 to 1641, 1653 to 1654, 1655 to 1665; John Winthrop, 1636 to 1637, 1644 to 1646; John Endicott, 1641 to 1644, 1650 to 1651, 1654 to 1655; Francis Willoughby, 1665 to 1671; John Leverett, 1671 to 1673; Samuel Symonds, 1673 to 1678; Simon Bradstreet, 1678 to 1679; Thomas Danforth, 1679 to 1686, 1689 to 1692. During the careers of Dudley and Andros, 1686 to 1689, there was no Deputy-Governor,

The assistants were: Humphrey Atherton, Samuel Appleton, Isaac Addington, Simon Bradstreet, Richard Bellingham, Robert Bridges, Peter Bulkley, William Browne, William Coddington, Thomas Clarke, Elisha Cooke, Thomas Dudley, Joseph Dudley, Richard Dummer, Daniel Denison, Thomas Danforth, Humphrey Davy, John Endicott, Thomas Flint, Daniel Fisher, Edward Gibbons, John Glover, Daniel

Gookin, Bartholomew Gedney, Elisha Hutchinson, John Humphrey, John Haynes, Atherton Hough, Roger Harlakenden, William Hibbens, William Hawthorne, John Hull, John Hawthorne, Isaac Johnson, William Johnson, Roger Ludlow, Eliezer Lusher, John Leverett, Increase Nowell, Samuel Nowell, Robert Pike, William Pynchon, Herbert Pelham, John Pynchon, Oliver Purchase, Edward Rossiter, Richard Russell, John Richards, Samuel Sewall, Thomas Savage, Richard Saltonstall, Richard Saltonstall, Jr., Thomas Sharp, Israel Stoughton, William Stoughton, Samuel Symonds, Nathaniel Saltonstall, John Smith, Edward Tyng, Peter Tilton, William Vassall, Henry Vane, John Woodbridge, Francis Willoughby, Thomas Wiggin, Simon Willard, John Winthrop, John Winthrop, Jr.

The Speakers of the House of Deputies during the same period, beginning May 29, 1644, were: William Hawthorne, May 29, 1644, to October 2, 1645, May 6, 1646, to November 4, 1646, May 10, 1648, to October 18, 1648, May 23, 1650, to October 15, 1650, May 6, 1657, to May 19, 1658, May 22, 1661, to May 7, 1662; George Cooke, October 2, 1645, to May 6, 1646; Robert Bridges, November 4, 1646, to May 26, 1647; Joseph Hill, May 26, 1647, to October 18, 1647; Richard Russell, October 18, 1647, to May 10, 1648, October 18, 1648, to May 2, 1649, May 3, 1654, to May 23, 1655; May 14, 1656, to May 6, 1657, May 19, 1658, to May 11, 1659; Daniel Denison, May 2, 1649, to May 23, 1650, October 14, 1651, to May 27, 1652; Daniel Gookin, May 7, 1651, to October 14, 1651; Humphrey Atherton, May 18, 1653, to May 3, 1654; Edward Johnson, May 23, 1655, to May 14, 1656; Thomas Savage, May 11, 1659, to May 22, 1661, May 31, 1671, to May 15, 1672, May 24, 1677, to May 28, 1679; Thomas Clarke, May 7, 1662, to May 27, 1663, May 3, 1665, to May 23, 1666, May 19, 1669, to May 31, 1671; John Leverett, May 27, 1663, to May 3, 1665; Richard Waldron, May 23, 1666, to May 19, 1669, May 7, 1673, to January 6, 1673–74, May 27, 1674, to February 21, 1675–76, May 28, 1679, to February 4, 1679–80; Joshua Hubbard, January 6, 1673–74, to May 27, 1674; Peter Bulkley, February 21, 1675–76, to May 24, 1677; John Richards, February 4, 1679–80, to May 19, 1680; Daniel Fisher, May 19, 1680, to May 16, 1683; Elisha Cooke, May 16, 1683, to May 7, 1684; John Wayt, May 7, 1684, to May 27, 1685; Isaac Addington, May 27, 1685, to May 12, 1686; John Saffin, May 12, 1686.

The other officers of the Colony provided for at an early date were treasurer, commissioners of the United Colonies, secretary and beadle or marshal. The treasurers were: Richard Bellingham, May 17, 1637, and June 6, 1639; Wm. Coddington, May 14, 1634; Richard Dummer, May 25, 1636; William Pynchon, Sept. 4, 1632; William Tyng, May 13, 1640–June 2, 1641; Richard Russell, November 13, 1644; John Hull, May 3, 1676; James Russell, May 9, 1680; Samuel Nowell, May 11, 1686; John Usher, June 1, 1686.

The secretaries were: William Burges, chosen May 13, 1629; Simon Bradstreet, 1630; Increase Nowell, June 6, 1639, May 13, 1640, June 2, 1641; Edward Rawson, May 22, 1650; Edward Randolph, September 21, 1685.

The commissioners of the United Colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Haven were: John Winthrop, chosen 1643–45; Thomas Dudley, 1643, '47–49; Simon Bradstreet, 1644, '48–54, '56–61, '63–67; William Hathorne, 1644, '50–54, '73; Herbert Pelham, 1645; Daniel Denison, 1655–57, '59–62; John Endicott, 1646–48, '58; Thomas Danforth, 1662–79; John Leverett, 1668–69; William Stoughton, 1674–76, '80–86; Joseph Dudley, 1677–79; Peter Bulkley, 1682–83; Samuel Nowell, 1684–86.

The beadles or marshals, who were somewhat analogous to the sheriffs of the present day, were: James Penn, appointed by the Court September 25, 1634; Edward Michelson, who is mentioned in the records of the Court May 27, 1668, as having occupied the office "divers years;" John Greene, chosen May 27, 1681; and Samuel Gookin, appointed in 1691.

The above lists are confined to officers appointed or chosen after the Massachusetts Company was established in New England, and are inserted by the writer in this sketch of Middlesex County, together with other matters relating to the early history of the Colony, to show the ground-work and foundation on which the counties into which the Colony became divided rested.

Until 1639 the whole judicial power rested with the Court of Assistants. On the 9th of September of that year it was enacted by the General Court that "for as much as the businesses of the ordinary Court of Assistants are so much increased as they cannot be despatched in such season as were fit, it is therefore ordered that such of the magistrates as shall reside in or near to Boston or any five, four or three of them, the Governor or Deputy to be one, shall have power to assemble together upon the last fifth day of the eighth, eleventh, second and fifth months every year, and then and there to hear and determine all civil causes whereof the debt or trespass and damages shall not exceed twenty pounds, and all criminal causes not extending to life or member or banishment according to the course of the Court of Assistants, and to summon juries out of the neighbor towns, and the marshal or necessary officers are to give their attendance as at other Courts."

It had been previously been enacted on the 3d of March, 1635–36, that

"there shall be four courts kept every quarter, one at Ipswich, to which Newbury shall belong; two at Salem, to which Sanders shall belong; two at Newtown to which Charlton (Charlestown), Concord, Medford and Watertown shall belong; four at Boston, to which Roxbury, Dorchester, Weymouth and Hingham shall belong.

"Every of these courts shall be kept by such magistrates as shall be dwelling in or near the said towns, and by such other persons of worth as shall from time to time be appointed by the General Court, so as no court shall be kept without one magistrate at the least, and that none of the magistrates be excluded who can and will attend the same, yet

the General Court shall appoint which of the magistrates shall specially belong to every of the said court. Such persons as shall be joined as associates to the magistrates in the said court shall be chosen by the General Court out of a greater number of such as the several towns shall nominate to them so as there may be in every of the said courts so many as (with the magistrates) may make five in all. These courts shall try all civil cases whereof the debt or damage shall not exceed ten pounds, and all criminal causes not concerning life, member or banishment. And if any person shall find himself grieved with the sentence of any of the said courts he may appeal to the next great quarter court provided that he put in sufficient caution to present his appeal with effect and to abide the sentence of the magistrates in the said great quarter court, who shall see that all such that shall bring any appeal without just cause be exemplarily punished.

"There shall be four great Quarter Courts kept yearly in Boston by the Governor and the rest of the magistrates: the first, the first Tuesday in the fourth month, called June; the second, the first Tuesday in September; the third, the first Tuesday in December; the fourth, the first Tuesday in the first month, called March."

It must be remembered that the assistants were called magistrates, and therefore still retained after the above enactments judicial power. On the 25th of May, 1636, the following magistrates and other persons were appointed by the General Court to hold the courts referred to in the above enactment of the previous March, to wit: For Salem and Saugus, John Humphrey, John Endicott, magistrates or assistants, Capt. Turner, Mr. Scruggs and Mr. Townsend Bishopp, associates; for Ipswich and Newbury, Thomas Dudley, Richard Dummer, Simon Bradstreet, magistrates, and Mr. Saltonstall and Mr. Spencer, associates; for Newtown, Charlestown, Medford and Concord, John Haynes, Roger Harlakenden, Increase Nowell, magistrates, and Mr. Beecher and Mr. Peakes, associates; for Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Weymouth and Hingham, Richard Bellingham, William Coddington, magistrates, and Israel Stoughton, William Hutchinson and William Heath, associates.

On the 6th of June, 1639, it was enacted that "for the more speedy dispatch of all causes which shall concern strangers who cannot stay to attend the ordinary courts of justice, it is ordered that the Governor or Deputy, being assisted with any two of the magistrates (whom he *may* call to him to that end), shall have *power* to hear and determine (by a jury of twelve men or otherwise, as is used in other courts) all causes which shall arise between such strangers or wherein any such stranger shall be a party, and all records of such proceedings shall be transmitted to the secretary (except himself be one of the magistrates who shall assist in hearing such causes), to be entered as trials in other courts at the charge of the parties. This order to continue till the General Court in the seventh month come twelve month and no longer."

These various enactments show the condition of governmental affairs and the distribution of judicial powers at the time of the division of the Massachusetts Colony into counties in 1643. On the 10th of May in that year it was enacted "that the whole plantation within this jurisdiction is divided into four shires.

"*Essex* shire—Salem, Lynn, Enon, Ipswich, Rowley, Newbury, Gloucester and Chochicawick.

"*Middlesex*—Charlestown, Cambridge, Watertown, Sudbury, Concord, Woburn, Medford, Linn Village.

"*Suffolk*—Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Dedham, Braintree, Weymouth, Hingham, Nantasket.

"*Norfolk*—Salisbury, Hampton, Haverhill, Exeter, Dover, Strawberry Bank."

In order that the reader may not be misled it is proper to state that the Norfolk County as above formed was extinguished by the General Court on the 4th of February, 1679–80, after New Hampshire became a royal province, and its Massachusetts towns were annexed to Essex County. In Middlesex County the towns forming it were incorporated or founded as follows: Charlestown, June 24, 1629; Cambridge, Sept. 8, 1633; Watertown, Sept. 7, 1630; Sudbury, Sept. 4, 1639; Concord, Sept. 2, 1635; Woburn, May 18, 1642; Medford, Sept. 28, 1630; Linn Village, which was incorporated as Reading after the county was formed, May 29, 1684. Of these, Charlestown was incorporated as a city February 22, 1847, and annexed to Boston May 14, 1873; and Cambridge was incorporated as a city March 17, 1846.

In Essex County, Salem was incorporated June 24, 1629, as a town, and as a city March 23, 1836; Lynn (formerly Saugus), Nov. 20, 1637, as a town, and as a city April 10, 1850; Enon (now Wenham), was incorporated May 10, 1643; Ipswich, Aug. 5, 1634; Rowley, Sept. 4, 1639; Newbury, May 6, 1635; Gloucester, as a town May 22, 1639; as a city May 26, 1871; and Chochicawick (now Andover), May 6, 1646.

In Norfolk County, Salisbury was incorporated Oct 7, 1640; Haverhill as a town in 1645, and as a city March 10, 1869. Hampton, Exeter, Dover and Strawberry Bank (now Portsmouth), were included within the limits of New Hampshire.

In Suffolk County, Boston was incorporated as a town Sept. 7, 1630, as a city Feb. 23, 1822; Roxbury, as a town Sept. 28, 1630, as a city March 12, 1846, annexed to Boston June 1, 1867; Dorchester, Sept. 7, 1630, annexed to Boston June 4, 1869; Dedham, Sept. 8, 1636; Braintree, May 13, 1640; Weymouth, Sept. 2, 1635; Hingham, Sept. 2, 1635; and Nantasket (now Hull), May 29, 1644.

When the present Norfolk County was incorporated, March 26, 1793, all the towns above mentioned in Suffolk County, except Boston, were included in the new county. Hingham and Hull, being dissatisfied with their new connection, were subsequently, at the same session of the General Court, exempted from the act of incorporation, and were finally annexed to Plymouth County.

In addition to the towns above mentioned as a part of Middlesex County, Acton was incorporated July 3, 1735; Arlington, February 27, 1807 (name changed from West Cambridge, April 30, 1867); Ashby, March 5, 1767; Ashland, March 16, 1846; Ayer, Febuary 14, 1871; Bedford, September 23, 1729; Belmont, March 18, 1859; Billerica, May 29, 1655; Boxborough, February 25, 1783; Brighton, February 24, 1807; Bur-

lington, February 28, 1799; Carlisle, April 28, 1780; Chelmsford, May 29, 1655; Dracut, February 26, 1701; Dunstable, October 15, 1673; East Sudbury, April 10, 1780 (name changed to Wayland, March 11, 1835); Everett, March 9, 1870; Framingham, June 25, 1700; Groton, May 25, 1655; Holliston, December 3, 1724; Hopkinton, December 13, 1715; Hudson, March 19, 1866; Lexington, March 29, 1712; Lincoln, April 19, 1754; Littleton, November 2, 1714; Lowell as a town, March 1, 1826 (as a city, August 5, 1836); Malden as a town, May 2, 1649 (as a city, March 31, 1881); Marlborough, May 31, 1660; Maynard, April 19, 1871; Melrose, May 3, 1850; Natick as a district in 1762 (as a town February 10, 1781); Newton as a town, January 11, 1688 (as a city, June 2, 1873); North Reading, March 22, 1853; Pepperell, April 6, 1753; Sherborn, May 27, 1764; Shirley, January 5, 1753; Somerville as a town, March 3, 1842 (as a city, April 14, 1871); South Reading, February 25, 1812 (name changed to Wakefield, June 30, 1868); Stoneham, December 17, 1725; Stow, May 16, 1683; Tewksbury, December 23, 1734; Townsend, June 29, 1732; Tyngsborough as a district, June 22, 1789 (as a town, February 23, 1809); Waltham as a town, January 4, 1737 (as a city, June 2, 1884); Wayland, April 10, 1780; Westford, September 23, 1729; Weston, January 1, 1712; Wilmington, September 25, 1730; Winchester, April 30, 1850.

The town of Acton contains a part of Concord; Arlington of Cambridge; Ashby of Townsend, Fitchburg and Ashburnham; Ashland of Hopkinton, Framingham and Holliston; Ayer of Groton and Shirley; Bedford of Billerica and Concord; Belmont of Arlington, Watertown and Waltham; Boxborough of Stow, Harvard and Littleton; Brighton of Cambridge; Burlington of Woburn. Cambridge has had annexed to it parts of Charlestown and Watertown; Carlisle of Concord, Acton, Chelmsford and Billerica. Charlestown has had annexed to it part of Medford; Dunstable of Groton; Everett of Malden; Framingham of Holliston; Groton of Pepperell; Holliston of Sherborne; Hudson of Marlboro', Bolton and Stow; Lexington of Cambridge and Burlington; Lincoln of Concord, Lexington and Weston; Lowell of Chelmsford, Tewksbury and Dracut; Malden of Medford; Marlborough of Framingham and Southborough; Maynard of Stow and Sudbury; Medford of Malden and Everett; Melrose of Malden and Stoneham; Natick of Sherburne; Newton part of Boston; North Reading of Reading; Pepperell of Groton; Shirley of Groton; Somerville of Charlestown; Stoneham of Charlestown; Tewksbury of Billerica; Tyngsborough of Dunstable; Wakefield of Reading; Waltham of Watertown and Newton; Wayland of Sudbury; Westford of Chelmsford; Weston of Watertown; Wilmington of Woburn and Reading; Winchester of Woburn, Medford and West Cambridge.

◇A large part of Middlesex County in the earliest colonial times was occupied by two Indian nations: the Pawtuckets and the Massachusetts. The Massachusetts, whose chief sachem was Chikataubut, had been a powerful nation and occupied a territory extending from Charles River on the north and west to Weyworth and Canton on the south and east. At the time of the arrival of Winthrop its numbers had much diminished, having suffered from the same scourge which had carried off the tribes in and about Plymouth in 1616, and from the effects of which it had never recovered. The Pawtuckets extended from Charles River as far as Piscataqua on the east, and Concord, New Hampshire, on the north. Their nation included the Pennakooks or Concord Indians; the Agawomes or Ipswich Indians; the Naumkeeks about Salem; the Pascatawayes and Accomentas at York, and along the coast of Maine. The sachem of the Pawtuckets was Nanepashemit, or the New Moon, who lived in the neighborhood of what is now Lynn. In 1637 the squaw sachem or widow of Nanepashemit, who had continued his government, conveyed to the English a large tract of land, and in 1639 a tract of land, which is now within the limits of Charlestown and Somerville, was conveyed by her to the town of Charlestown. In 1644 she, with other sachems, submitted themselves to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

Since the incorporation of the county the following changes in the county lines have been made: The incorporation of the town of Ashby, March 5, 1767, took a portion of Ashburnham and Fitchburg, in Worcester County; the incorporation of Boxborough, February 25, 1783, took a portion of Harvard, in Worcester County. The annexation of Charlestown to Boston, May 14, 1873, and the annexation of Brighton to Boston, May 21, 1873, added those places to Suffolk County; the incorporation of Harvard, in Worcester County, gave a portion of Groton and Stow to Worcester; a part of Holliston was annexed to Milford, in Worcester County, April 1, 1859; the incorporation of Upton, in Worcester County, June 14, 1735, gave a part of Hopkinton to Worcester; the incorporation of Bolton, June 24, 1738, Northborough, January 24, 1766, and Southborough, July 6, 1727, gave a part of Marlborough to Worcester. There were some definitions of town boundaries which may have slightly changed the county lines. These were the lines between Holliston, Hopkinton and Medway, March 27, 1835; between Natick and Wayland, April 20, 1850; between North Reading and Lynnfield, May 27, 1857; between Wakefield and Lynnfield, April 2, 1870.

Middlesex County, of which Cambridge and Lowell are the shires, is situated in the northeast central part of Massachusetts, and has an area of a little more than eight hundred square miles. It is bounded on the north by Essex County and the State of New Hampshire, on the east by Essex and Suffolk Counties, on the south by Norfolk County, and on the west by Worcester County. It is watered by the Charles, Concord, Merrimack and Nashua Rivers and several

smaller streams, and is so thoroughly intersected by railroads as to make Boston easily accessible to almost every town. The business of the county is chiefly manufacturing and agricultural, though the latter interest is showing symptoms of a positive decline. Market gardening has largely increased in the towns near Boston, and this branch of agricultural industry never was more prosperous than to-day. The field of its activity has been pushed, however, farther from the city as the city grows and available lands near its limits become needed for residences of city business-men. The conversion of farms into town lots has largely enhanced their value and made owners who for many years struggled for a livelihood men of wealth and ease. The following list shows the population and property valuation of each town according to the census of 1885:

	POP.	VAL.		POP.	VAL.
Acton	1785	$1,372,254	Maynard	2703	$2,013,578
Arlington	4673	5,136,780	Medford	9042	8,850,274
Ashby	871	481,079	Melrose	6101	4,920,673
Ashland	2633	1,370,165	Natick	8460	5,140,735
Ayer	2190	1,209,608	Newton	19,759	32,349,754
Bedford	930	851,155	North Reading	878	500,894
Belmont	1639	3,444,399	Pepperell	2587	1,497,561
Billerica	2161	1,835,481	Reading	3539	2,431,283
Boxborough	348	260,091	Sherborn	1391	874,009
Burlington	634	486,844	Shirley	1242	734,134
Cambridge	59,658	59,523,260	Somerville	29,971	25,395,291
Carlisle	526	397,260	Stoneham	5659	3,198,070
Chelmsford	2304	1,721,680	Stow	976	1,035,833
Concord	3727	3,595,461	Sudbury	1165	1,109,347
Dracut	1927	1,223,957	Tewksbury	2333	1,376,782
Dunstable	431	332,302	Townsend	1846	1,051,323
Everett	5825	5,406,319	Tyngsborough	604	363,736
Framingham	8275	6,617,694	Wakefield	6060	4,027,866
Groton	1987	3,138,425	Waltham	14,609	11,538,861
Holliston	2226	1,757,973	Watertown	6238	7,007,681
Hopkinton	3922	2,200,238	Wayland	1946	1,298,326
Hudson	3968	2,102,480	Westford	2193	1,131,069
Lexington	2718	3,015,773	Weston	1427	2,431,035
Lincoln	901	1,291,173	Wilmington	991	570,700
Littleton	1067	818,633	Winchester	4390	4,474,736
Lowell	64,107	54,356,503	Woburn	11,750	8,186,121
Malden	16,407	14,019,929			
Marlborough	10,941	4,435,327		357,311	315,911,919

In 1643, at the time of the incorporation of Middlesex County, as has been stated, the judicial power was vested in the General Court, the Court of Assistants (or Great Quarter Court), the Quarter Courts and the Stranger's Courts. After the formation of the county the above courts continued, though the Strangers' Courts were modified, and the Quarter Courts in their respective counties were called County or Inferior Quarter Courts. It had also been provided before the above date, by an act passed September 9, 1639, that records be kept of all wills, adminstrations and inventories of every marriage, birth and death, and of all men, houses and lands. It had before the last date been provided, by a law passed April 1, 1634—

"that the constable and four or more of the chief inhabitants of every town (to be chosen by all the freemen there at some meeting there), with the advice of some one or more of the next assistants, shall make a surveying of the houses, backsides, cornfields, mowing ground, and other lands improved or inclosed or granted by special orders of the court, of every free inhabitant there, and shall enter the same in a book (fairly written in words at length and not in figures), with the several bounds and quantities by the nearest estimation, and shall deliver a transcript thereof into the court within six months now next ensuing, and the same so entered and recorded shall be a sufficient assurance to every such free inhabitant, his and their heirs and assigns, of such estate of inheritance or as they shall have in any such houses, lands or frank tenements. The like course shall be taken for assurance of all houses and town lots of all such as shall be hereafter enfranchised, and every sale or grant of such houses or lots as shall be from time to time entered into the said book by the said constable and four inhabitants or their successors (who shall be still supplied upon death or removal), for which entry the purchasers shall pay sixpence and the like sum for a copy thereof under the hands of the said surveyors or three of them."

A further provision of law concerning lands and titles was made on the 7th of October, 1640, as follows:

"For avoiding all fraudulent conveyances, and that every man may know what estate or interest other men may have inany houses, lands or other hereditaments they are to deal in, it is therefore ordered that after the end of the month no mortgage, bargain sale or grant hereafter to be made of anyhouses, lands, rents or other hereditaments, shall be of force against any other person, except the grantor and his heirs, unless the same be recorded as is hereafter expressed; and that no such bargain, sale or grant already made in way of mortgage where the grantor remains in possession, shall be of force against any other but the grantor or his heirs, except the same shall be entered as is hereafter expressed within one month after the end of this court, if the party be within this jurisdiction, or else within three months after he shall return. And if any such grantor, etc., be required by the grantee, etc., to make an acknowledgment of any grant, etc., by him made, shall refuse so to do, it shall be in the power of any magistrate to send for the party so refusing and commit him to prison, without bail or mayneprise, until he shall acknowledge the same.

"And the grantee is to enter his caution with the recorder, and this shall save his interest in the meantime; and if it be doubtful whether it be the deed or grant of the party, he shall be bound with sureties to the next court and the caution shall remain good as aforesaid.

"And for recording of all such bargains, etc., it is further ordered that there shall be one appointed at Ipswich, for which Mr. Samuel Symonds is chosen for that court to enter all such bargains, sales, etc., of all lands, etc., within the jurisdiction of that court; and Mr. Emanuell Dowing is chosen in like part for the jurisdiction of the court of Salem; and all the rest to be entered by Mr. Stephen Winthrop, the recorder of Boston."

This condition of things of course ceased on the formation of counties in 1643, and then the clerk of the court in each county became the recorder of deeds.

After the incorporation of the counties it was provided by law that "there shall also be county courts held in the several counties by the magistrates living in the respective counties, or any other magistrates that can attend the same, or by such magistrates as the General Court shall appoint from time to time, together with such persons of wealth, where there shall be need, as shall from time to time be appointed by the General Court (at the nomination of the freemen of the county), to be joined in commission with the magistrates so that they may be five in all, three whereof may keep a court provided there be one magistrate; every of which courts shall have full power to hear and determine all causes civil and criminal not extending to life, member or banishment (which, with causes of divorce, are reserved to the Court of Assistants), and to make and constitute clerks and other needful officers and to summon juries of inquest and trials out of the towns of the county." These

County Courts, besides the jurisdiction given to them in the preceding law, retained that which had been held by the Inferior Courts before the formation of counties.

On the 6th of September, 1638, another class of courts was established which continued after the counties were formed. At that date it was ordered "that for avoiding of the county's charge by bringing small causes to the Court of Assistants that any magistrate in the town where he dwell may hear and determine by his discretion all causes wherein the debt or tresspass or damage, etc., doth not exceed twenty shillings, and in such town where no magistrate dwells the General Court shall from time to time nominate three men; two thereof shall have like power to hear and determine all such actions under twenty shillings; and if any of the parties shall find themselves grieved with any such end or sentence, they may appeal to the next Quarter Court or Court of Assistants.

"And if any person shall bring any such action to the Court of Assistants before he hath endeavored to have it ended at home (as in this order is appointed), he shall lose his action and pay the defendant's costs."

It was further enacted in 1647 and 1649, for the purpose of more clearly defining and enlarging the jurisdiction of this petty court, that "any magistrate in the town where he dwells may hear and determine by his discretion (not by jury), according to the laws here established, all causes arising in that county wherein the debt, trespass or damage doth not exceed forty shillings, who may send for parties and witnesses, by summons or attachment directed to the marshal or constable, who shall faithfully execute the same." And "that in such towns where no magistrate dwells the Court of Assistants or County Court may from time to time, upon request of the said town signified under the hand of the constable, appoint three of the freemen as commissioners in such cases, any two whereof shall have like power to hear and determine all such causes wherein either party is an inhabitant of that town, who have hereby power to send for parties and witnesses by summons or attachment directed to the constable, as also to administer oaths to witnesses and to give time to the defendant to answer if they see cause; and if the party summoned refuse to give in his bond or appearance, or sentenced refuse to give satisfaction where no goods appear in the same town where the party dwells, they may charge the constable with the party to carry him before a magistrate or shire court (if then sitting), to be further proceeded with according to law, but the said commissioners may not commit to prison in any case. And where the parties live in several towns the defendant shall be liable to be sued in either town at the liberty of the plaintiff."

And "that in all small causes as aforesaid, where only one magistrate dwells in the town and the cause concerns himself, as also in such towns where no magistrate is, and the cause concerns any of the three commissioners, that in such cases the selectmen of the town shall have power to hear and determine the same, and also to grant execution for the levying and gathering up such damages for the use of the person damnified as one magistrate or three commissioners may do. And no debt or action proper to the cognizance of one magistrate or the three commissioners as aforesaid shall be received into any county court but by appeal from such magistrate or commissioners, except in cases of defamation and battery."

The selectmen were also authorized to try offences against their own by-laws where the penalty did not exceed twenty shillings provided the offence was not, as it was called, a criminal one.

Up to the year 1685 the judicial system of the Province of Massachusetts continued as has been above narrated. First, there was the General Court, with legislative powers and a limited appellate jurisdiction from the Court of Assistants; second, the Court of Assistants or Great Quarter Court, with exclusive jurisdiction in all criminal cases involving life, member or banishment and concurrent jurisdiction with the County Courts in civil cases involving not more than one hundred pounds and appellate jurisdiction from the County Courts; third, the County Courts or Inferior Quarter Courts, with jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases, except cases of divorce and cases involving life, member or banishment, having power to summon grand and petit jurors and to appoint their own clerks and other necessary officers, to lay out highways, license taverns, see that a proper ministry was supported, and have general control of probate matters, prove wills, grant administration, record deeds and mortgages and have appellate jurisdiction from the Commissioners' Courts; fourth, Strangers' Courts held at first by the Governor or Deputy-Governor and two magistrates, or in the absence of the Governor and Deputy, by three magistrates, with the same jurisdiction as the County Courts so far as strangers were concerned, and whose judgments were final; fifth, Commissioners' Courts, and sixth, Selectmen's Courts.

On 18th of June, 1684, a judgment vacating the charter of the Province of Massachusetts Bay was issued, and a copy was received by the Colonial Secretary, Edward Rawson, on the 2d of July of the next year. Joseph Dudley was thereupon appointed by the King, President of Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire and the Narragansett country, and received his commission May 15, 1686. The King also appointed as members of the Council, Simon Bradstreet, Robert Mason, John Fitz Winthrop, John Pynchon, Peter Bulkley, Edward Randolph, Wait Still Winthrop, Richard Wharton, John Usher, Nathaniel Saltonstall, Bartholomew Gedney, Jonathan Tyng, Dudley Bradstreet, John Hincks, Francis Champernon and Edward Tyng; of whom Simon and Dudley Bradstreet, Nathaniel Saltonstall and Francis Champernon declined. The President and Council possessed no leg-

islative power, except to establish such courts as might be necessary. They were a court of themselves and had authority to appoint judges. They established a Superior Court with three sessions a year at Boston, and "Courts of Pleas and Sessions of the Peace" in the several counties. The President assumed probate jurisdiction, but in some counties appointed judges of probate. William Stoughton was appointed to preside in the County Courts of Middlesex, Suffolk and Essex, and John Richards and Simon Lynde were appointed assistants. The appointments were made July 26, 1686, and appeals could be had from these courts to the President and Council. Before the year 1686 had expired, Edmund Andros arrived in Boston, on the 19th of December, and, as Governor, assumed jurisdiction over the whole of New England, including the Plymouth Colony, which was not included in the commission of Dudley.

He appointed thirty-nine members of his Council, and he assumed for the Governor and Council the exclusive power of making and executing the laws, subject only to the royal approval. He gave to justices of the peace civil jurisdiction in cases not affecting lands and not involving a sum exceeding forty shillings. He established the "Quarterly Sessions Court," held by the several justices in their respective counties, and "the Inferior Court of Common Pleas," to be held in each county by a single judge assisted by two or more justices of the county. Their jurisdiction was limited to cases involving sums not exceeding ten pounds, and no question of freehold except in Boston, where the limit was twenty pounds. He established, finally, a Superior Court of Judicature, in which no action could be begun involving less than ten pounds, unless it concerned a question of freehold, and this court was to be held in Boston, Cambridge, Charlestown, Plymouth, Bristol, Newport, Salem, Ipswich, Portsmouth, Falmouth (Portland), Northampton and Springfield. Joseph Dudley was appointed chief justice of this court.

The act establishing these courts was passed by the Governor and Council March 3, 1687. Though the judiciary system thus established was a complete reversal of the old court system, it was a vast improvement on the old and became the model on which the judicial system under the Provincial charter was finally shaped. A Court of Chancery was also created with full equity powers, to be held by the Governor or by a chancellor of his appointment, to be assisted by five or more of the Council. Special Courts of Oyer and Terminer were also created for the trial of offenders. The Commissioners' Courts were retained. Appeals lay from the Quarter Sessions and the Court of Common Pleas to the Superior Court, from the Superior Court to the Governor and Council, and from the Governor and Council and the Court of Chancery to the King.

The Superior Court was organized with Joseph Ddley, chief justice, and William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley associates. At a later time Samuel Shrimpton, Simon Lynde and Charles Lidget are mentioned as having sat as associates. John Palmer sat as chief justice in 1688. The courts, however, during the administration of Andros were mere mockeries of justice. As the supple tool of a tyrant, his whole career while Governor served to exasperate the people and to lay one of the stones in the foundation of a structure which was destined, under the pressure of tyrannical hands, to become a free and independent republic. When the news of the landing of the Prince of Orange in England reached Boston, a revolution broke out on the 18th of April, 1689, and Andros was seized and imprisoned. In February, 1690, he was sent back to England, and in 1692 was appointed Governor of Maryland and Virginia. From this last position he was removed in 1698, and, returning home, died in 1714. After the overthrow of Andros and his government the old judiciary system which had existed under the charter was resumed, and continued in operation until the union of the Colonies, in 1692.

On the 7th of October, 1691, a new charter was issued, which embraced Massachusetts, Plymouth, Maine, Nova Scotia, with intervening territories, together with Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, which had previously belonged to New York, under the name of the "Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." This charter reached Boston on the 14th of May, 1692, and under its provisions the government consisted of a Governor, Deputy-Governor and Secretary, appointed by the King and Councillors, chosen by the General Court, and a House of Representatives, chosen annually by the people. The Governor had the power of veto, and all acts and elections by the General Court must, in order to be valid, receive the approval of the King. The General Court was authorized "to erect and constitute judicatories and courts of records or other courts," and the Governor and Council could appoint judges, sheriffs, justices of the peace and other officers of the courts. The charter gave to the Governor and Council the control of probate matters, but this control was delegated by them in each county to judges of their appointment. No judicial power remained in the hands of the General Court, as under the colonial charter. The first court organized under the new charter was a special Court of Oyer and Terminer, created by William Phipps, the first Provincial Governor, for the purpose of trying persons charged with witchcraft. On the 2d of June, 1692, the Governor issued his commission appointing William Stoughton chief justice; Nathaniel Saltonstall, John Richards, Bartholomew Gedney, Wait Winthrop, Samuel Sewall and Peter Sergeant, associate justices; Stephen Sewall, clerk; Thomas Newton, attorney-general, and George Corwen, sheriff. Nathaniel Saltonstall declined, and Jonathan Curwin was appointed in his place, and Thomas Newton was succeeded as attorney-

general on the 22d of July by Anthony Checkley. Nathaniel Saltonstall seems to have been a man of sagacity and prudence. He had declined to serve as a member of Dudley's Council, and now evidently avoided the precarious complications of the prevailing witchcraft mania. The first meeting of this court was at Salem, on the 2d of June, 1692. Its subsequent meetings were on the 28th of June, the 3d of August, and 9th and 17th of September, after which the court dissolved. During this period nineteen persons were tried, condemned and hung for witchcraft, and one was pressed to death. There is nothing in the history of New England so revolting as the record of this court. That men like Samuel Sewall, called by his eulogists a man of "learning, integrity and piety," should have been carried away by such an infatuation impresses us with the conviction that human nature, in all the centuries, is the same, and that what are called the barbarities of a dark age can be fully paralleled by the atrocities of an age of boasted civilization. If we seek an apology for the mania it is possible that we may find a shadow of one in the fact that our fathers believed in the verbal inspiration from God of the Scriptures which inculcated a belief in witchcraft, and which declared, in the 18th verse of the 22d chapter of Exodus: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live."

The first meeting of the General Court under the new charter was held on the 28th of June, 1692. Its first act was the following, continuing the local laws to stand in force till November the 10th, 1692:

"Be it ordered and enacted by the Governor, Council and Representatives convened in General Assembly, and it is hereby ordered and enacted by the authority of the same, that all the local laws respectively ordered and made by the late Governor and company of the Massachusetts Bay and the late government of New Plymouth being not repugnant to the laws of England, nor inconsistent with the present constitution and settlement by their majesties royal charter, do remain and continue in full force in the respective places for which they were made and used, until the tenth day of November next; except in cases where other provision is or shall be made by this court or assembly.

"And all persons are required to conform themselves accordingly: and the several justices are hereby empowered to the execution of said laws as the magistrates formerly were."

A subsequent act was passed continuing the local laws in force until the General Assembly should otherwise order. On the 25th of November, 1692, an act was passed entitled "An Act for the Establishing of Judicatories and Courts of Justice within this Province," from which the following are extracts:

"SEC. 1. Be it enacted and ordained by his excellency, the Governor, council and representatives convened in General Assembly, and it is herely enacted and ordained by the authority of the same, that all manner of debts, trespasses and other matters not exceeding the value of forty shillings, wherein the title of land is not concerned, shall and may be heard, tried, adjudged and determined by any of their majesties' justices of the peace of this Province within the respective counties where he resides; who is hereby empowered, upon complaint made, to grant a warrant or summons against the party complained of seven days before the day of trial or hearing, etc.

. . . . . .

"SEC. 2. Be it further enacted and ordained by the authority aforesaid that there shall be held and kept in each respective county within this Province yearly, at the times and places hereafter named and expressed four courts or quarter sessions of the peace by the justices of the peace of the same county, who are hereby empowered to hear and determine all matters relating to the conservation of the peace and punishment of offenders and whatsoever is by them cognizable according to law, that is to say, For the county of Suffolk, at Boston, on the first Tuesdays in March, June, September and December: For the county of Plymouth, at Plymouth, on the third Tuesdays in March, June, September and December: For the county of Essex, at Salem, on the last Tuesdays in June and December; at Ipswich on the last Tuesday in March; and at Newbury on the last Tuesday in September: For the county of Middlesex, at Charlestown, on the second Tuesdays in March and December; at Cambridge on the second Tuesday in September and at Concord on the second Tuesday of June: For the county of Barnstable, at Barnstable, on the first Tuesdays in April, July, October and January: at Bristol for the county of Bristol on the second Tuesdays in April, July, October and January: For the county of York, at York, on the first Tuesdays in April and July; and at Wells on the first Tuesdays in October and January: And for the county of Hampshire, at Northampton, on the first Tuesdays in March and June; at Springfield on the last Tuesdays in September and December: And that there be a general sessions of the peace held and kept at Edgartown, upon the island of Capawock, alias Martha's Vineyard, and on the island of Nantucket respectively upon the last Tuesday in March and on the first Tuesday of October yearly, from time to time.

"SEC. 3. And it is further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That at the times and places above-mentioned there shall be held and kept in each respective county and islands before named within this Province an Inferior Court of Common Pleas, by four of the justices of, and residing within the same county and islands respectively to be appointed and commissioned thereto; any three of whom to be a quorum for the hearing and determining of all civil actions arising or happening within the same, triable at the common law, of what nature, kind or quality soever; and upon judgment given therein to award execution, etc.

. . . . . .

"SEC. 4. And it is further enacted by the authority aforesaid that there shall be a Superior Court of Judicature over this whole Province, to be held and kept annually at the respective times and places hereafter mentioned by one Chief Justice and four other justices to be appointed and commissionated for the same: three of whom to be a quorum, who shall have cognisance of all pleas, real, personal or mixt, as well in all pleas of the crown and in all matters relating to the conservation of the peace and punishment of offenders, as in civil causes or actions between party and party and between their majesties and any of their subjects, whether the same do concern the realty and relate to any right of freehold and inheritance or whether the same do concern the personalty and relate to matter of debt, contract, damage or personal injury; and also in all mixt actions which may concern both realty and personalty; and after deliberate hearing to give judgment and award execution thereon. The said Superior Court to be held and kept at the times and places within the respective counties following; that is to say, Within the county of Suffolk, at Boston, on the last Tuesdays of April and October; Within the county of Middlesex, at Charlestown, on the last Tuesdays of July and January; Within the county of Essex, at Salem, on the second Tuesday of November; and at Ipswich on the second Tuesday of May; Within the counties of Plymouth, Barnstable and Bristol at Plymouth, on the last Tuesday of February and at Bristol on the last Tuesday of August.

"SEC. 12. And it is hereby further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that there be a High Court of Chancery within this Province, who shall have power and authority to hear and determine all matters of equity of what nature, kind or quality soever, and all controversies, disputes and differences arising betwixt co-executors, and other matters proper and cognizable to said court not relievable by common law; the said court to be holden and kept by the Governor or such others as he shall appoint to be Chancellor, assisted with eight or more of the Council, who may appoint all necessary officers to the said Council."

This act continued in force until advice of its disallowance or repeal by the Privy Council was received. The repeal was dated August 22, 1695, and its reasons were expressed in the following words: "Whereas, by the act, etc., divers courts being established by the said act, it is hereby further provided that if either party not being satisfied with ye judg-

ment of any of ye said courts in personall actions not exceeding £300 (and no other), they may appeal to His Majesty in Councill, which proviso not being according to the words of the charter, and appeals to the King in Councill in reall actions, seeming thereby to be excluded, it hath been thought fit to repeal the said act."

On the 19th of June, 1697, another act was passed establishing courts, which was disallowed Nov. 24, 1698, because it provided, among other things, "that all matters and issues in fact shall be tried by a jury of twelve men," which proviso was looked upon as directly contrary to the intention of the Act of Parliament entitled An Act for preventing frauds and regulating abuses in the plantation trade, by which it was provided that all causes relating to the breach of the Acts of Trade might, at the pleasure of the officer or informer, be tried in the Court of Admiralty in which court trials were not held with juries of twelve men.

On the 26th of June, 1699, three acts were passed establishing a Court of General Sessions of the Peace, and an Inferior Court of Common Pleas in each county and a Superior Court of Judicature for the Province. The Court of General Sessions of the Peace was required to be held in each county, yearly, at specified times and places by the justices of the peace of said county, who were empowered to hear and determine all matters relating to the conservation of the peace and punishment of offenders. The Inferior Court of Common Pleas was to be held in each county by four substantial persons to be commissioned as justices, any three of whom were to be a quorum who should have cognizance of all civil actions arising or happening within the county triable at common law, provided that no action under forty shillings be brought into said court unless where freehold was concerned, or upon appeal from a justice of the peace. The Superior Court of Judicature was to be held at specified times and places in the Province by one chief justice and four other justices, who should have cognizance of all pleas, real, personal or mixed, as well as all pleas of the crown and all matters relating to the conservation of the peace and punishment of offenders. It was to be held at Boston for the county of Suffolk on the first Tuesdays of November and May; for the county of Middlesex at Cambridge on the last Tuesday in July, and at Charlestown on the last Tuesday of January; for the county of Hampshire at Springfield on the second Tuesday of August; for the county of York at Kittery on the Thursday before the Ipswich Court; for the counties of Plymouth, Barnstable and Dukes at Plymouth on the last Tuesday of March; and for the county of Bristol at Bristol on the second Tuesday of September

The Court of Chancery established by the act of November 25, 1692, was re-established by a separate act in 1698, and Admiralty jurisdiction, as has been already stated, was reserved for the King. Besides these courts, and completing the list of courts, was the Court of Justices of the Peace. The disallowed act of 1692 gave the justices of the peace jurisdiction "in all manner of debts, trespasses and other matters not exceeding forty shillings in value, wherein the title of land was not concerned." In 1697 a special act was passed re-enacting substantially the provisions of the act which had been disallowed, so far as the civil jurisdiction of the justices was concerned. From time to time subsequently, the powers of justices, both in civil and criminal matters, were enlarged. But one other important court remains to be mentioned, but one established not by any law of the General Court, but by the Governor and Council under the charter. In probate matters jurisdiction had been exercised during the colonial period by the common law courts. During the administration of Andros it was assumed by the Governor, but by the charter it was conferred on the Governor and Council, who, claiming the power of substitution, delegated these powers to a judge of probate of their own appointment in each county, reserving to themselves appellate jurisdiction.

The Superior Court of Judicature, which was permanently established June 20, 1699, continued until February 20, 1781, during which time the following appointments of justices were made:

1692, William Stoughton (chief justice), Thomas Danforth, Waitstill Winthrop (chief justice 1708), John Richards, Samuel Sewall (chief justice 1718); 1695, Elisha Cooke; 1700, John Walley; 1701, John Saffin; 1702, Isaac Addington (chief justice 1703), John Hathorne, John Leverett; 1708, Jonathan Curwin; 1712, Benjamin Lynde (chief justice 1728), Nathaniel Thomas; 1715, Addington Davenport; 1718, Edward Quincy, Paul Dudley (chief justice 1745); 1728, John Cushing; 1733, Jonathan Remington; 1736, Richard Saltonstall; 1738, Thomas Graves; 1739, Stephen Sewall (chief justice 1752); 1745, Nathaniel Hubbard, Benjamin Lynde (chief justice 1771); 1747, John Cushing; 1752, Chambers Russell; 1756, Peter Oliver (chief justice 1772); 1760, Thomas Hutchinson (chief justice 1760); 1767, Edmund Trowbridge; 1771, Foster Hutchinson; 1772, Nathaniel Ropes; 1774, William Brown; 1775, William Cushing (chief justice 1777), John Adams (chief justice 1775), Nathaniel P. Sargeant, William Reed. Robert Treat Paine; 1776, Jedidiah Foster, James Sullivan; 1777, David Sewall.

Of these, Thomas Danforth, Chambers Russell and Edmund Trowbridge may be said to have been Middlesex County men.

On the 20th of February, 1781, an act was passed by the General Court of Massachusetts, establishing the Supreme Judicial Court as the successor of the Superior Court of Judicature. It was established with one chief justice and four associates. In the year 1800 the number of associates was increased to six and the State was divided into two circuits, the east including Essex County and Maine, and the west including the remainder of the State except Suffolk County. In 1805 the number of associates was reduced to four, and in 1852 was increased to five. In 1873 the number of associates was increased to six, and the court has continued up to this time with one chief justice and six associates. The justices of this court have been:

Increase Sumner, 1782 to 1797; Francis Dana, 1785 to 1806 (chief justice 1791); Theophilus Parsons, 1806 to 1813 (chief justice 1806); Robert Treat Paine, 1790 to 1804; Nathan Cushing, 1790 to 1800;

Thomas Dawes, 1792 to 1802; Theophilus Bradbury, 1797 to 1803; Samuel Sewall, 1800 to 1828 (chief justice 1814); Simeon Strong, 1801 to 1805; George Thacher, 1801 to 1824; Theodore Sedgwick, 1802 to 1813; Isaac Parker, 1806 to 1830 (chief justice 1814); Charles Jackson, 1813 to 1823; Daniel Dewey, 1814 to 1815; Samuel Putnam, 1814 to 1842; Samuel Sumner Wilde, 1815 to 1850; Levi Lincoln, 1824 to 1825; Marcus Morton, 1825 to 1840; Lemuel Shaw, 1830 to 1860 (chief justice 1830); Charles Augustus Dewey, 1837 to 1866; Samuel Hubbard, 1842 to 1847; Charles Edward Forbes, 1848 to 1848; Theron Metcalf, 1848 to 1865; Richard Fletcher, 1848 to 1853; George Tyler Bigelow, 1850 to 1868 (chief justice 1860); Caleb Cushing, 1852 to 1853; Benj. Franklin Thomas, 1853 to 1859; Pliny Merrick, 1853 to 1864; Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, 1859 to 1869; Reuben Atwater Chapman, 1860 to 1873 (chief justice 1868); Horace Gray Jr., 1864 to 1882 (chief justice 1873); James Denison Colt, 1865 to 1866; Dwight Foster, 1866 to 1869; John Wells, 1866 to 1875; James Denison Colt, 1868 to 1881; Seth Ames, 1869 to 1881; M. Morton, 1869 (chief justice 1882 to 1890); W. C. Endicott, 1873 to 1882; Charles Devens, Jr., 1873 to 1877; Otis Phillips Lord, 1875 to 1882; A. L. Soule, 1877 to 1881; W. A. Field, 1881 (chief justice 1890); Charles Devens, 1881; William Allen, 1881; Charles Allen, 1882; Waldo Colburn, 1882 to 1885; Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., 1882; Wm. Sewall Gardner, 1885 to 1887; Marcus Perrin Knowlton, 1887; James M. Morton, 1890.

Of these justices, Francis Dana, George Tyler Bigelow, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, Seth Ames and Charles Devens, Jr., were Middlesex men, and reference to them will be made in the chapter on the Bench and Bar.

The judges of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for the county of Middlesex were as follows:

John Phillips, December 7, 1692, to December 9, 1715; James Russell, December 7, 1692, to April 28, 1709; Joseph Lynde, December 7, 1692, to June 27, 1719; Samuel Hayman, December 7, 1692, to June 29, 1702; Jonathan Tyng, June 29, 1702, to June 27, 1719; Francis Foxcroft, June 23, 1709, to June 27, 1719; Jonathan Remington, December 9, 1715, to June 22, 1733; Jonathan Dowse, June 27, 1719, to July 21, 1741; Charles Chambers, June 27, 1719, to December 21, 1739; Francis Fulham, June 27, 1719, to June 20, 1755; Thomas Greaves, June 22, 1733, to March 9, 1737–38; Francis Foxcroft, March 9, 1737–38, to March 7, 1764; Thomas Greaves, December 21, 1739, to August 19, 1747; Samuel Danforth, July 21, 1741; Chambers Russell, August 19, 1747, to April 7, 1752; Andrew Boardman, April 7, 1752, to May 20, 1769; William Lawrence, June 26, 1755, to September 7, 1763; John Tyng, September 7, 1763; Richard Foster, March 7, 1764, to May 16, 1771; Joseph Lee, May 24, 1769; James Russell, May 16, 1771.

The special justices of this court were:

Elisha Hutchinson, appointed June 8, 1705, and February 25, 1708; John Foster, June 8, 1705, and February 25, 1708; John Higginson, June 8, 1705, and February 25, 1708; Penn Townsend, February 25, 1708; Jonathan Tyng, February 25, 1708; Jonathan Dowse, December 3, 1718; Jonas Bond, December 3, 1718, and September 6, 1723; Nathaniel Carey, November 25, 1719; Spencer Phips, September, 6, 1723, July 18, 1726, and July 9, 1731; Thomas Greaves, November 25, 1719, and July 9, 1731; Henry Phillips, August 3, 1729; Francis Foxcroft, March 19, 1729–30, and July 9, 1731; Habijah Savage, December 15, 1732; Samuel Wells, December 15, 1732; Samuel Danforth, December 15, 1732; Jacob Wendell, December 29, 1736; Benjamin Prescott, December 29, 1736; Simon Tufts, July 25, 1741; Ephraim Curtis, July 25, 1741; William Lawrence, August 12, 1749, and June 21, 1751; John Tyng, July 19, 1762; Oliver Fletcher, July 29, 1762; Joseph Lee, March 7, 1764; Samuel Livermore, September 7, 1768; Charles Prescott, September 7, 1768.

The last term of this court under the Province charter was held May 21, 1774. On the 2d of November, 1775, commissions were issued to John Tyng, Henry Gardner, John Remington and Samuel P. Savage, which superseded the old commissions held by John Tyng, Samuel Danforth, Joseph Lee and James Russell. The court continued in its old form until July 3, 1782, when the Court of Common Pleas was established, to be held within each county at specified times and places, with four judges appointed by the Governor from within the county. The justices of this court, which continued until June 21, 1811, were the following: John Tyng, Henry Gardner, John Remington, Samuel Phillips Savage, Abraham Fuller, James Prescott, Nathaniel Gorham, James Winthrop, William Hull and Ephraim Wood. The special justices were: Josiah Stone, Ebenezer Bridge, John Pitts, Eleazer Brooks, James Winthrop, William Hull, Ephraim Wood, Joseph B. Varnum, Loammi Baldwin, Abiel Hayward, Phillips Payson, Joseph Cordes, Joseph Heald and Asahel Stearns. At the last-mentioned date an act was passed dividing the Commonwealth—except Nantucket and Dukes County—into six circuits, as follows: the Middle Circuit, consisting of the counties of Suffolk, Essex and Middlesex; the Western Circuit, consisting of the counties of Worcester, Hampshire and Berkshire; the Southern Circuit, consisting of the counties of Norfolk, Plymouth, Bristol and Barnstable; the Eastern Circuit, consisting of the counties of York, Cumberland and Oxford; the Second Eastern Circuit, consisting of the counties of Lincoln, Kennebec and Somerset, and the Third Eastern Circuit, consisting of the counties of Hancock and Washington. The act provided that there should be held in the several counties, at the times and places appointed for holding the Courts of Common Pleas, a Circuit Court of Common Pleas, consisting of one chief justice and two associate justices, to whom were to be added two sessions justices from said county, to sit with the court in their county.

The Court of General Sessions of the Peace, which was established in 1692, remained without material change during the Provincial period, and up to June 19, 1807, when an act was passed providing that it should consist of one chief justice and a specified number of associates for the several counties, to be appointed by the Governor. These justices were to act as the General Court of Sessions instead of the justices of the peace in each county. On the 19th of June, 1809, the jurisdiction of the General Court of Sessions was transferred to the Court of Common Pleas, and, on the 25th of June, 1811, a law was passed providing "that from and after the first day of December next an act made and passed the 19th of June, entitled 'an Act to transfer the powers and duties of the Courts of Sessions to the Courts of Common Pleas,' be and the same is hereby repealed, and that all acts or parts of acts relative to the Courts of Sessions which were in force at the time the act was in force which is hereby repealed, be and the same are hereby revived from and after the said first day of September next."

Again, on the 28th of February, 1814, it was enacted that the act of June 25, 1811, reviving the Courts of Sessions, be repealed except so far as it relates to the counties of Suffolk, Nantucket and Dukes County, and that all petitions, recognizances, warrants, orders,

certificates, reports and processes made to, taken from, or continued or returnable to the Court of Sessions in the several counties, except as aforesaid, shall be returnable to and proceeded in and determined by the respective Circuit Courts of Common Pleas, which were established, as above mentioned, June 21, 1811. The act containing the above provision also provided "that from and after the first day of June next the Circuit Courts of Common Pleas shall have, exercise and perform all powers, authorities and duties which the respective Courts of Sessions have, before the passage of this act, exercised and performed, except in the counties of Suffolk, Nantucket and Dukes County, and that the Governor, by and with the advice of the Council, be authorized to appoint two persons in each county, who shall be session justices of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas in their respective counties, and sit with the justices of said Circuit Court in the administration of the affairs of the county and of all matters within said county of which the Courts of Sessions had cognizance."

The administration of county matters was in the hands of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas until February 20, 1819, when an act was passed repealing the act which transferred the powers and duties of the Courts of Sessions to that court, and providing that "from and after the first day of June next the Court of Sessions in the several counties shall be held by one chief justice and two associates, to be appointed by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council, who shall have all the powers, rights and privileges, and be subject to all the duties which are now vested in the Circuit Courts of Common Pleas relative to the erection and repair of jails and other county buildings, the allowance and settlement of county accounts, the estimate, apportionment and issuing warrants for assessing county taxes, granting licenses, laying out, altering and discontinuing highways, and appointing committees and ordering juries for that purpose."

The Court of Sessions continued as above described until March 4, 1826, when the jurisdiction over highways was vested by law in a board of "Commissioners of Highways." The act providing for this board enacted "that for each county in the Commonwealth, except the counties of Suffolk and Nantucket, there shall be appointed and commissioned by His Excellency the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Council, to hold their offices for five years, unless removed by the Governor and Council, five commissioners of highways, except in the counties of Dukes and Barnstable, in which there shall be appointed only three, who shall be inhabitants of such county, one of whom shall be designated as chairman by his commission." The proceedings of the commission were to be reported to the Court of Sessions for record, and that court was to draw its warrant on the county treasurer for expenses incurred in the construction of roads laid out by the commissioners.

Such was the condition of county affairs until the 26th of February, 1828, when a law was passed providing "that the Act entitled 'An Act to establish Courts of Sessions, passed February 20, 1819;' also an Act in addition thereto passed February 21, 1820; also an Act entitled 'An Act increasing the numbers and extending the powers of Justices of the Courts of Sessions,' passed February 6, 1822; also an Act entitled 'An Act in addition to an Act directing the method of laying out highways,' passed March 4, 1826, be and the same are hereby repealed." It provided for the appointment by the Governor of four persons to be county commissioners for each of the counties of Essex, Middlesex, Norfolk and Worcester, and three persons to be county commissioners for each of the other counties of the Commonwealth, except the county of Suffolk; that the clerks of the Courts of Common Pleas within the several counties should be the clerks of the commissioners, and that for each of the counties except Suffolk, Middlesex, Essex, Worcester, Norfolk and Nantucket, two persons should be appointed to act as special commissioners.

The first meeting of the Board of County Commissioners appointed under the above act was held May 13, 1828, and the board consisted of Caleb Butler, Augustus Tower, Benjamin F. Varnum and David Townsend. In 1831 Abner Wheeler was appointed in the place of Mr. Varnum, and no other change occurred on the board while the appointment of its members rested with the Governor and Council.

On the 8th of April, 1835, a law was passed providing that in every county except Suffolk and Nantucket the Judge of Probate, Register of Probate and clerk of the Common Pleas Court should be a board of examiners, and that on the first Monday of May in the year 1835, and on the first Monday of April in every third year thereafter, the people should cast their votes for three county commissioners and two special commissioners. This law remained in force until 1854. Under its operation the board consisted of the following members, chosen in the years set against their respective names: 1835, Caleb Butler, David Townsend, Abner Wheeler; 1838, Caleb Butler, Abner Wheeler, Timothy Fletcher; 1841, Leonard M. Parker, Timothy Fletcher, Seth Davis; 1844, Josiah Adams, Timothy Fletcher, Josiah B. French; and Ebenezer Barker was chosen in 1845 to fill a vacancy; 1847, Josiah Adams, Ebenezer Barker, Joshua Swan; 1850, Daniel S. Richardson, Ebenezer Barker, Leonard Huntress; 1853, Leonard Huntress, Daniel S. Richardson, John K. Going.

On the 11th of March, 1854, the law in force at the present time was passed, providing that the county commissioners then in office in the several counties, except Suffolk and Nantucket, should be divided into three classes—the first class holding office until the next annual election for Governor—the second class until election day in 1855, and the third class until election day in 1856, the commissioners then in office

determining by lot to which class each should belong, and that at each annual election thereafter one commissioner be chosen for three years. The commissioners since that time have been the following: Leonard Huntress, John K. Going, Paul H. Sweetser, Edward J. Collins, J. H. Waitt, Harrison Harwood, Daniel G. Walton, J. Henry Reed, William S. Frost, Alphonzo M. Lunt and Samuel O. Upham.

The commissioners of Middlesex County include within their jurisdiction Chelsea, North Chelsea and Winthrop, which belong to Suffolk County. Chelsea and North Chelsea were placed under their jurisdiction by an act passed May 3, 1850, and when Winthrop was set off from North Chelsea, March 27, 1852, it continued within its old jurisdiction. It was provided by law, April 30, 1852, that for expenses applicable to those towns they should pay in such proportions as the commissioners should decide.

The Circuit Court of Common Pleas, which was established June 21, 1811, was abolished on the 14th of February, 1821. The justices of this court, during its continuance, for the middle circuit, consisting of Suffolk, Middlesex and Essex Counties, were Samuel Dana, chief justice; William Wetmore and Stephen Minot, associate justices. The first session of this court was held at Cambridge December 16, 1811, and its last at Concord, June 11, 1821. The Court of Common Pleas was established at the above date with a chief justice and three associate justices, and the first session in Middlesex County was held at Cambridge September 10, 1821. On the 1st of March, 1843, the number of associates was increased to four, on the 18th of March, 1845, to six, and on the 24th of May, 1851, to seven. This court continued until the establishment of the present Superior Court, by a law passed April 5, 1859. During its continuance the following judges sat upon the bench:

Artemas Ward, 1821 to 1839 (chief justice 1821); Solomon Strong, 1821 to 1842; John Mason Williams, 1821 to 1844 (chief justice 1839); Samuel Howe, 1821 to 1828; David Cummins, 1828 to 1844; Charles Henry Warren, 1839 to 1844; Charles Allen, 1842 to 1844; Pliny Merrick, 1843 to 1848; Daniel Wells, 1844 to 1854 (chief justice 1844); Joshua Holyoke Ward, 1844 to 1848; Emory Washburn, 1844 to 1847; Luther Stearns Cushing, 1844 to 1848; Harrison Gray Otis Colby, 1845 to 1847; Charles Edward Forbes, 1847 to 1848; Edward Mellen, 1847 to 1859 (chief justice 1854); George Tyler Bigelow, 1848 to 1850; Jonathan Coggswell Perkins, 1848 to 1859; Horatio Byington, 1848 to 1856; Thomas Hopkinson, 1848 to 1849; Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, 1849 to 1853; Pliny Merrick, 1850 to 1854; Henry Walker Bishop, 1851 to 1859; George Nixon Briggs, 1853 to 1859; George Partridge Sanger, 1854 to 1859; Henry Morris, 1855 to 1859; David Aikin, 1856 to 1859.

Of these, Edward Mellen, George T. Bigelow, Thomas Hopkinson and Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar were Middlesex men.

On the 5th of April, 1859, the Superior Court was established as the successor of the Court of Common Pleas, with ten justices, which number was increased, May 19, 1875, to eleven, and February 27, 1888, to fourteen. The justices of this court have been as follows:

Charles Allen, 1859 to 1867 (chief justice 1859); Julius Rockwell, 1859 to 1886; Otis Phillips Lord, 1859 to 1875; Marcus Morton, Jr., 1859 to 1869; Seth Ames, 1859 to 1869 (chief justice 1867); Ezra Wilkinson, 1859 to 1882; Henry Vose, 1859 to 1869; Thomas Russell, 1859 to 1867; John Phelps Putnam, 1859 to 1882; Lincoln Flagg Brigham, 1859 (chief justice 1869 to 1890); Chester I. Reed, 1867 to 1871; Charles Devens, Jr., 1867 to 1873; Henry Austin Scudder, 1869 to 1872; Francis Henshaw Dewey, 1869 to 1881; Robert Carter Pitman, 1869; John William Bacon, 1871 to 1885; William Allen, 1872 to 1881; Peleg Emory Aldrich, 1873; Waldo Colburn, 1875 to 1882; Wm. Sewall Gardner, 1875 to 1885; Hamilton Barclay Staples, 1881; Marcus Perrin Knowlton, 1881 to 1887; C. Blodgett, 1882; A. Mason, 1882 (chief justice 1890); J. Madison Barker, 1882; Charles P. Thompson, 1885; John Wilkes Hammond, 1886; Justin Dewey, 1886; Edgar J. Sherman, 1887; John Lathrop, 1888; James R. Dunbar, 1888; Robert R. Bishop, 1888.

Of these, Seth Ames, Charles Devens, Jr., John William Bacon, John W. Hammond, Wm. Sewall Gardner and Robert R. Bishop were Middlesex men.

During the Colonial period under the charter, Probate matters as has been stated, were in the hands of the County Court. During the presidency of Dudley he assumed Probate jurisdiction but delegated it in some of the counties to judges of Probate whom he appointed. During the administration of Andros the settlement of estates exceeding fifty pounds he personally directed, delegating others to judges of his appointment. After the deposition of Andros the colonial method was resumed, and continued until the union of the Colonies, in 1692. Though the Provincial charter conferred the jurisdiction of Probate affairs on the Governor and Council, they claimed and exercised the right to delegate their powers to judges and registers of Probate in the several counties. There was no regular Probate Court established by law until March 12, 1784, when it was provided that a judge and register should be appointed by the Governor and Council. Under an amendment of the Constitution ratified by the people on the 23d of May, 1855, it was provided that at the annual election in 1856, and in every fifth year thereafter, the register should be chosen by the people for a term of five years. The judge remained as the appointee of the Governor. In 1856 a Court of Insolvency in each county was established by law, with a judge and register, and in 1858 the judge and register of this court were abolished, as well as the judge and register of Probate, and the offices of judge and register of Probate and Insolvency were created. In the same year, 1858, it was provided that the register of Probate and Insolvency should be chosen at the annual election in that year and every fifth year afterwards for a term of five years.

The following persons have filled the offices of judge and register of Probate, judge and register of Insolvency, and judge and register of Probate and Insolvency since the union of the Colonies, in 1692:

Judges of Probate.—James Russell, appointed June 18, 1692; John Leverett, appointed Oct. 23, 1702; Francis Foxcroft, appointed July 8, 1708; Jonathan Remington, appointed Sept. 30, 1725; Samuel Danforth, appointed Dec. 20, 1745; John Winthrop, appointed Sept. 6, 1775; Oliver Prescott, appointed about July, 1779; James Prescott, appointed Feb. 1, 1805; Samuel Phillips, Prescott Fay, appointed May 9, 1821; William Adams Richardson, appointed April 7, 1856, and held until July 1, 1858; Luther J. Fletcher, appointed judge of Insolvency 1857; William Adams Richardson, appointed judge of Probate and Insolvency May

13, 1858, to take office July 1, 1858; George M. Brooks, appointed judge of Probate and Insolvency, 1872.

Registers of Probate.—Samuel Phipps, appointed June 18, 1692; Thomas Swan, appointed Oct. 23, 1702; Nicholas Fessenden, appointed Sept. 15, 1705; Daniel Foxcroft, appointed Dec. 28, 1709; Thomas Foxcroft, appointed Dec. 9, 1715; Francis Foxcroft, appointed July 3, 1729; Samuel Danforth, appointed July 9, 1731; Andrew Boardman, appointed Dec. 20, 1745; Andrew Boardman, Jr. (appointed special register on death of his father), 1769; William Kneeland, appointed May 29, 1769; James Winthrop, appointed Sept 6, 1775; James Foster, appointed May 26, 1817; Isaac Fiske, appointed Oct. 29, 1817.

Registers of Insolvency.—Alonzo V. Lynde, appointed July 1, 1851; Alfred A. Prescott, appointed March 10, 1853; Joseph H. Tyler, appointed register of Insolvency 1856; Joseph H. Tyler, appointed register of Probate and Insolvency Nov., 1858; Isaac F. Jones, appointed assistant register of Probate and Insolvency January, 1859; Samuel H. Folsom, appointed assistant register of Probate and Insolvency 1877.

During the period of the Colony the officer corresponding to the sheriff of later times was called marshal. The names of the marshals of the Colony have already been given. Since the charter creating the Province of Massachusetts Bay the sheriffs of the county have been the following:

Sheriffs.—Timothy Phillips, appointed 1692; Samuel Gookin, appointed 1702; Edmund Goffe, appointed 1715; Samuel Gookin, appointed 1728; Samuel Dummer, appointed 1729; Richard Foster, Jr., appointed 1731; Richard Foster, appointed 1761; David Phipps, appointed 1764; James Prescott, appointed 1779; Loammi Baldwin, appointed 1781; Joseph Hosmer, appointed 1794; William Hildreth, appointed 1808; Nathaniel Austin, Jr., appointed 1813; Benjamin F. Varnum, appointed 1831; Samuel Chandler, appointed 1841; Fisher A. Hildreth, appointed 1851; John S. Keyes, appointed 1853.

Under the nineteenth article of amendments to the Constitution, ratified in 1855, a law was passed in 1856 providing that at the annual election in that year, and in every third year thereafter, a sheriff should be chosen in each county by the people. Under that law the following sheriffs have been chosen:

John S. Keyes, 1856; Charles Kimball, 1859, '62, '65, '68, '71, '74, '77; Ebenezer W. Fiske, 1880; Henry G. Cushing, 1883, '86, '89.

Up to the year 1654 the treasurer of the Colony acted as treasurer for the county. In that year, and by renewal in 1692, a law was passed providing that in each county a treasurer should be annually chosen by the people. A similar law remained in force until 1855. The following treasurers have held office in Middlesex County:

Thomas Danforth, until 1657; Edward Goffe, until 1658; John Stedman, until 1683; Samuel Andrew, until 1700 (except during the administration of Andros); Ebenezer Bridge, until 1807; John L. Tuttle, until 1813; John Keyes, until 1837; Stedman Buttrick, until 1855.

In 1855 it was enacted that a county treasurer should be chosen in that year in each county, and every third year thereafter, for the term of three years. Under the new law the following were chosen:

Amos Stone, 1855, '58, '61, '64, '67, '70, '73, '76, '79, '82; Joseph O. Hayden, 1885, '88.

During the Colonial period the clerks of the courts were appointed by the courts. During the Provincial period the clerks of the County Courts and those of the Superior Court of Judicature, and afterwards, until 1797, of the Supreme Judicial Court, were distinct, and the latter two clerks had their offices in Boston. Until 1811 the appointment of clerks lay with the courts, when it was vested in the Governor and Council and so remained until 1814, when it was given to the Supreme Judicial Court. In 1856 it was provided by law that in that year and every fifth year thereafter, clerks should be chosen by the people in the several counties. The following is probably a correct list of clerks from the incorporation of the county, in 1643, to the present time:

Thomas Danforth, under the Colonial charter; Samuel Phipps, 1689; Francis Foxcroft, 1721; John Foxcroft, 1766; Thadeus Mason, 1774; Thadeus Mason and Wm. Swan, 1785; Abraham Bigelow, 1790; Elias Phinney, 1831; Seth Ames, 1851, '56; Marshall Preston, assist. clerk, 1852; Benjamin F. Ham, 1861, '66; Theodore C. Hurd, 1871, '76, '81, '86; John L. Ambrose, second assist. clerk, 1880.

During the Colonial period, and until 1715, the clerks of the courts were registers of deeds, but in that year it was provided "that in each county some person having a freehold within said county to the value of at least ten pounds, should be chosen by the people of the county. As officers of the court the clerks were under the Colonial charter called recorders, and as recorders kept the registry of deeds. Up to the present time the registers of deeds have been as follows:

Thomas Danforth until 1689; Samuel Phipps until 1721; Francis Foxcroft until 1766; John Foxcroft until 1776; Ebenezer Bridge until 1781; Thadeus Mason until 1786; William Winthrop until 1796; Samuel Bartlett until 1819; Isaac Fiske until 1820; Samuel Bartlett until 1822; William F. Stone until 1846; Caleb Hayden until 1855.

In 1855 it was provided by law that in that year, and every third year afterwards, a register of deeds should be chosen for three years in each county, and in the county of Middlesex two registers, one for Cambridge and one for Lowell. Under the law the registers have been:

Caleb Hayden, for Cambridge, 1855, '58, '61, '64; Asahel B. Wright, for Lowell, 1855, '58, '61, '64; Charles B. Stevens, for Cambridge, 1867, 70, '73, '76, '79, '82, '85, '88; Ithamar W. Beard, for Lowell, 1867-70; Joseph P. Thompson, for Lowell, 1873, '76, '79, '82, '85, '88.

Under a law passed March 3, 1635–36, Cambridge was designated as one of the four towns in which courts were to be held. Ipswich, Salem and Boston were the other three. When Middlesex County was incorporated, in 1643, Cambridge continued the shire-town of the county. On the 19th of October, 1652, it was ordered by the General Court that two sessions of the courts besides those held at Cambridge should be held at Charlestown. A court-house and jail were built, and the courts at some of their terms were held there until the Revolution. Precisely when the first court-house was built in Cambridge is not known. It was burned in 1671, and there is no positive knowledge of any other court-house until 1708, when one was built in Harvard Square. Another was built in Harvard Square in 1757 or 1758.

Under the administration of Andros, Captain Lawrence Hammond, of Charlestown, was appointed clerk of the courts and register of probate and of deeds.

He removed all the records from Cambridge to Charlestown, and after the Revolution of 1688 refused to surrender them. On the 18th of February, 1689–90, the General Court ordered "that Capt. Lawrence Hammond deliver to the order of the County Court for Middlesex the records of that county; that is to say, all books and files by him formerly received from Mr. Danforth, some time Recorder of that county, as also all other books of record and files belonging to said county in his custody." On the 4th of February 1690–91, the order not having been obeyed, the marshal-general was directed to arrest Mr. Lawrence. The records remained in Charlestown until 1717. On the 11th of May, 1716, the town of Cambridge passed the following vote: "Whereas the Register's office in the county of Middlesex is not kept in our town of Cambridge, which is a grievance unto us, voted that our Representative be desired to represent said grievance to the Honorable General Court and secure, if possible, the passage of an Act of said Court that said office may forthwith be removed into our town according to law, it being the shire-town in said county." The town of Charlestown objected to the removal and contested it in the General Court. Finally, as Mr. Richard Frothingham states in his "History of Charlestown," the question came squarely up before the Council on the 12th of June, 1717, whether Cambridge or Charlestown should be considered the shire-town. "Mr. Auchmuty pleaded very well for Charlestown. His discourse was very well worth hearing. Mr. Remington alleged and proved for Cambridge very pertinently and fully." On the 13th the Council decided in favor of Cambridge. The next day there was a spirited contest in the House of Deputies on the question of concurring with the Council. Sewall writes: "Could not tell by lifting up the hands—were fain to divide the House. They for Cambridge went to the north side—they for Charlestown to the south. Cambridge had forty-six—Charlestown forty-one." The registries were consequently removed to Cambridge, and that town has continued to the present time a shire of the county. The courts continued to be held in what is commonly called Old Cambridge until 1816. On the 3d of March, 1810, the General Court incorporated Thomas Handasyde Perkins, James Perkins, William Payne, Ebenezer Francis and Andrew Cragie as the "Lechmore Point Corporation." This was a land corporation, ambitious, active and thrifty, like all such before and since. One of the schemes devised to promote its interests was the removal of the county buildings to East Cambridge, where its property was situated. On the 1st of November, 1813, the company offered to convey to the county a square bounded by Otis, Second, Thorndike and Third Streets, together with a lot seventy-five feet in width across the westerly side of the square bounded by Thorndike, Second, Spring and Third Streets, and build a court-house and jail at a cost not exceeding $24,000, on condition that they should be used by the county when finished. The Court of Sessions, at its December term, in that year, accepted the proposal, and at the March term of the court, in 1816, a committee reported the buildings finished at a cost exceeding the proposed expenditure by the company by the sum of $4191.78, which sum was paid by the county. The old court-house in Harvard Square was used for town and other purposes until April 19, 1841, and was afterwards removed to Palmer Street.

The court-house at East Cambridge was enlarged by the addition of two wings in 1846, and on the 27th of March, 1877, the county commissioners were authorized by the Legislature to borrow the sum of forty thousand dollars for a new building for the registry of deeds. The building, still proving too small, was moved back from its old site and enlarged by the addition of the structure now approaching completion.

The courts were first held at Concord in 1692, under the law establishing courts under the Provincial charter. Until 1719 they were held in the old meeting-house, but in that year a court-house was built which, according to the specifications, was to be thirty-four feet by twenty-six and not less than fourteen nor more than sixteen feet between joists. In 1754 a jail was built and in 1794 a new court-house, which continued in use as long as Concord remained a shire. On the 9th of November, 1775, the Charlestown sessions of the courts were ordered to be held at Concord, and Charlestown ceased to be a shire. For many years after it was settled by the Provincial Court that Cambridge should be the chief shire and the depository of the county records considerable dissatisfaction existed in that part of the county of which Concord had become a more convenient and accessible centre.

This dissatisfaction finally displayed itself in an attempt to form a new county, of which Concord should be the shire-town. After the incorporation of Worcester county, in 1731, which seemed to furnish a favorable opportunity for some decisive movements, a convention of delegates from various towns was held at Concord, whose deliberations culminated in an agreement, May 26, 1732, to petition the General Court to incorporate a new county, with Concord the shire, to include the towns of Concord, Sudbury, Framingham, Marlboro', Groton, Chelmsford, Billerica, Stow, Littleton, Bedford, Dunstable, Westford, Dracut and Northtown. The movement of course failed, and time finally dissipated the uneasiness of the towns in the central and upper parts of the county. Concord remained a shire until the 7th of May, 1867, when a law was passed providing that the session of the courts which had before that time been held in that town, should be transferred to Cambridge, and authorizing the county commissioners to sell the court-house to the town. The conveyance was made May 24, 1867.

A law was passed April 16, 1836, making Lowell a shire, to take effect on the condition that the town should, before the 1st day of March, 1837, provide a suitable court-room and a jail, the expense of which jail should not exceed $10,000, and execute and deliver to the county a sufficient lease or other instrument to secure the use thereof for the purposes aforesaid permanently to the county. A supplementary act was passed March 24, 1837, reviewing the above act but providing that it should be void unless the city of Lowell, on or before the 1st of the ensuing April, should pay to the commissioners the sum of $10,000, to be expended by them in the erection of a jail, and should also before said day finish the court-room then begun, and make the lease or conveyance required in the act of 1836. Until 1855 no registry of deeds was established at Lowell. On the 24th of March in that year a law was passed providing that Lowell, Dunstable, Tyngsboro, Dracut, Tewksbury, Billerica, Chelmsford, Carlisle, Wilmington and Westford should constitute the Northern Registry District of Middlesex County. It also provided that the Governor should appoint on or before the 1st day of July, a register of that district, to hold office until the November election of that year. On the 23d of March, 1886, the county commissioners were authorized to have all records prior to said July 1st copied and deposited in the Northern Registry.

The list of courts will of course be incomplete without a reference to the Police and District Courts in different parts of the county. Of Police Courts there are four—

Lowell: with Samuel P. Hadley, justice; John J. Pickman and John F. Frye, special justices; James F. Savage, clerk.

Marlborough: with Edward F. Johnson, justice; James W. McDonald and Wm D. Burdett, special justices; James F. J. Otterson, clerk.

Newton: with John C. Kennedy, justice; Henry H. Mather and Edward H. Mason, special justices; Edward W. Cate, clerk.

Somerville: with Isaac Story justice; Charles G. Pope and John Haskell Butler, special justices; Herbert A. Chapin, clerk.

Of District Courts there are seven—

First Northern Middlesex, held at Ayer, with jurisdiction in Ayer, Groton, Pepperell, Townsend, Ashby, Shirley, Westford, Littleton and Boxborough. Levi Wallace, justice; John Spaulding and Warren H. Atwood, special justices; George W. Sanderson, clerk.

First Southern Middlesex, held at Framingham, with jurisdiction in Ashland, Framingham, Holliston, Sherborn, Sudbury and Wayland. Willis A. Kingsbury, justice; Lucius H. Wakefield and Walter Adams, special justices; Joseph H. Ladd, clerk.

First Eastern Middlesex, held at Malden and Wakefield, with jurisdiction in North Reading, Reading, Stoneham, Wakefield, Melrose, Malden, Everett and Medford. John W. Pettingill, justice; Thomas S. Harlow and Solon Bancroft, special justices; William N. Tyler, clerk.

Second Eastern Middlesex, held at Waltham, with jurisdiction in Waltham, Watertown and Weston. Enos T. Luce, justice; Henry S. Milton and Samuel P. Abbott, special justices; Albert O. Delano, clerk.

Third Eastern Middlesex, held at Cambridge, with jurisdiction in Cambridge, Arlington and Belmont. Chester F. Sanger, justice; Samuel W. McDaniel and Jabez Fox, special justices; Emerson W. Law, clerk.

Fourth Eastern Middlesex, held at Woburn, with jurisdiction in Wilmington, Woburn, Winchester and Burlington. Parker L. Converse, justice; George S. Littlefield and Charles D. Adams, special justices; Edward E. Bond, clerk.

Central Middlesex, held at Concord, with jurisdiction in Acton, Bedford, Carlisle, Concord, Lincoln, Maynard, Stow and Lexington. John S. Keyes, justice; Charles Thompson and Robert P. Clapp, special justices; no clerk.

The officers of the county in 1889 were as follows:

Judge of Probate and Insolvency: George M. Brooks, of Concord. Register of Probate and Insolvency: Joseph H. Tyler, of Winchester. Assistant Register of Probate and Insolvency: Samuel H. Folsom, of Winchester. Sheriff: Henry G. Cushing, of Lowell. Clerk of Courts: Theodore C. Hurd, of Cambridge. Assistant Clerks of Courts: John L. Ambrose, of Somerville; Wm. C. Dillingham, of Malden. Treasurer: Joseph O. Hayden, of Malden. Registers of Deeds: Northern District, Joseph L. Thompson, of Lowell; Southern District, Charles B. Stevens, of Cambridge. County Commissioners: Wm. S. Frost, of Marlborough; J. Henry Read, of Westford; Samuel O. Upham, of Waltham. Special Commissioners: Edward E. Thompson, of Woburn; Lyman Dike, of Stoneham. Commissioners of Insolvency: Frederick T. Greenhalge, of Lowell; John C. Kennedy, of Newton; George J. Burns, of Ayer. Masters in Chancery: Walter Adams, of Framingham; Samuel L. Powers, of Newton; Joseph H. Tyler, of Winchester; Charles H. Conant, of Lowell; Gilbert A. A. Pevey, of Cambridge; Robert P. Clapp, of Lexington; Wm. H. Bent, of Lowell. Trial Justices: James T. Joslin, of Hudson; William Nutt, of Natick; George L. Hemmenway, of Hopkinton.

The sessions of the Supreme Judicial, Superior and Probate Courts, as now provided, by law are:

Supreme Judicial Court: Law Term for Barnstable, Middlesex, Norfolk and Suffolk, at Boston on the first Wednesday of January in each year. Jury Terms at Lowell on the third Tuesday of April, and at Cambridge on the third Tuesday of October.

Superior Court: Civil Business, at Lowell on the second Monday of March and the first Monday of September; and at Cambridge on the first Monday of June and the second Monday of December. Criminal Business, at Cambridge on the second Monday of February and the first Monday of June; and at Lowell on the third Monday of October.

Probate Court: at Cambridge on the first, second and fourth Tuesdays; and at Lowell on the third Tuesday of every month except August.

The records of admissions to the bar of Middlesex County is very incomplete. A perfect record can only be obtained by searching the records of the different courts. Such a search is now being made under the direction of the county clerk, but the following partial list of admissions is given as the best that can at present be obtained:

Julian Abbot, Dec., 1839.
Caleb F. Abbott, Sept., 1835.
James C. Abbott, June, 1849.
John W. P. Abbott, June, 1830.
Henry Adams, June, 1805.
Josiah Adams, June, 1807.
Shubael P. Adams, Dec., 1848.
John F. K. Adams, Sept., 1851.
John R. Adams, Sept., 1821.
Joel Adams, Sept, 1828.
John E. Avery, June, 1872.
Henry Adams, Sept., 1826.
Joseph Adams, Sept., 1826.
Wm. George Alden, March, 1872.
Hiram A. Alger, June, 1850.
Alpheus Brown Alger, June, 1877.
Edwin A. Alger, Sept., 1845.
John W. Allard, Dec., 1883.
John H. Appleton, July, 1878.
John H. Atwood, Oct., 1884.
Amos Allen, Oct., 1817.
Seth Ames, Oct., 1830.
Elgin A. Angell, Sept., 1775.
Isaac Angell, June, 1872.
Wm. T. Andrews, Oct., 1822.
Benjamin H. Andrews (no date).
Christopher C. Andrews, Oct., 1850.
Arthur W. Austin, Sept., 1828.
Nathaniel Austin, Jr., June, 1833.
Clark A. Batchelder, April, 1873.
Elbridge Gerry Austin, Oct., 1834.
Henry D. Austin, Sept., 1842.
William Austin, Nov., 1843.
Luman W. Aldrich, July, 1878.
George Bancroft, April, 1842.
John W. Bacon, June, 1846.
Loammi Baldwin, Sept., 1843.
Stephen Bean, March, 1844.
James O. Boswell, June, 1860.
Ithamar W. Beard, Sept., 1844.
Ninian C. Betton, Nov., 1819.
Charles C. Barton, April, 1873.
Charles Bemis, Oct., 1832.
Alpheus W. Buell, March, 1876.
Isaac Bemis, Jr., Oct., 1821.
Leonard Blake, May, 1875.
Wm. P. Barry, July, 1885.
Alpheus Bigelow, Oct., 1821.
George T. Bigelow, Dec., 1833.
Wm. P. Bigelow, Oct., 1820.
Joseph O. Burdett, April, 1873.
Tyler Bigelow, June, 1824.
Edward C. Billings, Oct., 1855.
Charles R. Blaisdell, Oct., 1859.
Harrison G. Blaisdell, March, 1846.
Frank T. Benner, June, 1877.
Benjamin F. Blood, March, 1843.
Francis E. Bond, Dec., 1831.

Charles T. Bond, July, 1880.
Arthur P. Bonney, Sept., 1848.
James Bowdoin, Nov., 1819.
Francis Brinley, Jr., March, 1825.
William Brigham, Oct., 1834.
Elias Bullard, Oct., 1828.
Edward Blake, Oct., 1831.
James O. Boswell, June, 1860.
Benjamin F. Butler, Sept. 1840.
Caleb Butler, Oct., 1819.
Ephraim Buttrick, March, 1825.
George A. Butterfield, Sept., 1843.
Anson Burlingame, Sept., 1846.
Willard Brown, March, 1880.
William Locke Brown, June, 1850.
Alpheus B. Brown, Sept., 1839.
Wm. L. Brown, June, 1850.
Samuel R. Brown, Oct., 1841.
Charles Burrell, Sept., 1858.
Nathan Brooks, Oct., 1877.
Geo. Merrick Brooks, Sept., 1847.
Harry A. Brown, Feb., 1881.
Charles H. Bordis, June, 1862.
George J. Burns, July, 1878.
George A. Bruce, April, 1866.
Charles M. Bennett, April, 1869.
Benjamin E. Bond, Oct., 1870.
Charles F. Blandin, Oct., 1870.
George H. Ball, June, 1871.
John Cahill, Dec., 1874.
George H. Clement, Jan., 1888.
James H. Carmichael, July, 1880.
Z. B. Caverly, Dec., 1846.
Andrew J. Carr, April, 1852.
Jonathan Chapman, Jr., Oct., 1830.
Wm. L. Chaplin, June, 1829.
Henry M. Chamberlain, Dec., 1832.
John M. Cheney, Sept., 1828.
Albe C. Clark, Oct., 1832.
Hobart Clark, Dec., 1808.
Ira Cleveland, Oct., 1832.
Edwin Coburn, March, 1844.
Lemuel D. Cole, Feb., 1886.
Felix Conlan, July, 1880.
Joshua P. Converse, June, 1847.
Charles Cowley, April, 1856.
Charles C. Colton, Sept., 1840.
Horatio G. F. Corliss, Sept., 1834.
Timothy A. Crowley, Oct., 1860.
Timothy D. Crocker, Dec., 18[illegible].
Francis B. Crowninshield, Octbr., 1833.
Francis P. Curran, July, 1885.
Peter J. Carey, June, 1883.
Isaac Jones Cutler, Oct., 1855.
Luther Stearns Cushing, March, 1827.
Alfred D. Chandler, Dec., 1869.
James P. Campbell, March, 1876.
Edward W. Cate, July, 1878.
John S. Cram, June, 1875.
John Conlan, July, 1878.
Wm. F. Courtney, July, 1878.
Timothy A. Crowley, Oct., 1860.
Charles H. Conant, March, 1873.
James C. Catter, Jan., 1874.
Samuel Dexter, Oct., 1821.
E. H. Derby, Oct., 1831.
John Devereux, Oct, 1823.
Chas. De Blanc, Jr., Dec., 1848.
James Dana, Dec., 1833.
Benjamin Dean, Oct., 1845.
Wm. N. Davenport, June, 1883.
Robins Dinsmore, Sept., 1845.
James Dinsmore, April, 1846.
Epes S. Dixwell, Oct., 1835.
Henry R. Dennis, June, 1856.
William Draper, Sept., 1856.
Alexander Dustin, Dec., 1854.
Thomas Dwight, Dec., 1832.
Richard J. Dwyer, Jan., 1888.
Joshua E. Dodge, Oct., 1877.
Warren P. Dudley, Oct., 1877.
Isaac S. Daley, July, 1878.
William H. Drury, June, 1872.
Samuel C. Eastman, April, 1859.
Thos. J. Enwright, Oct., 1884.
Luke Eastman, Oct., 1829.
Samuel C. Eastman, April, 1859.
Pierce Evans, Feb., 1874.
Abraham Edwards, Sept., 1822.
Wm. H. Eliot, Oct., 1820.
James L. English, Oct., 1833.
Charles O. Emerson, Sept., 1821.
Charles C. Emerson, Oct., 1834.
Benjamin F. Emerson, Dec., 1834.
Constantine C. Esty, Oct., 1847.
Wm. M. Evarts, Sept., 1841.
George F. Farley, June, 1820.
Richard Farwell, March, 1821.
Ira B. Forbes, June, 1876.
Samuel Farnsworth, Oct., 1817.
Peter A. Fay, Dec., 1886.
S. P. P. Fay, May, 1802.
John C. Farwell, March, 1848.
Michael F. Farwell, June, 1871.
Richard S. Fay, June, 1828.
John Brooks Felton, Oct., 1853.
Luther Fitch, Sept., 1810.
John M. Fiske, Oct., 1822.
Augustus H. Fiske, June, 1828.
Isaac Fiske, May, 1802.
Joel W. Fletcher, Dec., 1840.
Charles B. Fletcher, April, 1850.
Luther J. Fletcher, April, 1854.
Frederick A. Fisher, July, 1885.
Eugene Fuller, June, 1839.
Elisha Fuller, Oct., 1826.
John H. French, Feb., 1881.
Charles R. Felch, Dec., 1869.
Daniel French, Dec., 1858.
Franklin Fiske (no date).
James W. Graham, Oct., 1873.
Frederick W. Griffin, Sept., 1776.
Dana B. Gove, March, 1870.
John P. Gale, Feb., 1881.
Joseph H. Guillet, Feb, 1888.
Wm. B. Gale, June, 1860.
Wm. H. Gardiner, Oct., 1821.
Wm. S. Gardner, Oct., 1852.
Samuel J. Gardner, Sept., 1810.
Wm. P. Gibbs, June, 1848.
Asahel W. Goodell, Dec., 1847.
Charles W. Goodnow, June, 1850.
Robert Gordon, June, 1856.
William Gordon, Nov., 1819.
A. J. Gray, June, 1840.
Edward Gray, Oct., 1831.
William Gray. Oct., 1834.
Oliver H. P. Green, April, 1848.
Andrew J. Gunnison, Sept., 1844.
John Q. A. Griffin, Oct., 1849.
Charles F. Gove, Sept., 1820.
Elisha Glidden, Oct., 1821.
Isaac N. Goodhue, Sept., 1851.
Ephraim D. Howe, June, 1870.
Simon W. Hathaway, Oct., 1866.
Patrick J. Hoar, Feb., 1886.
Sherman Hoar, Nov., 1885.
Samuel F. Haven, (no date).
Francis D. Holt, April, 1859.
Abraham Harrington, Nov., 1819.
George F. Harrington, Dec., 1847.
Joseph Harrington, Sept., 1846.
Peter Haggerty, April, 1854.
William Hall, June, 1837.
Walter Hastings, March, 1833.
William A. Hayes, Sept, 1839.
Benjamin F. Ham, March, 1852.
Charles L. Hancock, Oct., 1834.
Edward Francis Heard, Oct., 1843.
George Heywood, June, 1852.
Rufus Hosmer, Jr., Oct., 1837.
Thomas Heald, Sept., 1800.
James D. Horne, June, 1836.
George T. Higley, Dec., 1872.
Samuel K. Hamilton, Dec., 1872.
Cornelius Hedge, Oct., 1855.
Abraham Hilliard, March, 1857.
John J. Harvey, Oct., 1884.
John Holmes, June, 1840.
Thomas Hopkinson, June, 1833.
Moses G. Howe, April, 1850.
Charles F. Howe, April, 1859.
Nathaniel C. Holmes, Dec., 1883.
Henry Holmes, Dec., 1859.
Joseph G. Holt, June, 1860.
Homer C. Holt, June, 1873.
Frederick Howes, Sept., 1810.
Elisha Hinds, Sept., 1810.
Charles H. Hudson, Sept., 1848.
John L. Hunt, Jan., 1881.
Wm. A. Hutchinson, Dec., 1850.
D. Fletcher Huntoon, April, 1850.
John F. Haskel, April, 1875.
Wm. A. Hutchinson, Dec., 1850.
Theodore C. Hurd, Sept., 1860.
Wm. Hunter, Feb., 1874.
Henry A. Harmon, June, 1871.
John Hillis, Sept., 1871.
Charles P. Hadley, March, 1876.
Henry F. Hurlburt, Oct., 1877.
Joseph A. Harris, July, 1878.
Francis D. Holt, April, 1859.
Samuel T. Hawes, June, 1872.
Martin L. Hamblet, Dec., 1872.
Jesse C. Ivy, Oct., 1877.
Benj. F. Jackson, March, 1851.
Charles Allen Jacobs, June, 1850.
Russell Jarvis, Oct., 1822.
Andrew F. Jewett, March, 1857.
Lewis E. Josselyn, Sept., 1853.
Henry R. Judkins, Dec., 1849.
Samuel Jones, Dec., 1845.
John N. Jordan, June, 1836.
John F. Jandron, Sept., 1887.
Edwin H. Jose, Oct., 1873.
John Jameson, Jan., 1874.
Byron B. Johnson, June, 1873.
Justin Allen Jacobs, June, 1850.
John A. Kasson, Sept., 1844.
Osmer S. Keith, Dec., 1832.
Theodore Keating, Oct., 1827.
Aaron Keyes, Oct., 1824.
Wm. Kelman, March, 1874.
John A. Knowles, March, 1832.
Edmund Kimball, Nov., 1819.
J. Chellis Kimball, March, 1857.
John Shephard Keyes, Mch., 1844.
Wm. E. Knight, Nov., 1885.
Willis A. Kingsbury, Feb., 1881.
Louis H. Kileski, Oct., 1877.
Frederick Lawton, March, 1880.
Luther Lawrence, June, 1884.
Rufus Lapham, Sept., 1844.
Jonathan Ladd, Oct., 1846.
Samuel J. Ladd, Sept., 1853.
Putnam W. Lock, Dec., 1871.
John S. Ladd, Dec., 1838.
Asa F. Lawrence, Dec., 1828.
Rufus B. Lawrence, Dec., 1837.
George P. Lawrence, Feb., 1859.
Edward S. Leavitt, April, 1845.
Nahum Leonard, Jr., Sept., 1853.
Charles Lewis, Oct., 1818.
Wm. H. Livingwood, Oct., 1859.
Ed. St. Loe Livermore, Mch., 1832.
James Lewis, Jr., Sep., 1810.
John Locke, Dec., 1853.
Joseph Locke, Sept., 1800.
Francis C. Loring, Oct., 1833.
Charles B. Lowell, Oct., 1831.
Alonzo V. Lynde, June, 1847.
Amasa H. Lyon, Oct., 1837.
Wyllis Lyman, Sept., 1820.
Samuel F. Lyman, Oct., 1823.
George S. Littlefield, Sept., 1872.
A. J. Lothrop, July, 1880.
Wm. H. Lambert, March, 1885.
Seldon H. Loring, July, 1885.
Wm. H. Loughlin, Sept., 1870.
Gage F. Lawton, June, 1877.
Charles S. Lilley, June, 1877.
Thomas F. Larkin, June, 1877.
Alfred G. Lamson, June, 1872.
Benjamin E. Mason, March, 1880.
James S. Murphy, Feb., 1885.
George M. Mason, Sept., 1822.
Samuel H. Mann, Oct., 1828.
Joseph W. Mansur, June, 1834.
James Warren Marcy, Dec., 1842.
Lorenzo Marrett, Oct., 1843.
Joshua N. Marshal, Dec., 1855.
Leonard Mellin, Sept., 1800.
Samuel N. Merrill, Sept., 1854.
Horatio C. Merriam, Oct., 1834.
Edward Mellen, Dec., 1828.
Stephen Merrit, June, 1824.
I. S. Morse, Sept., 1840.
Leonard Morse, May, 1800.
Peter H. Moore, Sept., 1848.
Arad Moore, Sept., 1831.
Mark Moore, October, 1820.
Charles H. Morley, Sept., 1860.
John G. McKean, June, 1834.
Matthew J. McCafferty, Mar., 1857.
John F. McEvoy, Sept., 1857.
John McNeil, June, 1849.
John W. McEvoy, Jan., 1888.
Owen McNemara, June, 1869.
Oliff C. Moulton, June, 1870.
John G. Maguire, June, 1877.
Richard J. McKelleget, June, 1877.
Wm. P. Mitchell, March, 1872.
Wm. H. Martin, April, 1873.
Peter J. McGuire, July, 1878.
Frederick P. Marble, June, 1883.
John T. Masterson, June, 1883.
Wm. H. Niles, April, 1871.
Albert F. Nelson, Sept., 1836.
Daniel Needham, April, 1850.
Michael Norton, June, 1865.
George B. Neal, Oct., 1849.
Arthur F. L. Norris, June, 1859.
John C. Nourse, Sept., 1843.
Robert Ralston Newell, Dec., 1869.
Edward B. O'Conner, Sept., 1872.
Charles A. O'Conner, Sept., 1869.
Wm. H. Orcutt, Jan., 1874.
Wm. N. Osgood, March, 1880.
Waldemer Otis, June, 1871.
Thomas O'Keefe, July, 1880.
John L. O'Neil, Dec., 1883.
Samuel D. Partridge, Sept., 1830.

Samuel Parker, Oct., 1829.
Thomas A. Parsons, June, 1846.
John H. W. Page, June, 1832.
Frederick Parker, Sept, 1841.
Otis Parkhurst, April, 1838.
Samuel Parsons, Sept., 1851.
Nathan Parks, March, 1855.
John S. Patton, July, 1880.
Wm. E. Payne, Oct., 1831.
George W. Pelt, Feb., 1846.
Florentine W. Pelton, March, 1855.
David Perham, March, 1859.
Horatio N. Perkins, Sept., 1832.
Benjamin F. Perkins, April, 1855.
Asa Peabody, Sept., 1856.
John W. Pettingill, Dec., 1858.
George W. Phillips, Oct., 1834.
Wendell Phillips, Sept., 1834.
Albion A. Perry, April, 1886.
Thomas W. Phillips, Nov., 1819.
Benjamin J. Prescott, Sept., 1828.
Alfred N. Prescott, Dec., 1844.
Jonathan Porter, Nov., 1819.
Henry C. Pratt, Feb., 1859.
Bushrod W. Poor, Dec., 1846.
Marshall Preston, Nov., 1819.
Willard Phillips, Oct., 1818.
George W. Poore, July, 1885.
Henry A. Pinder, Oct., 1884.
Jacob C. Patten, Oct., 1887.
John S. Patten, July, 1880.
John H. Punch, Feb., 1881.
Irving S. Porter, April, 1870.
John J. Pickman, Sept., 1871.
Sidney A. Phillips, Jan., 1874.
Charles H. Phelps, Feb., 1874.
K. Henry Pedrick, Dec., 1874.
Nathan D. Pratt, Sept., 1775.
Edward B. Quinn, Feb., 1881.
Francis W. Qua, July, 1878.
Carlyle W. Quimby, Oct., 1853.
Wm. A. Ross, Oct., 1853.
Edward S. Rand, Oct., 1833.
Isaac G. Reed, Dec., 1836.
Robert Rantoul, Jr., Oct., 1831.
John H. Richardson, Sept, 1828.
Wyman Richardson, Dec., 1828.
Wm. N. Richardson, Dec., 1824.
Daniel Richardson, Dec., 1827.
Charles G. Ripley, Sept., 1844.
Ebenezer Rockwood, June, 1845.
John W. Reed, Sept., 1865.
Richard Robins, Oct., 1831.
John P. Robinson, Oct., 1829.
Charles Robinson, June, 1852.
Abner Rogers, March, 1856.
John G. Rogers, Nov., 1819.
Bradford Russell, Sept., 1821.
Charles Russell, Sept., 1858.
James Russell, Oct., 1818.
Josiah Rutter, June, 1843.
Henry W. Robinson, July, 1885.
Samuel B. Rogers, June, 1836.
Daniel M. Richardson, June, 1836.
Daniel E. Richardson, July, 1871.
John S. Searle, Oct., 1873.
George F. Stone, Feb., 1874.
Henry J. Sargent, Oct., 1833.
Daniel Saunders, Dec., 1844.
George L. Sawyer, Dec., 1858.
Thomas O. Selfridge, Nov., 1800.
Nath. Shattuck, Jr., June, 1804.
Horatio Shipley, Oct., 1833.
Wm. E. Sprague, June, 1865.
Isaac Simon, Dec., 1861.
Harrison G. Sleeper, Oct., 1862.
Ira Spaulding, April, 1846.
Wm. Sawyer, Sept., 1831.
Phillip H. Sears, Oct., 1849.
Norman Seaver, Oct., 1827.
Gustavus A. Somerby, Oct., 1847.
Ed. D. Sohier, Oct., 1834.
Daniel Stone, Jr., Dec., 1829.
John C. Shea, July, 1880.
Ed. F. Sherman, Feb., 1847.
John Sheple, Sept., 1810.
Wm. Standish, March, 1857.
George Stevens, Sept., 1854.
George H. Stevens, March, 1880.
Asahel Stearns, Sept., 1800.
Benjamin H. Steele, Oct., 1857.
Martin L. Stone, March, 1825.
Henry W. Smith, March, 1843.
Wm. H. L. Smith, April, 1848.
Wm. F. Smith, Sept., 1842.
John Stuart, Dec., 1847.
Charles A. F. Swan, Oct., 1850.
Theodore H. Sweetser, Sept., 1843.
Erdix Tenney Swift, Dec., 1859.
Solon W. Stevens, Jan., 1888.
George Sanderson, Dec., 1869.
George R. Stone, June, 1871.
Albert H. Skilton, Jan., 1876.
Charles F. Stone, Dec., 1876.
Charles W. Savage, July, 1878.
Andrew J. Stackpole, June, 1860.
Charles A. F. Swan, Oct., 1858.
John L. Spring, Dec., 1860.
Wm. N. Titus, Jan., 1886.
John P. Tarbell, June, 1831.
Ebenezer Thacher, Sept., 1831.
Bazaleel Taft, Jr., June, 1837.
James Temple, Oct., 1831.
John L. Tuttle, April, 1833.
Joseph H. Tyler, April, 1853.
George C. Travis, Dec., 1871.
Louis K. Travis, Dec., 1875.
Wm. H. H. Tuttle, Oct., 1877.
James M. Troutt, March, 1874.
Stephen H. Tyng, Nov., 1875.
Jonas P. Varnum, June, 1865.
Atkinson C. Varnum, Sept., 1858.
John Varnum, Sept., 1851.
Samuel B. Walcutt, Oct., 1826.
Owen Warland, June, 1827.
S. H. Walley, Jr., Oct., 1831.
John S. Wallis, Dec., 1838.
George P. Waldron, Oct., 1846.
Wm. A. Warner, Oct., 1820.
Elihu B. Washburne, Dec., 1839.
Wm. R. P. Washburn, Oct., 1821.
Francis O. Watts, Oct., 1827.
Ezra Weston, Oct., 1834.
Paul Willard, Oct., 1823.
Calvin Willard, Dec., 1829.
Lemuel S. Williams, March, 1836.
John M. Wilson, March, 1833.
David S. Wilson, April, 1849.
Isaac G. Wilson, June, 1841.
John Winneck, Dec., 1848.
Robert C. Winthrop, Oct., 1833.
John T. Winthrop, Oct., 1820.
Samuel H. Wilcox, Oct., 1859.
Charles C. Woodman, Dec., 1851.
Wm. E. Wording, April, 1847.
John Wright, March, 1824.
Wm. P. Wright, Sept., 1856.
Thomas Wright, Sept., 1845.
Nathaniel Wright, Jr., Sept., 1841.
Lorenzo Westover, June, 1843.
Isaac W. Webster, April, 1849.
Wm. P. Webster, Sept., 1845.
Thomas Wetmore, Nov., 1819.
Alfred A. White, March, 1859.
William White, Sep., 1810.
Benjamin W. Whitney, Oct., 1843.
George M. Ward, Dec., 1885.
Charles F. Worcester, Dec., 1836.
Prentiss Webster, Feb., 1881.
John Warren, Feb., 1881.
Edgar Warren Washburn, Oct., 1870.
Franklin Worcester, June, 1871.
Charles R. Wallingford, April, 1871.
Henry S. Webster, Oct., 1877.
Salmon Whitney, March, 1860.
Daniel Williams, March, 1860.
George F. Woodward, Mch., 1873.
Raymon E. Wilson, Feb., 1874.
John H. Whalen, Feb., 1874.
Herbert R. White, Dec., 1883.

The above list is not only incomplete so far as admissions to the bar are concerned, but it is by no means confined to lawyers living or intending to settle within the county. It is presented in this chapter, rather than in that on the Bench and Bar, for the reason that it includes many who never intended to practice within the county, but who were admitted at its different courts on account of their proximity to the Dane Law School at Cambridge, or the private offices in which they had pursued their studies.

There is little that can be added to this sketch of Middlesex County, which has already extended beyond the limits assigned to it in these volumes. The special industries, many of them of large proportions, which abound in the county, the various charitable and reformatory institutions established within its boundaries, the highways and bridges laid out and built under county supervision, will all be referred to in the histories of the towns, to which this sketch may be considered a preface. The following chapter though entitled a sketch of the Bench and Bar, is separated from this by only an arbitrary line, and may properly be considered the second chapter of the History of the County.

CHAPTER II.

BENCH AND BAR.

BY WILLIAM T. DAVIS.

In the earlier days of Middlesex County the bar was divided into two classes, barristers and attorneys, and this division continued until 1836, though after 1806, under a rule of court, counselors were substituted for barristers. In the earliest days the lawyers were chiefly uneducated men, and of the judges few were educated to the law. Edward Randolph wrote home to England in January 1687–88, "I have wrote you of the want we have of two or three honest attorneys (if any such thing in nature); we have but two; one is West's creature, come with him from New York and drives all before him. He also takes extravagant fees, and for want of more the country cannot avoid coming to him, so that we had better be quite without them than not to have more." These two attorneys were very likely George Farwell and James Graham, the former of whom was clerk of the Superior Court, and until June 20, 1688, attorney-gen-

eral, when he was succeeded by the latter. Little is known of the barristers before 1768. In that year there were twenty-five barristers in Massachusetts. Of these, eleven were in Suffolk—Richard Dana, Benjamin Kent, James Otis, Jr., Samuel Fitch, William Read, Samuel Swift, Benjamin Gridley, Samuel Quincy, Robert Auchmuty, Jonathan Adams and Andrew Cazeneau. Five were in Essex—Daniel Farnham, William Pynchon, John Chipman, Nathaniel Peaselee Sergent and John Lowell. Two were in Worcester—James Putnam and Abel Willard. One was in Middlesex—Jonathan Sewall. Two were in Plymouth—James Hovey and Pelham Winslow. Three were in Boston—Samuel White, Robert Treat Paine and Daniel Leonard, and Hampshire had one, John Worthington. According to Washburn's "History of the Judiciary of Massachusetts," from whom the writer quotes, sixteen other barristers were made before the Revolution—John Adams and Sampson Salter Blowers, of Boston; Moses Bliss and Jonathan Bliss, of Springfield; Joseph Hawley, of Northampton; Zephaniah Leonard, of Taunton; Mark Hopkins, of Great Barrington; Simeon Strong, of Amherst; Daniel Oliver, of Hardwick; Francis Dana, of Cambridge; Daniel Bliss, of Concord; Joshua Upham, of Brookfield; Shearjashub Bourne, of Barnstable; Samuel Porter, of Salem; Jeremiah D. Rogers, of Littleton, and Oakes Angier, of Bridgewater.

It is by no means generally known what constituted a barrister in New England. The term is derived from the Latin word *barra*, signifying bar, and was applied to those only who were permitted to plead at the bar of the courts. It was necessary in England that a barrister before admission should have resided three years in one of the Inns of Court, if a graduate of either Cambridge or Oxford, and five years if not. These Inns of Court were the Inner Temple, the Middle Temple, Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn. Up to the time of the Revolution the English custom was so far followed as to make a practice of three years in the Inferior Courts a qualification for admission as barrister. John Adams says in his diary that he became a barrister in 1761, and was directed to provide himself with a gown and bands and a tie-wig, having practiced according to the rules three years in the Inferior Courts.

After the Revolution the appointment of barristers continued, and the following entry has been found by the writer in the records of the Superior Court of Judicature:

"Suffolk SS. Superior Court of Judicature at Boston, third Tuesday of February, 1781, present Wm. Cushing, Nathaniel P. Sargeant, David Sewall and James Sullivan, Justices: and now at this term the following rule is made by the Court and ordered to be entered, viz.: whereas, learning and literary accomplishments are necessary as well to promote the happiness as to preserve the freedom of the people, and the learning of the law, when duly encouraged and rightly directed, being as well peculiarly subservient to the great and good purpose aforesaid as promotive of public and private justice; and the Court being, at all times, ready to bestow peculiar marks of approbation upon the gentlemen of the bar who, by a close application to the study of the science they profess, by a mode of conduct which gives a conviction of the rectitude of their minds and a fairness of practice that does honor to the profession of the law, shall distinguish as men of science, honor and integrity, Do order that no gentleman shall be called to the degree of barrister until he shall merit the same by his conspicuous bearing, ability and honesty; and that the Court will, of their own mere motion, call to the bar such persons as shall render themselves worthy as aforesaid; and that the manner of calling to the bar shall be as follows: The gentleman who shall be a candidate shall stand within the bar; the chief justice, or in his absence the senior justice, shall, in the name of the Court, repeat to him the qualifications necessary for a barrister-at-law; shall let him know that it is a conviction in the mind of the Court of his being possessed of those qualifications that induces them to confer the honor upon him; and shall solemnly charge him so to conduct himself as to be of singular service to his country by exerting his abilities for the defence of her Constitutional freedom; and so to demean himself as to do honor to the court and bar."

The act establishing the Supreme Judicial Court, July 3, 1782, provided that the court should and might from time to time make, record and establish all such rules and regulations with respect to the admission of attorneys ordinarily practicing in the said court, and the creating of barristers-at-law. The following rule was adopted and entered on the records of that court:

"Suffolk SS. At the Supreme Judicial Court at Boston, the last Tuesday of August, 1783, present William Cushing, Chief Justice; and Nathaniel P. Sargeant, David Sewall and Increase Sumner, Justices, ordered that barristers be called to the bar by special writ, to be ordered by the Court, and to be in the following form:

"'COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

"'To A. B, Esq., of ——, Greeting: We, well knowing your ability, learning and integrity, command you that you appear before our Justices of our Supreme Judicial Court next to be holden at ——, in and for our county of ——, on the —— Tuesday of ——, then and there in our said Court to take upon you the state and degree of a Barrister-at-Law. Hereof fail not. Witness ——, Esq., our Chief Justice at Boston, the —— day of ——, in the year of our Lord ——, and in the —— year of our Independence ——. By order of the Court, ——, Clerk.'

which writ shall be fairly engrossed on parchment and delivered twenty days before the session of the same Court by the Sheriff of the same county to the person to whom directed, and being produced in Court by the Barrister and there read by the Clerk and proper certificate thereon made, shall be redelivered and kept as a voucher of his being legally called to the bar: and the Barristers shall take rank according to the date of their respective writs."

It is probable that no barristers were called after 1784, and in 1806, by the following rule of court, counsellors seem to have been substituted in their place:

"Suffolk SS. At the Supreme Judicial Court at Boston for the counties of Suffolk and Nantucket, the second Tuesday of March, 1806, present Francis Dana, Chief Justice, Theodore Sedgwick, George Thatcher and Isaac Parker, Justices, ordered: First. No Attorney shall do the business of a Counsellor unless he shall have been made or admitted as such by the Court. Second. All Attorneys of this Court, who have been admitted three years before the setting of this Court, shall be and hereby are entitled to all the rights and privileges of such. Third. No Attorney or Counsellor shall hereafter be admitted without a previous examination, etc."

In 1836 (Chapter 88, Section 23 of the Revised Statutes) it was provided by law that "every person admitted to practice in any court may practice in every other court in the state, and there shall be no distinction of counsellor and attorney." The rule of court above mentioned, adopted by the Superior Court of Judicature in 1781, was probably made necessary by the new order of things brought about

by the Revolution; and was probably only a new declaration concerning barristers of a rule which had existed in the Provincial courts. It has been thought by some that until 1781 the English rule prevailed requiring a probation in one of the Inns of Court, but it is absolutely certain that many of the barristers of 1767, a list of whom has been given, had never been in England.

Among those on the bench in the Massachusetts Colonial and Provincial periods, as has already been said, few of the judges were trained to the law. Up to the Revolution only four judges educated as lawyers had been appointed to the bench of the Superior Court of Judicature—Benjamin Lynde, Paul Dudley, Edmund Trowbridge and William Cushing. Of these, Edmund Trowbridge alone was a Middlesex County man. Mr. Trowbridge was born in Newton in 1709, and graduated at Cambridge in 1728. In 1749 he was appointed by Governor Shirley Attorney-General, and in 1767 a justice of the Superior Court, resigning his office in 1772. He presided at the trial of English soldiers charged with murder at the Boston massacre and won great credit for his ability and impartiality. Though a Loyalist, he held the confidence and respect of all parties until his death, which occurred at Cambridge, April 2, 1783. It seems surprising at this day, when the highest and profoundest legal attainments are sought for the bench, to find how little legal knowledge the judges of the highest courts in the early days must have possessed, and how strikingly unfitted by temperament and education many of them must have been for the occupation in which they were engaged. William Stoughton was the chief justice of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, created as a special tribunal "assigned to enquire of, hear and determine for the time all and all manner of felonies, witchcraft, crimes and offences how or by whomsoever done, committed or perpetuated within the several counties of Suffolk, Essex, Middlesex or, either of them." Its special mission was to try the cases of witchcraft then pending in Essex. Mr. Stoughton was born in Dorchester in 1631 and graduated at Harvard in 1650. He was educated for the ministry, became a fellow at Oxford and preached in England and in New England after his return. In 1668 he preached the annual election sermon, and, though never settled, continued in the ministry until 1671. Nathaniel Saltonstall, one of the associate justices of the court, was a military man, but declined to act, and was succeeded by Jonathan Curwin, a merchant, and the other justices were Samuel Sewall, a clergyman; John Richards, a merchant; Waitstill Winthrop, a physician; Peter Sergeant, probably a merchant, and Bartholomew Gedney, a physician. The strong men on the bench were undoubtedly Stoughton and Sewall, and on them, more than the others, the responsibility must rest for the barbarous results of the trials in which they were engaged.

Of the Court of Assistants, which existed during the Colony of Massachusetts, there were some who, as Middlesex men, should be mentioned in this narrative.

Thomas Dudley, an assistant in 1635, '36, '41, '42, '43, '44, was one of the founders of Cambridge in 1631. He remained there, however, only a few years, and after a short residence in Ipswich became a resident of Roxbury in 1636, before the county of Middlesex was incorporated. He was Deputy-Governor from 1629 to 1634, from 1637 to 1640, from 1646 to 1650, and from 1651 to 1653. He was also Governor in 1634, 1640, 1645 and 1650; commissioner of the four colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, New Haven and Connecticut in 1643, 1647 and 1649. While in Cambridge Mr. Paige, in his history of that town, states that he lived on the northwesterly corner of Dunster and South Streets. He died in Roxbury, July 31, 1653.

Simon Bradstreet, assistant from 1630 to 1678, was also one of the original founders of Cambridge, but became a resident of Andover in 1644. He married, in England, Ann, daughter of Thomas Dudley, and while in Cambridge, as Mr. Paige also states, lived on the easterly corner of Brighton Street and Harvard Square. He died in Salem, March 27, 1697.

John Haynes, an assistant in 1634 and 1636, came to New England in 1633, and lived a short time in Cambridge on the westerly side of Winthrop Square, removing thence to Connecticut in 1637, of which State he was the first Governor. He was also Governor of Massachusetts Colony in 1635. He died in 1654.

Roger Harlakenden, an assistant from 1636 to 1638, came to Cambridge in 1635 and lived on the Dudley estate, where he died of small-pox, November 17, 1638.

Increase Nowell, who for many years was an assistant, came to New England with Winthrop in 1630 and was secretary of the Colony from 1636 to 1649. He was a founder of the church in Charlestown in 1632, and died in Charleston, November 1, 1655.

Herbert Pelham, an assistant from 1645 to 1649, though he remained in the country only a few years, was during his stay a Middlesex man. His grandfather, Edward Pelham, of Hastings, in Sussex England, was a member of Parliament, who was admitted at Gray's Inn in 1563, called to the bar in 1579, knighted and made Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer of Ireland, and died in 1606. His son, Herbert Pelham, of Michelhan Priory, was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1588, and his son, the emigrant to New England, bore his father's arms in the Hastings muster-roll in 1619. The last Herbert, the subject of this short sketch, born in 1601, graduated at Oxford in 1619 and came to Massachusetts in 1638 and settled in Sudbury. He was the first treasurer of Harvard College, and returned to England in 1649, where he died in 1673. His will, proved in London, March 13,

1677, calls him of Bewers Hamlet, Essex, and speaks of Thomas Bellingham as the husband of his sister. By a first wife he had a son, Edward, and a daughter, Penelope, who married, in 1651, Governor Josiah Winslow, of the Plymouth Colony. The son, Edward, married a daughter of Governor Benedict Arnold, of Rhode Island, and died in Newport in 1720, leaving three children—Elizabeth, Edward and Thomas. Mr. Pelham, the assistant, married for a second wife Elizabeth, widow of Roger Harlakenden, who was also an assistant from 1634 to 1638, inclusive. The Pelham house in Hastings, built in 1611, was standing in 1862, the oldest house in the town.

Francis Willoughby, another assistant, was the son of Colonel William Willoughby, and was born in Portsmouth, England. He was admitted a freeman at Charlestown August 22, 1638, and was in public service almost continuously until his death, which occurred April 4, 1671. He was selectman of his adopted town seven years, was the representative two years, was assistant four years and Deputy-Governor from 1665 until his death. He was a successful merchant, leaving at his death an estate valued at about £4000, of which he gave 300 acres of land to the schools of Charlestown.

Daniel Gookin, another Middlesex assistant, was in various ways a prominent man. He was born in Kent, England, about 1612, and died in Cambridge March 19, 1687. He emigrated to Virginia from England in 1621 with his father, and came to New England in 1644. He was a captain in the militia, a deputy to the General Court from Cambridge and assistant from 1652 until 1686 inclusive. He was at different times superintendent of the Indians, licenser of the press and marshal-general of the Colony. He was the author of "Historical Collections of the Indians of Massachusetts," which were published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1792. He married, in 1639, in England, Mary Dolling, of St. Dunstan in the West, London.

Simon Willard, who was an assistant from 1654 to 1675, was born in Kent, England, about 1605 and died while holding court at Charlestown April 24, 1676. He came to New England in 1634 and lived many years in Concord, Lancaster and Groton, finally removing to Salem, of which place he was a resident at the time of his death. He was connected with the militia and wore the title of major.

Richard Russell, an assistant from 1659 to 1676, came to New England from Hereford, in Herefordshire, England, and was admitted a freeman at Charlestown in 1640. He was a selectman of that town twenty-six years, a deputy to the General Court ten years, an assistant sixteen years, Speaker of the House of Deputies five years and twenty years the colonial treasurer. He was a merchant by profession and accumulated a fortune that was large for the times. He died May 14, 1676, giving by his will £100 to his church, £50 towards a parsonage house, £200 to the town for the benefit of the poor and £100 to Harvard College. By a wife, Maud, whom he probably married in New England, he had James, born in 1640; Daniel, who graduated at Harvard in 1669 and died in Charlestown after his acceptance of an invitation to become its settled minister January 4, 1678; Catharine, who married William Roswell, of Connecticut; Elizabeth, who married Nathaniel Graves and John Herbert.

Thomas Danforth, an assistant from 1659 to 1678, was the son of Nicholas Danforth, of Cambridge, and was born in Suffolk, England, in 1622 and came to Massachusetts with his father in 1634. He was admitted a freeman in 1643 and in 1657 was a deputy to the General Court from Cambridge. In 1659 he was promoted from assistant to Deputy-Governor and remained in office until 1686. In 1679 he was appointed by the General Court president of the Province of Maine, and a General Court for that Province was held at York in 1681. He continued in that office until the arrival of Dudley, in 1686, and after the old charter was resumed, upon the retirement of Andros, he was again made Deputy-Governor and continued in office until the union of the Colonies, in 1692, and the establishment of the Province. Under the Provincial charter he was made one of the Judges of the Superior Court of Judicature, and continued on the bench until his death, which occurred at Cambridge November 5, 1699.

Peter Bulkley, an assistant from 1677 to 1684, was the son of Rev. Peter Bulkley, of Concord, and was born August 12, 1643. He graduated at Harvard in 1660, and, though educated for the ministry, became an active man in the affairs of the Massachusetts Colony. He was a deputy to the General Court from Concord from 1673 to 1676, and in the latter year was Speaker. He was one of the judges of the Superior Court under Dudley at Concord May 24, 1688. He married, April 16, 1667, Rebecca, daughter of Lieutenant Joseph Wheeler, who, as his widow, married Jonathan Prescott. Peter Prescott a son of Jonathan, born April 17, 1709, dealt largely in wild lands in New Hampshire, and gave the name to Peterboro,' in that State. He commanded a company at Crown Point in 1758, and before the Revolution removed to Nova Scotia, where he was appointed clerk of the courts, and died in 1784.

Thomas Flint, an assistant from 1642 to 1651 and in 1653, came from Matlock, in Derbyshire, England, and settled in Concord in 1638. He was a man of wealth for New England, and is said to have brought with him £4000. He was a representative to the General Court four years, as well as being an assistant. It was said of him that he was "a sincere servant of Christ who had a fair yearly revenue in England, but having improved it for Christ by casting it into the common treasury, he waits upon the Lord for doubling his talent, if it shall seem good unto him so to do, and the meantime spending his person for

the good of his people in the responsible office of magistrate."

JAMES RUSSELL, an assistant from 1680 to 1686 inclusive, was the son of Richard Russell, who has already been mentioned in the list of assistants. He was born in Charlestown, October 4, 1640, and married a daughter of John Haynes, who was Governor of the Colony from May 5, 1635, to May 25, 1636, and was succeeded by Henry Vane. Mr. Russell was a deputy to the General Court, one of the Council of Safety at the deposition of Andros, and colonial treasurer from May 19, 1680, to May 11, 1686. Under the Provincial charter he was named as one of the Council. He died April 28, 1709.

On the 7th of October, 1691, the Massachusetts Colony ceased to exist, as on that date a new charter passed the great seal embracing Massachusetts, Plymouth, Maine, Nova Scotia, Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard in a new government by the name of the "Province of Massachusetts Bay." Under this charter, which reached New England in 1692, the General Court was authorized to establish courts with power to try all kinds of civil and criminal causes. Before, however, the General Court had met under the new charter, Sir William Phipps, who had been appointed the first Governor of the Province, created the special Court of Oyer and Terminer, already referred to, for the purpose of trying persons charged with witchcraft. The judges commissioned for this court June 2, 1692, were only a short time in service, and in August or September of the same year the court was dissolved. None of the judges were Middlesex men, and consequently they have no place in this record.

The courts, as has been already mentioned, permanently established under the charter were the Superior Court of Judicature, the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, a Court of Chancery, and the lower courts of Quarter Sessions of the Peace and of Justices of the Peace. The Superior Court of Judicature consisted at first of William Stoughton, chief justice; Thomas Danforth, Waitstill Winthrop, John Richards and Samuel Sewall, associates. Of these, Thomas Danforth, the only Middlesex man, has already been sufficiently referred to as one of the Colonial Court of Assistants.

JOHN LEVERETT, a justice on the bench of the Superior Court from 1702 to 1708, who was for many years a resident of Middlesex County, was born in Boston, August 25, 1662. He was a grandson of John Leverett, who was from 1671 to 1673 Deputy-Governor of the Massachusetts Colony. He graduated at Harvard in 1680 and became president of the college on his retirement from the bench, which office he held until his death, which occurred on the 3d of May, 1724. He lived in Cambridge some years before his accession to the presidency of the college, and represented that town in 1700 in the General Court, of which he was Speaker. For some years before his appointment to the college he held the offices of judge of the Superior Court, judge of Probate and counselor.

JONATHAN REMINGTON, a judge of the Superior Court from 1733 to 1745, was born in Cambridge and graduated at Harvard in 1696. Before his accession to the Superior bench he had been a judge of the Common Pleas for Middlesex from 1715 to 1733 and judge of Probate for that county from 1725 to 1731. He died September 20, 1745.

THOMAS GREAVES, a judge of the Superior Court in 1738, was born in Charlestown in 1684 and graduated at Harvard in 1703. He studied and practiced medicine in the place of his birth. Before his appointment to the Superior Court he acted in 1731 as special judge of the Middlesex Court of Common Pleas, in 1735 as special judge of the same court in Suffolk, and in 1737 as special judge of the Superior Court for Essex. In 1733 he was appointed a judge of the Common Pleas Court, on which bench he remained until his appointment to the Superior Court in 1738. In 1739, after leaving the Superior Court, having been superseded by Stephen Sewall on the 16th of May in that year, he was reappointed to the Common Pleas and remained on its bench until his death, which occurred June 19, 1747.

CHAMBERS RUSSELL, son of Daniel Russell, a judge on the bench of the Superior Court from 1752 to 1766, was born in Charlestown in 1713, and graduated at Harvard in 1731. He settled in Concord, in that part of the town which afterwards became a part of Lincoln, and remained a resident of the new town after its incorporation in 1754. He was appointed a judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1747 and continued on that bench until April 6, 1752, when he was commissioned to the Superior Court. In 1747 he was also appointed judge of vice-admiralty over New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and held the office until his death, which occurred at Guilford, England, November 24, 1767. The family of which Mr. Russell was a member was a distinguished one during many generations. He was the great-grandson of Richard Russell, already referred to as one of the Court of Assistants from Middlesex County during the life of the Colony. James Russell, a brother of Chambers, who died in 1798, wrote as follows to his son, Thomas Russell, an eminent merchant of Boston: "Our family has great reason to bless God that the reputation of it has been preserved. You are the fifth generation. In the year 1646 Richard Russell entered into public life. From that time to the present I may say the family have had every office of profit and honor which the people could give them, in the town of Charlestown, in the county of Middlesex, and the State of Massachusetts; and I do not find that there was any one left out of office for misbehavior."

EDMUND TROWBRIDGE, who was a judge of the Supreme Court from 1767 to 1772, has already been referred to.

A list of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas during the life of the Province and during the Revolution has been already given in the preceding chapter, but some special mention of each should be made in a sketch of the Bench and Bar.

JOHN PHILLIPS, commissioned a judge of the court December 7, 1692, and remaining on the bench until 1715, was born in Charlestown in 1631, and died March 20, 1725. He was also judge of the Admiralty Court, treasurer of the Province, and from 1689 to 1715 colonel of a regiment. He was a member of the House of Representatives from 1683 to 1686, and at the time of the Revolution was one of the Committee of Safety.

JAMES RUSSELL, judge of the Common Pleas Court from December 5, 1692, to 1707, has already been sketched as one of the Colonial Court of Assistants.

JOSEPH LYNDE, a judge of the same court from Dec. 7, 1692, to 1719, was born in Charlestown in June, 1636, and died January 29, 1727. It is doubtful whether he was ever, as stated by Washburn, one of the assistants under the Colonial charter. Under the charter of the Province he was named as one of the counselors, and previous to that had been one of the Committee of Safety in 1689, after the deposition of Andros.

SAMUEL HAYMAN, also one of the judges of the court at its organization, Dec. 7, 1692, continued on the bench until 1702. He was born in Charlestown, but probably removed to Watertown after his appointment to the bench. He had been a representative to the Colonial General Court and a member of the Provincial Council. It has been noticed by the writer that the surname Hayman has been corrupted into Heman, and in that form has been often used as a Christian name by persons connected with the Hayman family.

JONATHAN TYNG, a judge from July, 1702, to 1719, was the son of Edmund Tyng, and was born in 1642. He had been a member of the Councils of Dudley and Andros, and received his commission from Dudley when he came into power in 1702. He lived in Woburn, and died January 19, 1724. It is stated by Washburn, erroneously, that Edmund Tyng was the ancestor of the families of that name in New England. Rev. Dr. Stephen Higginson Tyng, of Newburyport and New York, Rev. Stephen Higginson Tyng, Jr., of New York, and Rev. Dr. Dudley Atkins Tyng were the sons and grandsons of Dudley Atkins Tyng, a distinguished lawyer of Newburyport, who was the son of Dudley Atkins, and a descendant of Governor Dudley. He changed his name on his inheritance of the estates of James Tyng, of Tyngsborough, and has been well known as the reporter of the Supreme Judicial Court and editor of seventeen volumes of the reports, covering a period from September, 1804, to March, 1822.

FRANCIS FOXCROFT, judge of the Court of Common Pleas from 1707 to 1719, and judge of Probate from 1708 to 1725, was born in Cambridge in 1658. He was a commissioned judge under Andros, and opposed to the Revolution of 1688, maintained his opposition to the new order of things until he was finally rewarded by Dudley by a seat on the bench. He died in Cambridge Dec. 31, 1727.

JONATHAN REMINGTON, who was judge from 1715 to 1733, has already been sufficiently referred to as a judge of the Superior Court.

JONATHAN DOWSE, a judge of the court from 1713 to 1741, was a Charlestown man, and a graduate at Harvard in 1715. For many years he was prominent in town affairs. He was one of a committee of eleven to build a new meeting-house in his native town in 1716, and in 1717, when a motion was made in town-meeting "to have the lecture at Charlestown begin an hour sooner than heretofore," he was appointed, with Michael Gill, a committee "to treat with the ministers, and to signify to them the town's consent." Little is known of Judge Dowse, and the year of his death is unknown to the writer.

CHARLES CHAMBERS, who was judge from 1719 to 1739, was the grandfather of Chambers Russell, already alluded to as a judge of the Superior Court. He was a resident of Charlestown, and held his seat on the bench until his resignation, in the year above mentioned.

FRANCIS FULLAM, a judge from 1719 to 1755, was a resident of Weston, and besides presiding as chief justice on the bench of this court, he was a colonel in the militia and a member of the Council. It is interesting to observe how many of the judges of the courts during the Provincial period were military men. It is not uncommon in our own day to find on the bench men who have, before receiving their commission, been in active military life, but none ever continue in the service after entering on their judicial duties. Chief Justice Wigham, of our Superior Court, and Chief Justice Bigelow, of the Supreme Judicial Court, were at one time one a captain and the other a colonel in the Massachusetts Militia, and Judge Devens, of the Supreme Court, if not a militia officer, was at least in the volunteer service during the War of the Rebellion. Judge Fullam died Jan. 18, 1758, at the age of eighty-seven.

SAMUEL DANFORTH, son of Rev. John Danforth and great-grandson of Nicholas Danforth, the family ancestor, was born in Dorchester Nov. 12, 1696, and graduated at Harvard in 1715. He removed to Cambridge in 1724 as a schoolmaster, and lived on the easterly side of Dunster Street, between Harvard and Mt. Auburn Streets, as Mr. Paige states. He was selectman in Cambridge from 1633 to 1639, representative from 1634 to 1638, a Councilman from 1639 to 1674, register of Probate from 1731 to 1745, judge of Probate from 1745 to 1775, and judge of the Court of Common Pleas from 1741 to 1775. He died in Boston Oct. 27, 1777.

THOMAS GREAVES, judge of the Common Pleas

Court from 1733 to 1747, with the exception of one year when he sat on the bench of the Superior Court, has already been referred to in connection with that court.

Francis Foxcroft, the second son of Judge Foxcroft, above mentioned, and judge of the Common Pleas Court from 1737 to 1764, was born in Cambridge, January 26, 1694–95. He graduated at Harvard in 1712, and was judge of Probate for Middlesex as well as Common Pleas judge. He died March 28, 1768.

Next in order to be mentioned are the judges of the Supreme Judicial Court who were residents of Middlesex County, or who by birth may properly be considered Middlesex County men.

Francis Dana was appointed judge of this court in 1785, and in 1791 was made chief justice, and held that position until his resignation in 1806. He was the son of Richard Dana, of Charlestown, and was born in that town June 13, 1743, and graduated at Harvard in 1762, in the class with Elbridge Gerry, Andrew Eliot, George Partridge and Jeremy Belknap. He studied law with Edmund Trowbridge and was admitted to the bar in 1767. He was a delegate to the Provincial Congress in September, 1774, a member of the Executive Council from 1776 to 1780, a delegate to Congress in 1776, 1778 and 1789, a member of the Board of War in 1777, secretary of legation with John Adams in Paris in 1779, and Minister to Russia from 1780 to 1783. He died at Cambridge April 25, 1811.

George Tyler Bigelow, son of Tyler Bigelow, was born in Watertown October 6, 1810, and graduated at Harvard in the famous class of 1829, which contained among its members William Brigham, William Henry Channing, James Freeman Clarke, Francis B. Crowninshield, Benjamin R. Curtis, George T. Davis, Joel Giles, William Gray, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Samuel May, Benjamin Pierce, Chandler Robbins, Edward D. Sohier and Joshua Holyoke Ward. He received the degree of Doctor of Laws from his *Alma Mater* in 1853. He was admitted to the bar in Cambridge, and for a number of years practiced law in Boston in partnership with the late Manlius Clark. In the early days of his professional life he was active in the militia and at one time commanded the New England Guards of Boston, and was colonel of one of the Boston regiments. In 1847–48 he was a member of the Massachusetts Senate, and in 1848 was appointed one of the justices of the Common Pleas Court. He held this position until 1850, when he was appointed to the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court. On his accession to that bench his associates were Lemuel Shaw, chief justice; Charles Augustus Dewey, Theron Metcalf and Richard Fletcher, associate justices. On the resignation of Lemuel Shaw in 1860 he was made chief justice, and resigned in 1868. During his service on the bench of this court his various associates included Judge Dewey, who died in 1866; Judge Metcalf, who resigned in 1865; Judge Fletcher, who resigned in 1853; Caleb Cushing, who was appointed in 1852 and resigned in 1853; Benjamin Franklin Thomas, appointed in 1853 and resigned in 1859; Pliny Merrick, appointed in 1853 and resigned in 1864; Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, appointed in 1859 and resigned in 1869; Reuben Atwater Chapman, appointed in 1860, appointed chief justice in 1868 and died in 1873; Horace Gray, Jr., appointed in 1864, appointed chief justice in 1873 and resigned in 1882; James Denison Colt, appointed in 1865, resigned in 1866, reappointed in 1868 and died in 1881; Dwight Foster, appointed in 1866 and resigned in 1869; John Wells, appointed in 1866 and died in 1875. After his resignation Judge Bigelow was appointed actuary of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, and continued in that office until his death in 1878.

Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, son of Samuel and Sarah (Sherman) Hoar, was born in Concord, February 21, 1816, and graduated at Harvard in 1835, receiving a degree of Doctor of Laws in 1868. Among his classmates were George Bemis, Thomas M. Brewer, Amos Adams Lawrence, Charles W. Storey and Francis M. Weld. He was admitted to the bar in 1840, and though always living in Concord, he has from the beginning of his career occupied an office in Boston, practicing, however, in Middlesex as well as Suffolk County. In 1849 he was appointed a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, remaining on the bench until his resignation in 1853. In 1859 he was appointed judge of the Supreme Judicial Court, finding as associates at his accession to the bench, Leonard Shaw, chief justice; and Charles Augustus Dewey, Theron Metcalf, George Tyler Bigelow and Pliny Merrick. He remained on the bench until 1869. During his incumbency, Chief Justice Shaw resigned in 1860 and was succeeded by George Tyler Bigelow, who resigned in 1868, and was succeeded by Reuben Atwater Chapman, who had been appointed to the bench in 1860. Charles Augustus Dewey died in 1866 and was succeeded by Dwight Foster; Theron Metcalf resigned in 1865 and was succeeded by James Denison Colt, who resigned in 1866 and was succeeded by John Wells, and was reappointed in 1868. In 1869 Mr. Hoar was appointed by President Grant Attorney-General of the United States, and remained in office until July, 1870. In 1871 he was appointed joint high commissioner to treat with the British commissioners. He was elected from the Middlesex District to Congress in 1872, and served but one term. During his service he was largely instrumental in procuring the publication of the Revised Statutes of the United States, a work of great labor and of immense use to this country. Since that time he has closely followed his profession, only mingling in politics and attending conventions at the call of the Republican party, to whose cause he has been and is devoted. His learning in the law, his incorruptible spirit, his fidelity to clients and his ability



E. R. Hoar

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to present a case either to court or jury with force, have won for him a rich reputation and a large practice; while his pungency of speech and simple clearness of statement have always made him an attractive speaker in the political arena. His remark that he had no objection to the Mugwumps going out of the Republican party, but that they need not slam the door after them, illustrates the sayings which characterize his conversation and speech. He has always been a faithful son of Harvard, and while a member of the Board of Overseers was the president of the Board. He is or has been the president of the National Unitarian Conference, and has always been an active member of the denomination which that conference represents.

CHARLES DEVENS was born in Charlestown April 4, 1820, and graduated at Harvard in 1828, in the class with George Bailey Loring, James Russell Lowell and William W. Story. He read law at the Harvard Law School, and in the office of George T. Davis, of Greenfield, where, after his admission to the bar, he continued in practice until 1849, representing Franklin County in the Senate in 1848. From 1849 to 1853 he was United States marshal for Massachusetts, and in 1854 returned to the law, settling in Worcester, in partnership with George F. Hoar, now United States Senator. In April, 1861, he commanded a rifle battalion and was stationed, during three months' service, at Fort McHenry, in Baltimore Harbor. At the end of the three months' campaign he was made colonel of the Fifteenth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers on the 24th of July, 1861, enlisted for three years. He was at the battle of Ball's Bluff, and after the death of Colonel Baker, in command, and exhibited on that occasion rare bravery and good judgment. He was made brigadier-general of volunteers April 15, 1862, and was engaged in the battles of Williamsburg, Fairoaks—where he was wounded—South Mountain and Antietam. At the battle of Chancellorsville he commanded a division of General Howard's corps (the Eleventh), and was severely wounded. In the Virginia campaign of 1864–65 he was attached to the Eighteenth Corps, recognized as the Third Division of the Twenty-fourth Corps. In December, 1864, he was in temporary command of the Twenty-fourth Corps, entered Richmond April 3d, and April 15, 1865, was made brevet major-general. He remained in the service commanding the district of Charleston until June, 1866, when, at his own request, he was mustered out. In 1862 he was the candidate of what was called the People's party for Governor of Massachusetts, in opposition to John A. Andrew, but was defeated. In 1867 he was appointed judge of the Supreme Court, and remained on the bench until his appointment to the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court in 1873. When he took his seat on the Superior Court bench his associates were Seth Ames, chief justice, and Julius Rockwell, Otis Phillips Lord, Marcus Morton, Jr., Ezra Wilkinson, Henry Vose, John Phelps Putnam, Lincoln Flagg Brigham and Chester Isham Reed. During his incumbency, Seth Ames resigned as chief justice on his appointment to the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court in 1869, and was succeeded by Lincoln Flagg Brigham; Marcus Morton, Jr., was appointed to the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court in 1869, and was succeeded by Henry Austin Scudder, who resigned in 1872, and was succeeded by William Allen and Chester Isham Reed, who resigned 1871, and was succeeded by John William Bacon.

Judge Devens, as above stated, was appointed judge of the Supreme Judicial Court in 1873, and continued on the bench until 1877, when he was appointed by President Hayes United States Attorney-General. On his retirement from the Cabinet, in 1881, he was reappointed to the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court, to fill, with Walbridge Abner Field and William Allen, the vacancies occasioned by the death of James Denison Colt and the resignations of Seth Ames and Augustus Lord Soul, and is still on the bench. Though never enjoying an extensive practice at the bar, Judge Devens has had a large judicial experience, and has been eminently successful in the administration of his judicial duties. He has established a wide reputation as an orator, and has been repeatedly selected to deliver centennial and other occasional addresses. Not the least of his efforts on the platform was an oration delivered at the celebration of the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, on the 17th of June, 1875. He has been president of the Bunker Hill Association, and has received the degree of Doctor of Laws from his *alma mater*. The connection of Judge Devens, then United States marshal, with the extradition of Thomas Sims, a fugitive slave, is so well stated by "Taverner," of the *Boston Post*, in the issue of that paper of April 5th of this year (1890), that the writer takes the liberty of making the statement a part of this record:

"It is noticeable that the act which first brought Judge Devens into prominence here in Boston, and was the means of exciting a certain odium against him, was the performance of an official duty which, though extremely painful to his feelings, he did not feel at liberty to neglect, and his subsequent conduct showed the noble spirit with which as a man he endeavored to counteract the effects of the policy which he enforced as an officer of the law. As United States marshal for the district of Massachusetts, from 1849 to 1853, he executed the process of the court in remanding Thomas Sims as a fugitive slave. But after the extradition he endeavored to procure the freedom of Sims, offering to pay whatever sum was necessary for the purpose, though the effort was unsuccessful. Some time afterward he wrote to Mrs. Lydia Maria Child, whom he heard was trying to raise money to purchase the freedom of Sims, requesting the return of the sums she had collected for this purpose, and asking her to allow him the privilege of paying the whole amount. Though Mrs. Child assented to this proposal, it was prevented from being carried out by the Civil War, which blocked the negotiations. But the progress of the national armies at last brought freedom to Thomas Sims, and he was aided by Judge Devens in establishing himself in civil life, and was, in course of time, appointed by him, while Attorney-General of the United States, to an appropriate place in the Department of Justice."

SETH AMES, the sixth of seven children of Fisher

Ames, was born at Dedham, April 19, 1805, and died at Brookline, August 15, 1881. He was descended in the sixth generation from Richard Ames, of Bruton, Somersetshire, England, two of whose sons came to New England in 1640. His mother was Frances, daughter of Colonel John Worthington, of Springfield. He attended the schools of Dedham and Phillips Academy, and graduated at Harvard in 1825. His college room-mate was Augustus H. Fiske, late of the Boston bar, and both married daughters of Gamaliel Bradford, a descendant from William Bradford, of the "Mayflower." He read law in the Dane Law School and in the office of George Bliss, of Springfield; and on January, 1828, entered the office of Lemuel Shaw, of Boston. He was admitted to the bar at Dedham in September, 1828, and opened an office in Lowell. In 1830 his wife, Margaret (Bradford) Ames, died, leaving four children. He was a short time the partner of Thomas Hopkinson, and represented Lowell in the General Court in 1832. He was an alderman in 1836, 1837 and 1840; Senator from Middlesex County in 1841, and city solicitor from 1842 to 1849. In 1849 he was appointed clerk of the courts for Middlesex County, and married, for his second wife, Abigail Fisher, daughter of Rev. Samuel Dana, of Marblehead. In the same year he removed to Cambridge. In 1859 he was appointed judge of the Superior Court; chief justice of that court in 1867; and judge of the Supreme Judicial court, January 19, 1869. He resigned January 15, 1881. In 1869 he removed to Brookline. After his death, George Martin, Attorney-General, submitted in behalf of a meeting of the members of the Suffolk bar, the following resolutions to the full court:

"*Resolved*, That the death of Seth Ames, lately one of the Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court, and for thirty-two years honorably connected with the administration of Justice in this Commonwealth, is an event of which the bar desire to take notice by expressing their sense of the great value of his public services and their admiration for his just and unblemished character, and for those attractive personal qualities which endeared him to all who had the privilege of his friendship.

"*Resolved*, That in the successive Judicial stations which he held as Justice and Chief Justice of the Superior Court and Associate Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, he commanded the respect and esteem of the bar and the community. He administered the criminal laws with firmness, tempered by discretion and humanity, without unnecessary harshness and without vindictiveness. In his intercourse with the bar, and when presiding at trials he was a model of fairness and courtesy; never forgetting, and therefore never finding it necessary to assert arrogantly or offensively his personal dignity. His opinions were characterized by adequate learning and by a simplicity and purity of English style which he seemed to have inherited from his distinguished father."

Chief Justice Gray responded, and the resolutions were ordered to be placed on the files of the court.

WILLIAM SEWALL GARDNER was born in Hallowell, Maine, October 1, 1827, and graduated at Bowdoin College and studied law in Lowell. He was admitted to the Middlesex bar in 1852, and entered into partnership with Theodore H. Sweetser of that city. In 1861 he removed his office to Boston, where he continued practice until 1875, when he was appointed one of the justices of the Superior Court for the Commonwealth, which office he held until October 1, 1885, when he was appointed a justice of the Supreme Judicial Court to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Judge Waldo Colburn. On the 7th of September, 1887, he resigned his seat on account of ill health, and died at his residence in Newton, April 4, 1888. On the 27th of November, 1888, resolutions passed at a meeting of the Suffolk bar were presented to the full court by Andrew J. Waterman, the Attorney-General, and on that occasion addresses were made by the Attorney-General, Edward Avery and Charles Levi Woodbury, which were responded to by Chief Justice Marcus Morton. The resolutions were as follows:

"The members of the Suffolk bar desire to place on record their sense of the loss which the Commonwealth has sustained in the death of William Sewall Gardner, a former Justice of this court.

"His was a nature that endeared him to those who knew him well, and secured for him the respect and esteem of the community, and the regard and confidence of those who were brought in contact with him at the bar or on the bench.

"His experience at the bar, for many years closely associated with one of the ablest lawyers of his day, who studied the law as a science and tested it by the severest rules of logic, and his long service on the bench of the Superior Court, laid a substantial foundation for the successful discharge of the accurate and discriminating investigations demanded of the members of this court.

"While the kindliness of his nature might have tempted him at times to take counsel of his sympathies, his keen appreciation of the right constrained him always to exercise the severe neutrality of an impartial judge."

TIMOTHY FARRAR was the son of Deacon Samuel Farrar, and was born June 28, 1747, in that part of Concord which, by the incorporation of Lincoln, in 1754, was included within the limits of the new town. He graduated at Harvard in 1767, in the class with Increase Sumner. He read law in New Ipswich, New Hampshire, and settled permanently in that town. In 1782 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention of New Hampshire. He was a judge of the Common Pleas Court of that State under a temporary Constitution in January, 1776; was a Councilor in 1780, '82, '83; judge of the Superior Court from 1790 to 1803; judge of the Common Pleas Court in 1803–4, and afterwards chief justice of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas. He was a Presidential elector in 1792, '96, 1800, 1808, and a trustee of Dartmouth College. In 1847 he received a degree of Doctor of Laws from his *alma mater*, and died at Hollis, New Hampshire, Feb. 21, 1849.

NATHANIEL WRIGHT, the oldest son of Thomas and Eunice (Osgood) Wright, was born in Sterling, February 13, 1785, four years after the incorporation of that town. He fitted for college with Rev. Reuben Holcomb, of Sterling, and graduated at Harvard, in 1808, in the class with Walter Channing, Richard H. Dana and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and read law with Asahel Stearns, then practicing in that part of Chelmsford which is now Lowell, and there lived until his death, which occurred November 5, 1858. He was admitted to the bar in 1814, and first opened

an office in Dracut. He was the first representative from Lowell to the General Court, in 1826, and chairman of the first Board of Selectmen, and in 1842 was chosen, on a citizens' ticket, the fourth mayor of the city, succeeding Dr. Elisha Huntington in that office. In 1843 he was re-chosen by the Whig party. He was chosen representative four years, and in 1834 was a member of the State Senate. He was president of the Lowell Bank from its organization, June 2, 1828, until his resignation, October 2, 1858. He married, March 5, 1820, Laura Hoar; and two sons graduated at Harvard—Nathaniel, in 1838, and Thomas, in 1842. Thomas entered the profession of law, settling in Lawrence, and represented, one or more years, Essex County in the Senate. He died in Lawrence in 1868. Nathaniel, a lawyer in Lowell, died September 18, 1847.

Asahel Stearns was born in Lunenburg, June 17, 1774, and graduated at Harvard in 1797, in the class with Horace Binney, William Jenks, William M. Richardson, John Collins Warren and Daniel Appleton White. He settled in Chelmsford in 1800, where he practiced until 1817, acting for a time as county attorney, and during the two last years of his residence there he represented his district in Congress. In 1817 he was appointed professor in the Dane Law School, at Cambridge, holding that position until his death, February 5, 1839. In 1824 he published a volume of "Real Actions," and in 1825 received from Harvard the degree of Doctor of Laws.

Samuel Dana was the son of Rev. Samuel Dana, of Groton, and was born in that town June 26, 1767. He was the first postmaster of Groton, having been appointed in 1800, and held the office until July, 1804. He kept the post-office in his law-office in a building which has been removed from its original site, and in 1887 was standing near the railroad station. He was succeeded as postmaster by William Merchant Richardson, afterwards chief justice of the Superior Court of New Hampshire. Mr. Richardson graduated at Harvard in 1797, and became Mr. Dana's student and partner. Mr. Richardson was followed in the post-office by Abraham Moore, January 31, 1812, who was succeeded in 1815, on his resignation, by Caleb Butler and Henry Woods and George S. Boutwell, and again by Caleb Butler, who held the office until December 21, 1846.

He was a representative to the General Court from Groton in 1802–03 and 1825–27, and senator, 1805–13 and 1817, and president of the Senate in 1807, 1811, 1812. He was a member of Congress in 1814–15, and of the State Constitutional Convention in 1820. On the establishment of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas, Mr. Dana was made chief justice for the middle circuit, comprising Suffolk, Essex and Middlesex, and held that office until the court was abolished, February 14, 1821. In 1808 he removed to Charlestown, but returned to Groton 1815. He was a popular speaker and a man of pronounced abilities. He married Rebecca Barrett, and died in Charlestown November 20, 1835, leaving several children, of whom the wives of Kelly Paige, of Boston, and John Seven, of Kingston, and his son, James Dana, of Charlestown, now living, are remembered by the writer.

Timothy Bigelow, the son of Timothy and Anna (Andrews) Bigelow, was born at Worcester April 30, 1767. He graduated at Harvard in 1786, in the class with John Lowell and Isaac Parker. He fitted for college with Benjamin Lincoln and Samuel Dexter, and studied law with Levi Lincoln, the father of Governor Lincoln. He was admitted to the bar in 1789, and settled in Groton, where he married, September 3, 1791, Lucy, daughter of Dr. Oliver Prescott. His office was much sought by students reading law, and among these were John Harris, afterwards judge of the Superior Court of New Hampshire; Thomas Rice, of Winslow, Me., member of Congress; John Locke, of Ashby, member of Congress; Joseph Locke, for thirteen years judge of the Police Court in Lowell; John Leighton Tuttle; Professor Asahel Stearns; John Varnum, of Haverhill, member of Congress; Loammi Baldwin, who abandoned the profession and became a distinguished engineer; John Parke Little, of Gorham, Me.; Tyler Bigelow, of Watertown, the father of Chief Justice Bigelow; Luther Lawrence, of Groton and Lowell; Augustus Peabody, of Boston, and Abraham Moore, of Groton and Boston. In 1806 Mr. Bigelow removed to Medford, and there died, May 18, 1821. He was a representative to the General Court from Groton and Medford fourteen years, senator from 1797 to 1801, councilor from 1802 to 1804, and again in 1821, and speaker of the House in the sessions of 1805–6, 1808–9, 1809–10, 1812–13, 1813–14, 1814–15, 1815–16, 1816–17, 1817–18, 1818–19, 1819–20. In 1796 Mr. Bigelow delivered the oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard. Katharine, wife of Abbott Lawrence, of Boston, Rev. Andrew Bigelow and John Prescott Bigelow, Secretary of the Commonwealth from 1836 to 1843, and mayor of Boston from 1849 to 1851, were his children.

Luther Lawrence was born in Groton September 28, 1778. He was a son of Samuel Lawrence, of that town, and, with his brothers, Abbott, Amos, William and Samuel, made up a family of rare ability and distinction. The only one of the family receiving a college education, he graduated at Harvard in 1801, in the class with Tyler Bigelow, Timothy Fuller and Stephen Minot. He studied law with Timothy Bigelow, and married his sister Lucy, June 2, 1805. He was a member of the Legislature from Groton, and in 1822 speaker of the House of Representatives. He early secured a large practice, and among his students were Henry Adams Bullard, Royal Bullard, Jonathan Porter, George Frederick Farley, Augustus Thorndyke, Edward St. Loe Livermore, Jr., Norman Seaver and William Amory. He removed to Lowell in 1831, five years after its incorporation, and in 1838 and 1839 was chosen its mayor. On the 16th of

April, 1839, sixteen days after entering on his second official term, while showing one of the factories to some visiting friends, he fell seventeen feet into a wheel-pit and was instantly killed. He was buried in Groton, his place of birth.

Ebenezer Champney, a descendant of Richard Champney, who came from Lancashire, England, and settled early in Cambridge, was born in Cambridge in April, 1744, and graduated at Harvard in 1762, in the class with Francis Dana, Andrew Eliot, Elbridge Gerry, Jeremy Belknap and George Partridge. In a class of forty-seven his name is placed in the catalogue next to the last, and as until 1773 the names were placed in the order of family rank, it is presumed that the immediate origin of Mr. Champney was comparatively obscure. He first studied for the ministry and then for the practice of law. In 1764 he was admitted to the bar at Portsmouth, and settled in New Ipswich, New Hampshire. In 1775 he was appointed Judge of Probate for Hillsboro' County, and in 1783 removed to Groton. In 1789 he returned to New Ipswich, and died September 10, 1810. He married, October 9, 1764, Abigail, daughter of Rev. Caleb Trowbridge; in November, 1778, Abigail, daughter of Samuel Parker, of New Ipswich, and in March, 1796, Susan Wyman. His son, Benjamin Champney, born August 20, 1765, studied law in his office and practiced in Groton from 1786 to 1792, when he removed to New Ipswich.

Abraham Moore was born in Bolton January 5, 1785, and graduated at Harvard in 1806, in the class with Jacob Bigelow, Jonathan Cogswell, Joseph Green Cogswell, Alexander Hill Everett, Daniel Oliver and William Pitt Preble. He studied law with Timothy Bigelow in Groton, and opened an office in that town. In 1812 he was appointed postmaster of Groton and held office until his resignation in 1815, when, in consequence of financial troubles, he removed to Boston, where he continued in the practice of law until his death, January 3, 1854. His wife, whose maiden-name was Mary Mills, had been twice married, to a Mr. Barnard and Mr. Woodham, and had been an actress on the stage. After the financial troubles of Mr. Moore she returned to the stage and appeared in Boston in 1816 as *Lady Teazle.* Mary Frances Moore and Susan Varnum Moore, two of his children by this marriage, married John Cochran Park, a distinguished member of the Suffolk bar, and Grenville Mears, a well-known and esteemed merchant of Boston. He married for a second wife, in 1819, Eliza, daughter of Isaac Durell, and had at least one son, whom the writer remembers as a member of the Boston bar. During the last few years of his life he occupied an office on the easterly side of Court Square, the site of which is now covered by the billiard-room of Young's Hotel.

Richard Sullivan was the grandson of John Sullivan, who came from Ireland in 1723 and died July, 1795, at the age of 104. James Sullivan, born in Berwick, Maine, April 22, 1744, and deceased in Boston, December 10, 1808, and General John Sullivan were the sons of the American ancestor. Richard, the subject of this sketch, was the son of James, and was born in Groton, July 17, 1779. His mother was Mehetabel Odiorne. He graduated at Harvard in 1798, in the class with William Ellery Channing, Stephen Longfellow, Joseph Story and Sidney Willard. His father began practice in Georgetown, Maine, from which place he removed to Biddeford. In February, 1778, he changed his residence to Groton, and in 1782 to Boston. Richard, the son, was fitted for college at the Boston Latin School and after leaving college studied law with his father and was admitted to the Suffolk bar in 1801. He was a State Senator from 1815 to 1817, inclusive, member of the Constitutional Convention of 1810, councilor in 1820–21, and one of the overseers at Harvard College. He married, May 22, 1804, Sarah, daughter of Thomas Russell, of Boston, and died in Cambridge, December 11, 1861.

William Prescott, though never a member of the Middlesex bar, was a native of Middlesex County. He was a descendant of John Prescott, of Lincolnshire, England, who early came to New England and settled in Lancaster, Massachusetts. Judge Benjamin Prescott, son of John, was the father of Colonel William Prescott, of Bunker Hill memory, who was the father of the subject of this sketch, who was born in Pepperell, August 19, 1762, and died in Boston, December 8, 1844. He graduated at Harvard in 1783, in the class with Harrison Gray Otis, his brother and Artemas Ward. He studied law with Nathan Dane, of Beverly, and practiced in that town and in Salem. He removed to Boston in 1808 and in 1818 was appointed a justice of the Common Pleas Court for Suffolk County. William Hickling Prescott, the historian, and Edward Gordon Prescott, Episcopal clergyman in New Jersey, were his sons. He received a degree of Doctor of Laws from Harvard in 1815 and from Dartmouth in 1826.

James Prescott, Jr., was the son of Col. James Prescott, of Groton, and was born in that town April 19, 1766. He graduated at Harvard in 1788 and studied law in Westford, where he practiced ten years. He returned to Groton and was appointed judge of Probate, to succeed his uncle, Oliver Prescott, and was afterwards chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He married Hannah, daughter of Ebenezer Champney, and died October 14, 1829.

Jonathan Sewall was, for a time during his professional career, a resident of Middlesex County. He was born in Boston, August 24, 1728, and graduated at Harvard in the class of 1748 with only twenty-three associates. He was son of Jonathan Sewall and great-nephew of Stephen Sewall, chief justice of the Superior Court of Judicature. After leaving college he taught school in Salem until 1756, when he prepared himself for the law and settled in

Charlestown. He advanced rapidly in his profession, and in 1767 was a barrister and had been appointed Attorney-General for Massachusetts. In 1775 he removed to St. John, New Brunswick, where he was judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court until his death, which occurred at that place September 26, 1796.

Homer Bartlett was born in Granby, in Hampshire County, July 19, 1795. He fitted for college at Westfield Academy and graduated at Williams in 1818. He read law with Daniel Noble and Charles A. Dewey, of Williamstown, and was admitted to the Berkshire bar in 1821. After a residence of three years in Williamstown, after his admission, he removed to Ware in 1824, where he continued until 1832 in the practice of his profession, in which year he was appointed agent of the Hampshire Manufacturing Company. In 1839 he was made manager of the Massachusetts Cotton-Mill, of Lowell, incorporated in that year, and removed to that city, entering on the duties of his new position on the 18th of October in that year. In January, 1849, he was appointed treasurer of the company, which position he held until his resignation, January 22, 1872. He was a representative from Ware in 1832, and from Lowell in 1849, Presidential elector in 1844, and a member of the Executive Council in 1854. Mr. Bartlett married, February 6, 1823, Mary, daughter of William Starkweather, of Williamstown, who died in Lowell, October 3, 1850. He removed to Boston while he was treasurer of the Massachusetts Mills, and married, June 4, 1861, Mrs. Louisa (Fowler) Hubbell, of Albany, who died May 27, 1873. He survived his second wife only a year and died March 29, 1874, and was buried at Mount Auburn.

Mr. Bartlett was descended from John Bartlett and wife, Agnes (Bengan) Bartlett, of Cherington, Warwickshire, England, who died, one in 1613 and the other in 1615. Robert Bartlett, son of John, married, in 1603, Anne, daughter of Richard Livingston, and had nine children, of whom Robert, baptized March 8, 1606, came to New England in September, 1632, and settled in Cambridge. He afterwards removed to Hartford, and in 1655 to Northampton, where he lived until March 14, 1675–76, at which date he was killed by the Indians. Robert Bartlett had four children, of whom Samuel, born at Hartford in 1639, married, in 1672, Mary Bridgeman, and, in 1675, Sarah Baldwin, and had by the second wife twelve children. One of these children, Ebenezer, born in Northampton, September 27, 1685, married, December 1, 1715, Martha Lyman, and had five children, of whom Ebenezer, born in Northampton, August 28, 1721, died in Granby in 1788. The last Ebenezer had seven children, of whom another Ebenezer, born in South Hadley in 1745, died in Granby, February 2, 1798. He married Betsey Barton, of Ludlow, and had ten children, of whom Asahel, born in Granby in 1758, married three wives—Hannah Burchard, Sally Bonner and Almira Mellen. By the first wife he had six children and by the second five, and the first wife was the mother of the subject of this sketch.

Joseph Locke was born in Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire, in 1772, and graduated at Dartmouth in 1797; he studied law with Timothy Bigelow in Groton, and was admitted to the Middlesex bar in 1800. In 1801 he began the practice of his profession in Billerica, and there remained until 1833, when he removed to Lowell. While living in Billerica he presided eight years over the Court of Sessions, was Presidental elector in 1816, member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820, eight years a representative to the General Court, and in 1821–22 a member of the Executive Council. During his residence in Lowell he represented that city one year in the General Court, and in 1834 was made judge of the Lowell Police Court, which position he held thirteen years resigning, in 1847, at the age of seventy-five. His death occurred November 10, 1653. Judge Locke was a man of unusual purity of character, and in whatever community he lived he always inspired reverence and love.

Edward St. Loe Livermore was born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, April 5, 1762. He was the son of Samuel Livermore, chief justice of the Superior Court in that State, and his wife Jane, daughter of Rev. Arthur Browne. He was descended from John Livermore, who came to New England about the year 1634 and settled in Watertown, whence he removed in 1665 to Wethersfield, Connecticut, and later to New Haven. In 1670 the ancestor returned to Watertown and there died in 1685. Samuel Livermore, a great-grandson of John, born in 1732, graduated at Nassau Hall, New Jersey, and read law at Beverly, Massachusetts, with Edmund Trowbridge and settled in Portsmouth, and became Attorney-General of the Province. His son Edward was educated at Londonderry and Holderness, New Hampshire, and read law with Theophilus Parsons at Newburyport. He began the practice of law at Concord, New Hampshire, and married Mehetabel, daughter of Robert Harris. He afterwards removed to Portsmouth, and was appointed by Washington district attorney, which office he held until 1798, and became chief justice of the Superior Court of New Hampshire. In 1799 he married Sarah Crease, daughter of William Stackpole, of Boston. In 1802 he removed to Newburyport, and while a resident there was a representative to the General Court, and a member of Congress from Essex North District. In 1811 he removed to Boston, and on the 4th of July, 1813, delivered the usual annual oration in that city. At the close of the War of 1812 he removed to Zanesville, Ohio, but soon returned to Boston, and in 1816 took up his final residence in Tewksbury. He purchased there the Gedney estate of about 200 acres, which he called Belvidere, and there died September 15, 1832, his body being deposited in the Granary burial-ground in Boston.

Elisha Glidden was born in Unity, New Hamp-

shire in 1789, and graduated at Dartmouth in 1815. He read law in Dover, New Hampshire, and with Samuel Hubbard in Boston, and was admitted to the bar in 1818 or 1819. In 1820 he went to Townsend to take charge of the legal business of Colonel Walter Hastings, where he remained until 1823, during which time Colonel Hastings died. Mr. Glidden afterwards married Mrs. Hastings, and after a short residence in Boston removed to Lowell, where the writer believes he was associated at different times with Luther Lawrence and with Thomas Hopkinson, who had been one of his students. He was a director in the Railroad Bank, and president of the Lowell Institution for Savings, and died April 2, 1835.

Loammi Baldwin was a descendant of Henry Baldwin, one of the first settlers of Woburn. His father, Col. Loammi Baldwin, was an officer in the Revolution, and sheriff of Middlesex County. The subject of this sketch was born in Woburn, May 16, 1780, and graduated at Harvard in 1800, in the class with Lemuel Shaw. He was admitted to the Middlesex bar in 1803, but abandoned his profession and became a distinguished engineer. The dry-dock at the Charlestown navy-yard was built by him. He died at Charlestown, June 30, 1838.

William Emerson Faulkner was the son of Francis Faulkner, and was born in Acton, October 23, 1776. He graduated at Harvard in 1797, and read law with his brother-in-law, Jabez Upham, of Brookfield, with whom he was afternards associated until his death, which occurred October 1, 1804.

Josiah Adams, the son of Rev. Moses Adams, was born in Acton, November 3, 1781, and graduated at Harvard in 1801. He read law with Thomas Heald, and after his admission to the bar in June, 1807, settled in Framingham. He died in 1854.

Aaron Keyes was born in Westford in 1791, and read law in Bridgewater. He was admitted to the bar in 1822 and settled at Townsend Centre, where he was postmaster from 1826 to 1835. He married, in 1824, Martha, daughter of Moses Warren, and died in 1842.

Samuel Jackson Prescott, son of Dr. Oliver Prescott, of Groton, was born in that town March 15, 1773, and graduated at Harvard in 1795, in the class with Nathaniel Bradstreet and Benjamin Gorham. He read law with William Prescott, but left the profession and embarked in business with Aaron P. Cleveland. Having suffered serious loss in consequence of the embargo, he finally retired from business and was for many years a popular notary public in Boston. He died in Brookline, February 7, 1857.

Jonathan Porter was born in Medford November 13, 1791, and graduated at Harvard in 1814, in the class with Benjamin Apthorp Gould, Francis William Pitt Greenwood, Alvan Lamson, Pliny Merrick, William Hickling Prescott and James Walker. He studied with Luther Lawrence in Groton, and died in Medford, June 11, 1859.

Joshua Prescott was born in Westford November 15, 1780. He read law with James Prescott in Groton and died at Reading, January 1, 1859.

Thomas Rice was born at Pownalborough (now Wiscasset), Maine, March 30, 1798, and read law with Timothy Bigelow at Groton. He died at Winslow, Maine, August 24, 1854.

Samuel Emerson Smith was born in Hollis, New Hampshire, March 12, 1788. He studied at the Groton Academy and graduated at Harvard in 1808. He read law with Samuel Dana at Groton and died at Wiscasset, Maine, March 3, 1860.

Augustus Thorndike was born in Beverly, July 8, 1797, and graduated at Harvard in 1816, in the class with Samuel Dana Bell, George Frederick Farley, Oliver William Bourn Peabody and Joseph Willard, and gave the college twenty thousand dollars. He read law at Groton with Luther Lawrence and died at Boston, July 8, 1858. He married Henrietta Stewart, of Annapolis, Maryland, and had four children, of whom two sons, James Stewart and Charles, graduated at Harvard in 1848 and 1854.

Ethan Shepley was born in Groton November 2, 1789, and received his education at the academy in that town. He studied law in South Berwick, Maine, and in 1814 began practice at Saco, from which place he removed to Portland. From 1821 to 1833 he was United States district attorney of Maine, from 1833 to 1836 United States Senator, from 1836 to 1848 associate justice on the bench of the Supreme Court of Maine, and from 1848 to 1855 chief justice. He received a degree of Doctor of Laws, from Colby University in 1842 and one from Dartmouth in 1845, and died in Portland, January 15, 1877.

Willard Hall was born in Westford, December 24, 1780, and was the son of Willis and Mehetabel (Poole) Hall, of that town, and grandson of Rev. Willard Hall, the first minister of Westford. He graduated at Harvard in 1799 and read law with Samuel Dana at Groton, and was admitted to the bar of Hillsboro' County, New Hampshire, in 1803. Immediately after his admission he went to the State of Delaware and settled in Georgetown, from whence he very soon after removed to Dover, in the same State. In 1812 he was Secretary of State, holding the office three years; from 1816 to 1818 he was a member of Congress, in 1821 again Secretary of State and in 1822 a member of the Delaware Senate. On the 6th of May, 1823, he was commissioned United States judge for the Delaware district, holding the office forty-eight years, and resigning in 1871. He was actively interested in the cause of education, and created and perfected the present educational system of his adopted State. He was forty-eight years president of the Delaware Bible Society, many years president of the Wilmington Savings Funds Society, president of the Delaware Historical Society and an elder of the Presbyterian Church from 1829 to his death, which occurred May 10, 1875.

John Abbot, the oldest son of John Abbot, of West-

ford, was born in that town January 27, 1777. He graduated at Harvard in 1798, and for a time was preceptor of the Westford Academy. He read law in his native town and there began practice He was a trustee and treasurer of the academy, State Senator and member of the Constitutional Convention in 1820. He was active and prominent in the Masonic order and officiated as Grand Master at the laying of the corner-stone of Bunker Hill monument June 17, 1825. He died April 30, 1854.

JOHN WRIGHT was born in Westford November 4, 1797. He fitted for college at Phillips Academy and graduated at Harvard in 1823 in the class with William Amory, Francis Hilliard, Daniel Putnam King, William Parsons Lunt and George Ripley. He studied law in Groton and after a short season of practice became interested in manufactures and the agent of the Suffolk Mills of Lowell. He died in Lowell in 1869.

JOHN MERRICK was born in Concord February 7, 1761, and graduated at Harvard in 1784 in the class with Prentiss Mellen, Benjamin Pickman and Samuel Webber. He read and practiced law in Concord and died August 15, 1797.

WILLIAM JONES, son of Samuel Jones, of Concord, was born in that town September 15, 1772, and graduated at Harvard in 1793, in the class with Charles Jackson, John Pierce and Samuel Thatcher. He read law with Jonathan Fay, of Concord, and after practicing a short time in that town removed to Norridgewock, Maine, about 1801. He was appointed clerk of the Court of Common Pleas for Somerset County June 29, 1809, and on the 23d of April, 1812, clerk of all the County Courts. June 22, 1809, he was made judge of Probate. Aside from his civil offices he was brigadier-general in the Maine Militia. On the 4th of July, 1795, only two years after leaving college, he was selected to deliver the oration in his native town. He died at Norridgewock January 10, 1813.

SAMUEL PHILLIPS PRESCOTT FAY, son of Jonathan Fay, of Concord, was born in that town January 10, 1778, and graduated at Harvard in 1803, in the class with John Farrar, James Savage and Samuel Willard. He was admitted to the Middlesex bar in 1803 and first settled at Cambridgeport. He was a councilor in 1818–19, member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820, and an overseer of Harvard College from 1825 to 1852. On the 12th of May, 1821, he was appointed judge of Probate and afterwards lived in old Cambridge until his death, May 18, 1856.

RUFUS HOSMER, son of Joseph Hosmer, of Concord, was born in that town March 18, 1778, and graduated at Harvard in 1800. He was admitted to the bar of Essex County in 1803 and removed to Stow.

STEPHEN MINOTT, son of Jonas Minott, of Concord, was born in that town September 28, 1776, and graduated at Harvard in 1801. After admission to the bar he settled in Haverhill, where he became a judge of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas. After the abolition of that court he was appointed in 1824 county attorney for Essex, and resigned in 1830.

JONAS WHEELER was the son of Jotham Wheeler, of Concord, and was born in that town February 9, 1789. He graduated at Harvard in 1810, in the class with James Gore King and Theodore Lyman. He read law with Erastus Root, of Camden, Maine, and settled in that town. He was both Representative and Senator in the Maine Legislature and died May 1, 1826.

EDWARD BROOKS was the oldest son of Peter C. Brooks, of Boston, and was born in that city in 1793. He graduated at Harvard in 1812 and read law in the office of his uncle, Benjamin Gorham. He was a representative in the General Court from Boston in 1834, 1837 and 1842, and rendered important aid to Samuel G. Howe in establishing the Perkins Institution for the Blind. He became finally a resident of Medford and died in that town in 1878.

GORHAM BROOKS, a younger brother of the above, was born in Medford, February 18, 1795. He fitted for college at Phillips Academy and graduated at Harvard in 1814. He read law with Joseph Lyman, of Northampton, but soon abandoned his profession and entered upon mercantile pursuits. In 1833 he was a member of the firm of W. C. Mayhew & Co., of Baltimore, and afterwards of the firm of Brooks & Harrison, in the same city. In 1840 he returned to Massachusetts and made Medford his residence. He was a member of the Legislature from Medford in 1847 and died September 10, 1855. His wife was a daughter of R. D. Shepherd, of Shepherdstown, Virginia.

EBENEZER BOWMAN was born in Wilmington, July 31, 1757, and graduated at Harvard in 1782. He practiced law at Wilkesbarre and died in 1829.

ISAAC FLETCHER was born in Dunstable, November 22, 1784, and graduated at Dartmouth in 1808. He read law with Prescott & Dunbar at Keene, New Hampshire, and in 1811 removed to Lyndon, Vermont. He was eight years attorney for Caledonia County, a member of the Legislature in 1837 and 1841, and a member at one time of the Governor's staff. He married, in 1813, Abigail Stone, and died October 9, 1842.

AMOS KENDALL was the son of Zebedee and Molly (Dakin) Kendall, of Dunstable, and was born in that town August 16, 1787. Until he was sixteen years of age he worked on his father's farm and then fitted for college at the academy at New Ipswich and at the academy at Groton. He graduated first scholar at Dartmouth in 1811, and while in college taught school a portion of the time in his native town. He read law in Groton with William M. Richardson, of Groton, and was admitted to the Middlesex bar. In 1814 he removed to Kentucky, where he was for a time a tutor in the family of Henry Clay. At

Frankfort, Kentucky, he edited the *Argus*, and in 1829 was appointed fourth auditor of the United States Treasury, by Andrew Jackson. From 1835 to 1840 he was Postmaster-General and afterwards devoted himself to his profession. He was the founder and the first president of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum at Washington, and was for some years one of the trustees of Columbia College, in that city. He married, October 1, 1818, Mary B. Woolfolk, by whom he had four children, and in 1826 he married Mary Kyle, by whom he had ten more, and who died in Washington in June, 1864. In 1849 he received a degree of Doctor of Laws from Dartmouth College. During his residence in Washington he gave $115,000 to the Cavalry Baptist Church, $20,000 to the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, $25,000 to found two mission schools, and $6000 to establish a scholarship in Columbia College. In 1862 he removed to Kendall Green, New Jersey, and in 1866 visited Europe and the Holy Land. He died in Washington, November 12, 1869. Mr. Kendall was descended from Francis Kendall, who came to New England from England about 1640 and settled in Woburn. Francis Kendall married Mary Tidd in 1644, and had John, born 1646; Thomas, 1649; Mary, 1651; Elizabeth, 1653; Hannah, 1655; Rebecca, 1657; Samuel, 1659; Jacob, 1661; and Abigail, 1666. Jacob Kendall, one of these children, was the great-grandfather of Zebedee, the father of the subject of this sketch.

William Merchant Richardson was born in Pelham, N. H., Jan. 4, 1774, and graduated at Harvard in 1797. He practiced law a few years in Groton, and was a member of Congress from 1811 to 1814. Removing to Portsmouth, he became distinguished at the bar, and was chief justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire from 1816 to 1838. He was the author of the "New Hampshire Justice and Town Officer," and performed a great amount of work on the New Hampshire reports. He died at Chester, N. H., March 23, 1838.

William Austin was born in Charlestown March 2, 1778, and graduated at Harvard in 1798. He practiced law in the courts of both Suffolk and Middlesex, but was a member of the Middlesex bar. In 1801 he delivered an oration at Charlestown, on the 17th of June, and in 1807 published a volume entitled "An Essay on the Human Character of Jesus Christ." In 1805 he was wounded in a duel with James H. Elliott, the result of a newspaper controversy. He died in Charlestown June 27, 1841.

William Brattle was the son of Rev. William Brattle, of Cambridge, and was born in that town in 1702. He graduated at Harvard in 1722, in the class with William Ellery and Richard Saltonstall. He combined in his practice the occupation of a lawyer, preacher, physician, soldier and legislator. He was captain of an artillery company in 1733 and a major-general in the militia, and at various times a member of the General Court and of the Council. Being a Loyalist he removed to Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1776, and there died in October of that year.

Richard Dana was the grandson of Richard Dana, who came early to New England and settled in Cambridge in 1640. He was born in Cambridge July 7, 1699, and graduated at Harvard in 1718. He was eminent in his profession, and practiced in Marblehead, Charlestown and Boston. He married a sister of Edmund Trowbridge, and was the father of Francis Dana, already mentioned. He died in Cambridge May 17, 1772.

Richard H. Dana was the son of Francis Dana, of Cambridge, and was born in that town November 15, 1787. He graduated at Harvard in 1808, and read law with his father, and was admitted to the Suffolk bar in 1811, and, not long after, to the Baltimore bar. In 1812 he settled in practice in Cambridge, and at one time was a member of the General Court from that town. He is believed by the writer to have had no other experience in public life. His taste for purely literary occupation was early developed, and as an essayist and poet he had wide distinction. In 1814 he delivered a Fourth of July oration, in 1818 and 1819 he was associated with Edward Tyrrel Channing in the editorial management of the *North American Review*, and in 1839 and 1840 delivered a series of lectures on Shakespeare in Boston, New York and Philadelphia. As a poet, however, his name is better known. In 1825 he published in the *New York Review* his first poems—"The Dying Raven" and the "Husband and Wife's Grave," and in 1827 he published "The Buccaneer, and Other Poems." In 1833 a volume of his poetical works was issued, and in 1850 two volumes of his poems and prose writings were issued, which included all his literary efforts except his lectures on Shakespeare. He received a degree of Doctor of Laws from Williams College and died in 1867.

Steven Scales, believed to have been born in Boston, graduated at Harvard in 1763, in the class with Josiah Quincy, Nathan Cushing, John Jeffries, Samson Salter Blowers, Timothy Pickering and Caleb Gannett. He removed, in 1772, from Boston to Chelmsford, and died November 5th, in the same year.

Jonathan William Austin, the son of Benjamin Austin, of Boston, was born in that town April 18, 1751, and graduated at Harvard in 1769, in the class with James Winthrop, Peter Thacher and Theophilus Parsons. He read law with John Adams, and was admitted to the Suffolk bar July 27, 1772. In 1773 he removed to Chelmsford and began his professional life. He was a member of the Middlesex Convention in 1774, and passed through the several grades of captain, major and colonel in the War of the Revolution. He died in 1778, while in the army, on one of the Southern campaigns.

John Wythe, whose time and place of birth are unknown to the writer, graduated at Harvard in 1760, in the class with John Lowell and William

Baylies. He settled as a lawyer in Chelmsford in 1778, and subsequently removed to Lexington and Cambridge, at which latter place he died in 1811.

SAMUEL DEXTER, son of Samuel Dexter, of Boston, was born in that town May 14, 1761, and graduated at Harvard in 1781, in the class with John Davis and Dudley Atkins Tyng. He read law in Worcester and went to Chelmsford in 1786, subsequently removing to Charlestown and finally to Boston, where he became one of the most eminent lawyers of his day. He was a member of both the House and Senate in Congress, serving in the latter capacity in 1799 and 1800, and was appointed, by President John Adams, Secretary of War in 1800, and Secretary of the Treasury in 1801. His chief distinction, however, he won at the bar. He lived in days before oratory was a lost art in the courts, and his arguments were masterpieces of logic clothed in language delighting the ear and winning the heart and judgment of all who heard him. His peroration in his speech, in 1806, in defense of Thomas Oliver Selfridge, indicted for the murder of Charles Austin, the writer heard repeated many years since by Judge Nahum Mitchell, of East Bridgewater, who was in the court-room at the time of its delivery. Selfridge was a graduate of Harvard in 1797, and the father of Rear Admiral Selfridge, of the United States navy. He was a practicing lawyer and a prominent Federalist. Austin was the son of Benjamin Austin, an active and earnest Democrat, who, it was claimed by his son, had been abused in the newspapers by Selfridge. For this abuse Austin threatened to punish Selfridge, and the two meeting in State Street, Boston, Selfridge, expecting an attack, fired the fatal shot. Both Selfridge and Austin occupied high social positions, the latter being the son of a distinguished merchant and the uncle of the late James Trecothic Austin, the Attorney-General of Massachusetts from 1832 to 1843; and intense excitement, both political and social, attended the trial. The writer remembers a capital trial about 1841, in which James T. Austin, the Attorney-General, was opposed by Franklin Dexter for the defense, the son of Samuel Dexter, who successfully defended Selfridge, the slayer of Mr. Austin's uncle, and it was not difficult to detect, in the course of the trial, a trace of the ancient family feud which the events of 1806 had excited. The closing words of Mr. Dexter's speech were as follows:

"I respect the dictates of the Christian religion; I shudder at the thought of shedding human blood; but if ever I may be driven to that narrow pass where forbearance ends and disgrace begins, may this right arm fall palsied from its socket if I fail to defend mine honor."

Mr. Dexter died at Athens, in the State of New York, May 4, 1816.

ELISHA FULLER was the son of Rev. Timothy Fuller, of Princeton, and was born in 1795 and graduated at Harvard in 1815, in the class with George Eustis, Convers Francis, Thaddeus William Harris, John Amory Lowell, John Gorham Palfrey, Theophilus Parsons and Jared Sparks. He was admitted to the bar in 1823 and settled in Concord, whence in June, 1831, he removed to Lowell. He finally removed in 1844 to Worcester and died in 1855.

TIMOTHY FULLER, a brother of the above, was born in Chilmark, Massachusetts, July 11, 1778. He graduated at Harvard in 1801, and read law in Worcester in the office of Levi Lincoln. He was State Senator from 1813 to 1816, member of Congress from 1817 to 1825, Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1825 and member of the Executive Council in 1828. He was the father of Sarah Margaret Fuller (Countess d'Ossoli), Arthur Buckminster and Richard Frederick Fuller, all of whom were born in Cambridge during the residence of their father in that town. After many years' residence in Cambridge he removed to Groton and there died October 1, 1835.

CALEB BUTLER was born in Pelham, New Hampshire, September 13, 1776, and graduated at Dartmouth in 1800. He read law in Groton with Luther Lawrence and settled in that town, where he was the principal of the Groton Academy eleven years, and postmaster thirteen years. He devoted much of his time to literary pursuits and published a history of Groton in 1848. He died at Groton October 7, 1854.

WILLIAM L. CHAPLIN was the son of Rev. Daniel and Susanna (Prescott) Chaplin, and was born October 27, 1796. He died at Cortland, New York, April 28, 1871.

CHRISTOPHER GORE was born in Boston September 21, 1758, and was the son of John Gore, of that town. He graduated at Harvard in 1776 and studied law with John Lowell. In 1789 he was appointed United States district attorney, and in 1796 was appointed, with William Pinckney, commissioner under Jay's treaty to settle American claims against England. He was a member of both branches of the State Legislature, Governor of Massachusetts in 1809 and United States Senator from 1813 to 1816. He died at his residence in Waltham March 1, 1827.

ROGER SHERMAN, one of the signers of the Declation of Independence was a native of Middlesex County, and was born in Newton April 19, 1721. Until twenty-two years of age he followed the trade of shoemaker, and in 1743 went to North Milford, Connecticut, where he engaged in trade with an older brother, and in 1745 was appointed county surveyor of lands. He subsequently read law and was admitted to the bar in 1754, at the age of thirty-three. He was at one time a member of the Assembly and in 1759 was appointed a judge of the Court of Common Pleas. In 1761 he removed to New Haven and was appointed there in 1765 judge of the Common Pleas, an assistant in 1766 and later a judge of the Superior Court. In 1774 he was appointed member of Congress, became United States Senator and from 1784 until his death was mayor of New Haven. In 1776

he was one of the committee of Congress appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence, and in 1783 assisted in codifying the laws of Connecticut. He died at New Haven July 23, 1793.

Roger Minot Sherman, nephew of the above, was born in Woburn May 22, 1773, and graduated at Yale in 1792. He was admitted to the bar in 1796, and made Fairfield, Conn., his permanent residence. He was a member of the Assembly in 1798, of the Senate from 1814 to 1818, a member of the Hartford Convention in 1814, and judge of the Superior Court and the Supreme Court of Errors from 1840 to 1842. He died at Fairfield December 30, 1844.

Asher Ware was born in Sherburne February 10, 1782, and graduated at Harvard in 1804, receiving a degree of Doctor of Laws from Bowdoin in 1837. After leaving college he was tutor at Harvard from 1807 to 1811, and Professor of Greek from 1811 to 1815. After admission to the bar he practiced one year, 1816, in Boston, and in 1817 removed to Portland. Upon the organization of the State of Maine, in 1820, he was made Secretary of State, and from 1822 to 1866 was judge of the United States District Court.

Simon Greenleaf, though not a member of the Middlesex bar, was so long a resident in the county as Professor in the Dane Law School at Cambridge that he ought not to be omitted in these sketches. Mr. Greenleaf was descended from Edmund Greenleaf, of Brixham, Devonshire, England, who came to New England very early and settled in Newbury in 1635, whence he removed about 1650 to Boston, and there died in 1671. The family is supposed to have been of French origin, and its name a translation of the French Feuillevert. Jonathan Greenleaf, of the fourth generation, lived in Newbury, accumulating property by ship-building and taking an active part in public affairs as Representative, Senator and Councilor. His son Moses was a ship-builder and removed to New Gloucester, Maine, where he died in 1812. Moses Greenleaf married, in 1776, Lydia, daughter of Rev. Jonathan Parsons, of Newburyport, and Simon Greenleaf, the subject of this sketch, was his fourth child, and was born in Newburyport December 5, 1783. After the removal of his father to New Gloucester, about 1790, Simon, left in the care of his grandfather, attended the Latin School of Newburyport, under the instruction of Michael Walsh, and at the age of eighteen joined his father and began the study of law in the office of Ezekiel Whitman, afterwards chief justice of the Supreme Court of Maine. In 1805 he was admitted to the bar of Cumberland County and began to practice in the town of Standish, Maine, whence he removed to Gray, and in 1818 removed to Portland. When the district of Maine became a State in 1820, and a Supreme Court was established, he was appointed by the Governor reporter of decisions, and held office twelve years. During this period he published nine volumes of reports. In 1832 he resigned his position, and in 1833 succeeded John Hooker Ashmun as Royall Professor in the Dane Law School, which situation he held until 1846, when, on the death of Judge Joseph Story, he was transferred to the Dane Professorship. In 1848 failing health induced his resignation, but until his death he held the position of Professor Emeritus.

Besides his volumes of reports Mr. Greenleaf published in 1821 "a full collection of Cases Overruled, Denied, Doubted or Limited in their application, taken from American and English Reports;" in 1842 a "Treatise on the Law of Evidence," and at various times an "Examination of the Testimony of the Four Evangelists by the Rules of Evidence administered in Courts of Justice;" an edition of "Cruise's Digest of the Law of Real Property;" a "Discourse at his Inauguration as Royall Professor," and a "Discourse Commemorative of the Life and Character of the Hon. Joseph Story, LL.D." He received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Harvard in 1834, from Amherst in 1845, from Alabama College in 1852, and the degree of Master of Arts from Bowdoin in 1817. He died at Cambridge October 6, 1853. He married, in 1806, Hannah, daughter of Ezra Kingman, of East Bridgewater, Massachusetts, and had fifteen children, of whom only one survived him.

Abner Bartlett was a descendant of Robert Bartlett, who came to Plymouth in the "Ann" in 1623 and married, in 1628, Mary, daughter of Richard Warren, who came in the "Mayflower." He was the son of Abner and Anna (Hovey) Bartlett, of Plymouth, and was born in that town in 1776. His sister Anna married, in 1796, Ellis Bartlett, the grandfather of William Lehman Ashmead Bartlett, who married Baroness Burdett-Coutts. He graduated at Harvard in 1799 and married Sarah Burgess and settled in Medford. One of his daughters was the first wife of Rev. Dr. George W. Briggs, now of Cambridge. He died in Medford, September 3, 1850.

Samuel Blodget was born in Woburn, April 1, 1724, and at the age of twenty-one was engaged in the expedition against Louisbourg, in 1745. He was before the Revolution judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Hillsborough County. In 1791 he became interested in the manufacture of duck, and in 1793 began the construction of the canal round Amoskeag Falls, which bears his name. He died at Haverhill, September 1, 1807.

John Hoar went from Scituate about 1660 and settled in Concord, where he died April 2, 1704.

Daniel Bliss, son of Rev. Daniel Bliss, was born in Concord, March 18, 1740, and graduated at Harvard in 1760. He read law with Abel Willard, of Lancaster, and was admitted to the Worcester bar in 1765. He began practice in Rutland, removed to Concord in 1772, but retired to Fredericton, New Brunswick, at the time of the Revolution, where he became chief justice of the Provincial Court of Common Pleas, and died in 1806.

THOMAS HEALD was born in New Ipswich, New Hampshire, March 31, 1768, and graduated at Dartmouth in 1797. He read law with Jonathan Fay and was admitted to the bar in 1800. He settled in Concord in 1813 and died at Blakeley, Alabama, in 1821, while a judge in that State.

JOHN LEIGHTON TUTTLE was born in Littleton and graduated at Harvard in 1796. He practiced law in Concord, where he was postmaster, county treasurer and Senator, and died at Watertown, New York, July 23, 1813.

JOHN KEYES was the son of Joseph Keyes, of Westford, and was born in that town in the year 1787. He was the youngest son of a large family of twelve children, and until entering college lived with his father, working on his farm during the summer and attending the district school in the winter. His father reared his family during the disastrous days which followed the Revolution on a farm of about forty acres of poor soil and without a market, where his ancestors during four generations had before him struggled for a livelihood. Young Keyes, with a mind stronger than his body, whose constitution, naturally delicate, had been further unfitted, by a severe accident in his fifteenth year, for the labors of a farmer's life, gradually drifted into the paths of knowledge which led to a better education than that which most of his school and playmates were able to receive. With health somewhat restored he entered Westford Academy, boarding at home and walking daily three miles to school. He entered Dartmouth College in 1805, and by careful economy and with the earnings of school-teaching in the winter he made the scanty supplies from home suffice for his college career, and graduated in 1809. Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, was the youngest in years and first in rank in his class, and it is said that the seventeen hours of study in the twenty-four which the robust constitution of Woodbury permitted him without injury to endure, alone enabled him to compete successfully with his less fortunate classmate and friend.

After leaving college he returned to Westford and entered as a student the law-office of John Abbott, then an eminent practitioner at the Middlesex bar, supporting himself partly by services rendered to his instructor and partly by teaching school. In the winter of 1811–12 he taught the school in District No. 7, in Concord, boarding with Samuel Buttrick, and March 12, 1872, entered his name in the law-office of John Leighton Tuttle, of that town. At the September term of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas in the last-mentioned year, before Judge Samuel Dana, he was admitted to the Middlesex bar, and at once took the office of Mr. Tuttle, who had been appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Ninth Regiment for frontier service, and who died at Watertown, New York, July 23, 1813. Colonel Tuttle had been postmaster of Concord, and Mr. Keyes was appointed his successor, holding the office from 1812 to 1837, when he was removed by President Van Buren. Colonel Tuttle had also been county treasurer, and Benjamin Prescott, who was chosen to succeed him, having failed to give bonds, Mr. Keyes was appointed by the Court of Sessions in his place. He was subsequently rechosen annually until 1837, a period of twenty-four years. From the salaries of these offices he laid the foundation of a fortune which at his death was the largest ever inventoried in Concord.

Mr. Keyes was early led into politics and warmly supported the Democratic party in opposition to that of the Federalists. The alluring attractions of political work, together with the duties of the offices, he held, drew him somewhat away from the more sober paths of his profession; but he acquired nevertheless a respectable and lucrative practice at a bar which included Artemas Ward, Samuel Dana, Timothy Bigelow, Asahel Stearns and Samuel Hoar among his seniors, and Hosmer, Fuller, Lawrence and Adams among his contemporaries. Though he was engaged in many important causes, he was, however, better known as a politician than as a practicing lawyer. In 1820 he was a delegate to the convention for the revision of the State Constitution from Concord, and in 1821 and 1822 he was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. From 1823 to 1829 he was a member of the Senate, in which body he was of sufficient consideration to attract the shafts of his political opponents, one of which was so libelous as to cause the editor who published it to be prosecuted and convicted. At the close of his first senatorial term he was nominated by the National Republican party for Congress, but was defeated by Edward Everett, after a close contest. In 1832 and 1833 he was again a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and during the illness of the Speaker, Julius Rockwell, was chosen Speaker *pro tem.* From 1823 to 1833 his party was predominant in Middlesex County, and his counsels prevailed with his party, being, as he undoubtedly was, the most popular and influential man within its limits.

Mr. Keyes was prominent in the Masonic Order, at one time holding the second office in the State, and in the Anti-Masonic excitement of 1834 he was an object of special attack, and in consequence lost his office of county treasurer. In 1837, when removed from the post-office, he ended his public service.

In town affairs he was active, but declined office, except that of moderator of town-meetings, to which he was frequently chosen. He was a good presiding officer and was selected to act as President of the Day at the bi-centennial celebration of the settlement of Concord. He was one of the projectors of the Mill Dam Company, the Insurance Company, the Bank and Savings Institution in that town, and either president or director in these corporations. In the Lyceum, the schools and the parish he was earnest and useful, and all of them have felt the impress of his hand and life.

In 1816 Mr. Keyes married Ann S. Shepard, daughter of Dr. T. Shepard, of Hopkinton, whose widow had removed to Concord and lived there, the wife of William Hildreth, sheriff of Middlesex County, from 1810 to 1815. He had five children, of whom two were girls and died young, and three were sons, of whom one, John S. Keyes, is mentioned in this narrative. Mr. Keyes died at Concord, August 29, 1844, at the age of fifty-seven.

ABRAHAM FULLER, son of Joseph and Sarah (Jackson) Fuller, was born March 23, 1720. He kept school in Newton four years; was town clerk and treasurer of that town twenty-seven years from 1766; representative to the General Court eighteen years; delegate to the Provincial Court, Senator, councillor and judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He died April 20, 1794.

WALTER HASTINGS was born in Chelmsford in 1778 and graduated at Harvard in 1799. He read law with Judge Prescott at Groton, and opened an office in Townsend, where he practiced until the War of 1812, during which he was a colonel of a regiment. At the close of the war he returned to Townsend, and in 1814 married Roxanna, daughter of Moses Warren, and died June 6, 1821.

NATHANIEL GORHAM was born in Charlestown May 27, 1738. He was many years one of the selectmen of the town, and its representative from 1771 to 1775. He was a delegate to Provincial Congress, a member of the Board of War, a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention in 1779, a delegate to Congress in 1782–83 and in 1785–87, and its president in 1786. He was also, for several years, a judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He died at Canandaigua, New York, October 22, 1826.

BENJAMIN GORHAM, son of the above, was born in Charlestown February 13, 1775, and graduated at Harvard in 1795. He studied law with Theophilus Parsons, and become an eminent lawyer at the Middlesex and Suffolk bars. He was a member of the General Court, and in 1820, '21, '22, '23, '27, '28, '29, '30, '31, '33, '35 was a member of Congress. He died in Boston September 27, 1856.

DANIEL BLISS RIPLEY, son of Rev. Ezra Ripley, of Concord, was born in that town in 1788, and graduated at Harvard in 1805. He died at St. Stephen's, Alabama, April 30, 1825.

JOSEPH STORY was neither a native of Middlesex County nor a practitioner at its bar, but he had his residence so long within its limits, and in the minds of persons living, who remember him, he was so identified with Cambridge and the Law School, of which he was many years the head, that a chapter on the Middlesex Bench and Bar would be incomplete without a reference to his professional career and the law publications which he left as memorials of his legal knowledge and indefatigable industry. He was born in Marblehead, September 18, 1779, and was the son of Dr. Elisha Story, a native of Boston, and a surgeon in the Revolution. He graduated at Harvard in 1798, and received degrees of Doctor of Laws from Brown in 1815, Harvard in 1821 and Dartmouth in 1824. The writer can do no better than follow the text of a sketch of Judge Story published in another work, which contains all the facts necessary to relate, and which might as well be literally copied, as to be presented in a merely remodeled form:

Among his classmates were William Ellery Channing, John Varnum and Sidney Willard. His education before entering college was received in Marblehead under the direction of Rev. Dr. William Harris, afterwards president of Columbia College. He began his law studies in the office of Chief Justice Samuel Sewall, in Marblehead, and continued them, after the appointment of Mr. Sewall to the bench, in the office of Samuel Putnam, of Salem. He was admitted to the Essex bar in July, 1801. He was a Democrat in politics, and as such stood almost alone among the lawyers of the county. He was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1805, '16 and '17, a member of Congress in 1808, again a member of the Legislature from 1809 to 1812, and was chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives in January, 1811.

In 1806 he advocated in the Legislature an increase of the salaries of the judges of the Supreme Judicial Court, in opposition to the prejudices of his party against high judicial salaries, and more especially against Theophilus Parsons, whom it was proposed to put upon the bench, but who could not afford to relinquish a practice of $10,000 for a position having attached to it the paltry salary of $1200. Mr. Parsons was especially obnoxious to the Democrats, but Mr. Story, with that sturdy independence which always characterized him, advocated and carried a bill to increase the salary of the chief justice to $2500, and of the associate justices to $2400, and Mr. Parsons was appointed and accepted the appointment. In 1809 he advocated and was largely the means of securing a further increase of the salaries of the chief justice and the associates to $3500 and $3000 respectively.

On the 18th of November, 1811, he was appointed by Madison associate justice of the Supreme Court of United States, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of William Cushing, of Massachusetts, which occurred on the 13th of September, 1810. The appointment had been previously offered to John Quincy Adams, who declined it. Mr. Story was then only thirty-two years of age, and his appointment reflects credit on the sagacity of Mr. Madison who discovered in so young a man the signs of promise which his career afterwards fully verified. In 1820, at the time of the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, he was a delegate from Salem to the Constitutional Convention. In 1828, Nathan Dane, who, in founding the Law School at Cambridge, had reserved to himself the appointments to its professorships, appointed Judge

Story, Dane Professor of Law, and John Hooker Ashmun, Royall Professor of Law, and in the next year, 1829, he removed from Salem to Cambridge, where he continued to serve until his death, on the 10th of September, 1845.

Aside from his learning in the law and that wonderful fluency in the use of language, both spoken and written, which made his learning available, nothing distinguished him more than his industry. With the labors of a judge constantly pressing upon him and the cares of his professorship, the press was kept busy in supplying the law libraries of the land with his commentaries and treatises and miscellaneous productions. His first publication seems to have been a poem entitled the "Power of Solitude," published in Salem in 1804. In 1805 appeared "Selections of Pleadings in Civil Actions with Annotations." In 1828 he edited the public and general statutes passed by Congress from 1789 to 1827, and in 1836 and 1845 supplements to these dates. In 1832 appeared "Commentaries on the Law of Bailments with Illustrations from the Civil and Foreign Law;" in 1833 "Commentaries on the Constitution;" in 1834 "Commentaries on the Conflict of Laws, Foreign and Domestic, in Regard to Contracts, Rights and Remedies, and Especially in Regard to Marriages, Divorces, Wills, Successions and Judgments." In 1835 and 1836 appeared "Commentaries on Equity Jurisprudence as Administered in England and America;" in 1838 "Commentaries on Equity Pleadings and the Incidents Thereto according to the Practice of the Courts of Equity in England and America;" in 1839 "Commentaries on the Law of Agency as a Branch of Commercial and Maritime Jurisprudence, with Occasional Illustrations from the Civil and Foreign Law;" in 1841 "Commentaries on the Law of Partnership as a Branch of Commercial and Maritime Jurisprudence, with occasional illustrations from the Civil and Foreign Laws;" in 1843 "Commentaries on the Law of Bills of Exchange, Foreign and Inland, as Administered in England and America, with occasional illustrations from the Commercial Law of Nations of Continental Europe;" in 1845 "Commentaries on the Law of Promissory Notes." His decisions in the first circuit from 1812 to 1815 are in "Gallison's Reports;" from 1816 to 1830 in "Mason's Reports;" from 1830 to 1839 in "Sumner's Reports," and from 1839 to 1845 in "Story's Reports." Among his numerous other publications were an "Eulogy on Washington," at Salem, in 1800; an "Eulogy on Captain James Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow," in 1813; "Sketch of Samuel Dexter," in 1816; "Charges to Grand Juries in Boston and Providence" in 1819; "Charge to the Grand Jury at Portland," in 1820; "Address before the Suffolk Bar," in 1821; "Discourse before the Phi Beta Society," in 1826; "Discourse before the Essex Historical Society" in 1828; "Address at his own inauguration as Professor," in 1829; "Address at the dedication of Mount Auburn," in 1831; "Address at the funeral services of Professor John Hooker Ashmun," in 1833; "Eulogy on John Marshal," in 1835; "Lectures on the Science of Law," in 1838; "Address before the Harvard Alumni," in 1842, and a "Charge to the Grand Jury of Rhode Island on Treason," in 1845. In addition to this long list of his works might be mentioned a large number of essays and articles in magazines and reviews, and three unprinted manuscript volumes finished just before his death, entitled "Digest of Law Supplementary to Comyns," which are deposited in the Harvard College Library.

NATHAN CROSBY was born in Sandwich, N. H., February 12, 1798. He was descended from Simon and Ann Crosby, who settled in Cambridge in 1635. The descent was through Simon, of Billerica, Josiah, Josiah, Josiah and Asa, a physician, who married Betsey, daughter of Colonel Nathan Hoit, and died in Hanover, N. H., April 12, 1836, at the age of seventy years. Nathan was one of seventeen children by two mothers, six dying young, five sons receiving degrees from Dartmouth and two daughters marrying professional men. Three of the brothers of Nathan were professors at Dartmouth. He graduated at Dartmouth in 1820, and married Rebecca, daughter of Stephen Moody, a lawyer of Gilmanton, N. H. He studied law with Mr. Moody and with Asa Freeman, of Dover. His wife died January 3, 1867, and he then married, May 19, 1870, Mrs. Matilda (Pickens) Fearing, daughter of James and Charity (Mackie) Pickens, of Boston, and widow of Dr. Joseph W. Fearing, of Providence. In 1826 he removed from New Hampshire to Amesbury, thence to Newburyport, and, in 1843, to Lowell, where he succeeded Joseph Locke as judge of the Police Court.

JOHN P. ROBINSON was born in Dover, N. H., in 1799, and, after attending Phillips Academy, entered Harvard in 1819, and graduated in 1823. He read law in the office of Daniel Webster, and in 1827 began practice in Lowell. He was a member of the House of Representatives in 1829, '30, '31, '33, '42, and a Senator in 1835. He was a scholar as well as a lawyer, and devoted no small portion of his time to classical study. He married a daughter of Ezra Worthen, and died October 20, 1864. He was a man of somewhat eccentric traits, and inveterate in his personal dislikes and quarrels. On one occasion, meeting a brother member of the bar, he said, while rubbing his hands with apparent satisfaction: "There will be hot work in hell to-night." "How is that, Mr. Robinson?" asked his friend. "Farley died this morning," he replied.

WILLIAM W. FULLER, son of Rev. Timothy Fuller, and brother of Elisha and Timothy, already mentioned, graduated at Harvard in 1813, and practiced law in Lowell eight years, but removed to Illinois, where he died in 1849.

NATHAN BROOKS, son of Joshua Brooks, of Lincoln, was born in that town October 18, 1785, and

graduated at Harvard in 1809. He settled in Concord in 1813, from which town he was Representative to the General Court in 1823, '24, '25. In 1827 he was appointed Master in Chancery, in 1829 he was a member of the Executive Council, and in 1831 Senator. He married, in 1820, Caroline Downes, and had Caroline, who married Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar. He married, second, Mary Merrick, and had George Merrick. He died in 1863.

SAMUEL FARRAR, son of Deacon Samuel Farrar, and brother of Timothy Farrar, already mentioned, was born in Lincoln, December 13, 1773, and graduated at Harvard in 1797. He was tutor at Harvard one year, after which he read law and settled in Andover, where he was at one time president of a bank and treasurer of the Theological Seminary, and died in 1864.

JOSEPH FARRAR, son of Humphrey Farrar, of Lincoln, was born in that town February 14, 1775, and graduated at Dartmouth in 1794. The writer is unable to state where he practiced law.

JAMES RUSSELL, son of Daniel Russell, of Charlestown, and brother of Chambers Russell, already mentioned, was born in Charlestown, August 5, 1715. He was a Representative from Charlestown thirteen years, from 1746, and May 16, 1771, was appointed a judge of the Court of Common Pleas. In 1775 he removed to Dunstable, and thence to Lincoln, where he lived more than fifteen years. He married Katharine, daughter of Thomas Graves, who died in Lincoln, September 17, 1778. His children were Thomas, who married Elizabeth, daughter of George Watson, of Plymouth; Charles, a graduate of Harvard in 1757, who became a physician; Chambers, who died in South Carolina; Katharine, who married a Mr. Henly, of Charlestown; Rebecca, who married Judge Tyng and Judge Sewall; Margaret, who married John Codman, and Sarah and Mary, unmarried. Mr. Russell died in Charlestown.

NATHANIEL PIERCE HOAR, son of Samuel Hoar, of Lincoln, was born in that town September 2, 1784, and graduated at Harvard in 1810. He read law with his brother, Samuel Hoar, of Concord, and settled in Portsmouth, N. H., in 1813. He returned to Lincoln, and there died May 24, 1820.

THOMAS FISKE, son of Elijah Fiske, of Lincoln, was born in that town about 1799 and graduated at Harvard in 1819. He settled in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1826 and died in 1830.

AMOS SPAULDING, son of Zebulon Spaulding, of Carlisle, graduated at Dartmouth in 1805 and settled, as a lawyer, in Andover. As a citizen of that town he was at one time a Representative and Senator in the General Court.

JOEL ADAMS, son of Timothy Adams, of Carlisle, graduated at Harvard in 1805 and was admitted to the Middlesex bar in September, 1808. He settled in Chelmsford and died in 1864.

ASA GREEN, son of Zaccheus Green, of Carlisle, graduated at Williams College in 1807 and settled as a lawyer in Brattleborough, Vermont, where he was at one time postmaster.

JOSEPH ADAMS, son of Rev. Moses Adams, of Acton, and brother of Josiah Adams, already mentioned, was born in Acton, September 25, 1783, and graduated at Harvard in 1803. He settled as a lawyer in West Cambridge and died in that town June 10, 1814.

ABIEL HEYWOOD, son of Jonathan Heywood, of Concord, was born in Concord, December 9, 1759, and graduated at Harvard in 1781. He studied medicine with Dr. Spring, of Watertown, and settled in his native town. In 1796 he was chosen town clerk and selectman; in 1802 he was appointed special judge of the Court of Common Pleas and was an associate justice of the Court of Sessions from 1802 to the time of the organization of the County Commissioners' Court. He died in Concord in 1839.

JONATHAN FAY was the son of Captain Jonathan Fay, of Westboro', and graduated at Harvard in 1778. He settled in the law at Concord, where he married Lucy Prescott, and died June 1, 1811, at the age of fifty-nine years.

PETER CLARK, son of Benjamin Clark, was born in Concord and graduated at Harvard in 1777. He settled in the law in Southboro' and died in July, 1792, aged thirty-six years.

SILAS LEE, son of Joseph Lee, of Concord, was born in that town July 3, 1760, and graduated at Harvard in 1784. He settled as a lawyer in what is now Wiscasset, Maine, and in 1800 and 1801 represented the district of Lincoln and Kennebec in the Sixth Congress. In January, 1802, he was appointed district attorney for the district of Maine, and in 1807 judge of probate for the county of Lincoln. He held the offices of district attorney and judge until his death, March 1, 1814.

JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM was born in Dracut in 1749 and graduated at Rhode Island College. After his admission to the bar he settled at East Greenwich, Rhode Island, and acquired an extensive practice. In 1774 he commanded the Kentish Guards and in January, 1775, was appointed colonel of the First Rhode Island Regiment. He was made brigadier-general February 21, 1777, and in the next winter he was at Valley Forge. He was at the battle of Monmouth in June, 1778, and in July engaged in General Sullivan's expedition to Rhode Island. In 1780–82 and 1786–87 he was a member of the old Congress, and in 1788, having been appointed judge of the Supreme Court in the Northwest Territory, he removed to Marietta, where he died, January 10, 1789.

SAMUEL HOAR, of Concord, was descended from Charles Hoar, sheriff of Gloucester, England, who died in that city in 1634. His widow, Joanna, came to New England about 1640 with five children, the sixth and oldest child, Thomas, remaining in England. Of these five children, Joanna married Colonel

Edmund Quincy; Margery married a Matthews in England, and in this country, when a widow, Rev. Henry Flint, of Braintree; Daniel went to England in 1653; Leonard was president of Harvard College from September 10, 1672, until his death, March 15, 1674–75; and John settled in Scituate and removed to Concord about 1660. The mother died in Braintree, December 23, 1661. John, who settled in Concord, by a wife Alice, who died June 5, 1697, had Elizabeth, who married Jonathan Prescott; Mary, who married Benjamin Graves, and Daniel, who married, in 1677, Mary Stratton. Daniel had John, Leonard, Daniel, Joseph, Jonathan, Mary, Samuel, Isaac, David and Elizabeth. Of these Daniel, the third son, married, in 1705, Sarah Jones, and had four sons—John, Daniel, Jonathan and Timothy—and several daughters. Of these, John married Elizabeth Coolidge, of Watertown, and was the father of Samuel and Leonard, of Lincoln. Of these two sons, Samuel married Susanna Pierce and was the father of the subject of this sketch. He lived in Lincoln and was a lieutenant in the Revolution, a magistrate, Representative, Senator and a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820.

The subject of this sketch was born in Lincoln, May 18, 1778, and fitted for college with Rev. Charles Stearns, of that town, graduating at Harvard in 1802. After leaving college he was two years a tutor in the family of Colonel Taylor, of Mount Airy, in Virginia, and at the close of his law studies with Artemas Ward, in Charlestown, was admitted to the bar in September, 1805, and settled in Concord. In 1806 he declined the office of the professorship of Mathematics at Harvard, having already in his first year of professional life acquired a very considerable practice. He rose rapidly to the front rank of lawyers at the Middlesex bar, and in almost all important cases in the courts of that county he was counsel on one side or the other. It has been said of him that "so eminently practical and useful and so much to the point did he always aim to make himself, that one would not speak of Mr. Hoar as especially learned or sagacious or eloquent, save when the precise condition of his cause needed the exercise of sagacity, of persuasive speech or the support of learning. He threw away no exertion by misplaced efforts, but what his cause demanded he was usually able to furnish, and few men could judge as well as he by what means his object would be best accomplished. No man was more safe than he as an adviser; none more fully prepared to meet the varying exigencies of the forum; no one, whatever his gifts of speech, more favorably impressed or convincingly addressed a jury. His style as a speaker was calm, dignified, simple, direct and unimpassioned, but he spoke as one who was first convinced, before he attempted to convince his tribunal. While he never went below the proper dignity of time, place and occasion, at the same time he would never fail to receive from all the juries and bystanders at a Middlesex *nisi prius* term the general award that he was the most sincere and sensible man that ever argued cases at that bar. Nor was this all. To the measure also of a greatness even to the surprise of his friends could he raise his efforts as an advocate when the occasion called for a full exhibition of his clear, strong, logical faculty, or excited those genuine emotions from which spring the fountains of eloquence." It may be stated as an illustration of the simple confidence reposed by the people of Middlesex County in his opinion and word, that on one occasion, when a jury failing to agree was called into court by the judge, the foreman said that there was no misunderstanding of the law on the evidence, but that they were embarrassed by the fact that while the evidence clearly proved the prisoner guilty, Mr. Hoar had said in his speech for the defense that he believed him innocent.

Mr. Hoar devoted himself almost exclusively to the labor of his profession until 1835, when he took his seat as a member of the Twenty-fourth Congress. He had, however, previous to that time represented Concord in the convention for the revision of the Constitution in 1820, and was a member of the State Senate in 1826, '32 and '33. In Congress he succeeded Edward Everett as a Representative from the Middlesex District. Soon after his single term in Congress he withdrew from the practice of law, and devoted himself to literary and philanthropic pursuits. He was a member of the Harrisburg Convention, which nominated General Harrison for the Presidency in 1839, and until ten years later than that time he was an unwavering supporter of the Whig party.

Not long after this time events occurred with which Mr. Hoar was personally connected, which served as one of the causes of that upheaval of public sentiment at the North against the institution of slavery which was destined to extinguish that institution forever. On the 19th of December, 1835, the Legislature of South Carolina passed an act providing that any free negro or person of color coming voluntarily into the State should be warned to depart, and failing so to depart, on returning after such warning, should be publicly sold as a slave. Under this act colored stewards, or cooks, or sailors of vessels entering South Carolina ports were to be seized and placed in jail, and there confined until the departure of the vessel in which they had come, and if they failed to depart with their vessels, or if they returned, they were to be sold as slaves. After several remonstrances made by Massachusetts against the treatment of her citizens under this Act, the Legislature, in March, 1843, passed resolves authorizing the Governor to employ an agent in the port of Charleston, "for the purpose of collecting and transmitting accurate information respecting the number and names of citizens of Massachusetts who have heretofore been, or may be during the period of his engagement, imprisoned without the allegation of any crime. The said agent shall also be

enabled to bring and prosecute, with the aid of counsel, one or more suits in behalf of any citizen that may be so imprisoned, at the expense of Massachusetts, for the purpose of having the legality of such imprisonment tried and determined upon in the Supreme Court of the United States." On the 16th of March, 1844, another resolve was passed, under which Governor George N. Briggs employed Mr. Hoar on the 11th of October in that year. It is unnecessary to here recount the various incidents which preceded the enforced return of Mr. Hoar to Massachusetts. He reached Charleston on the 28th of November, and on the 5th of December the Legislature of South Carolina adopted the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That the right to exclude from their territories seditious persons or others whose presence may be dangerous to their peace, is essential to every independent state.

"*Resolved*, That free negroes and persons of color are not citizens of the United States within the meaning of the Constitution, which confers upon the citizens of one state the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

"*Resolved*, That the emissary sent by the State of Massachusetts to the State of South Carolina, with the avowed purpose of interfering with her institutions and disturbing her peace, is to be regarded in the character he has assumed, and to be treated accordingly.

"*Resolved*, That his Excellency the Governor be requested to expel from our territory the said agent after due notice to depart; and that the Legislature will sustain the executive authority in any measures it may adopt for the purpose aforesaid."

An agent of the Governor to carry these resolutions into effect reached Charleston from Columbia, the capital, on the afternoon of Tuesday, the 6th of December; but Mr. Hoar, on the representation of the mayor and sheriff and leading citizens, that he could not remain with safety, had that morning embarked on his return. In the attempted performance of the duties of his mission he acted with coolness, composure, courage and good judgment. He did not fly from the danger, but yielded reluctantly to the necessities of the occasion, and Governor Briggs stated, in a special message to the Legislature, "that his conduct under the circumstances seems to have been marked by that prudence, firmness and wisdom which has distinguished his character through his life." In seeming recognition of his services and approval of his course, the Legislature, in the following January, by whom at that time the Executive Council were appointed, chose him one of that body.

In 1848 Mr. Hoar, believing the nomination of General Taylor an abandonment by the Whig party of its opposition to the extension of slavery, joined in the formation of the Free Soil party and presided at a convention at Worcester, June 28, 1848, to which all opposed to nominations of General Taylor and General Cass by the Whig and Democratic parties were invited. A national convention was afterwards held at Buffalo, and Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams were nominated for President and Vice-President. This ticket was supported by Mr. Hoar.

In 1850 Mr. Hoar was chosen Representative to the Legislature, and by his efforts the removal of the courts from Concord was postponed for a season, and largely through his influence and speech, Harvard College was preserved from State control.

In 1854 and 1855 Mr. Hoar aided conspicuously in the formation of the Republican party, and the events initiating and attending the birth of that party were the last in which he publicly engaged. He died November 2, 1856.

Mr. Hoar married Sarab, daughter of Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, October 13, 1812, who died October 30, 1866. Their children were: Elizabeth, born July 14, 1814, and died April 7, 1878; Ebenezer Rockwood, born February 21, 1816; Sarah Sherman, born November 9, 1817; Samuel Johnson, born February 4, 1820, and died January 18, 1821; Edward Sherman, born December 22, 1823; and George Frisbie, born August 29, 1826.

ARTEMAS WARD was the son of General Artemas Ward, of Shrewsbury, Massachusetts, who was the commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts forces at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, and afterwards first major-general under General Washington. General Ward held other important offices, both before and after the Revolution, and was known as a man of high principle and inflexible integrity. On the maternal side, Artemas Ward traced his ancestry to Dr. Increase Mather. He was born at Shrewsbury January 9, 1762. He graduated at Harvard College in 1783.

After finishing his law studies he began the practice of his profession in Weston, Massachusetts, where he became known and respected, both as a lawyer and a citizen. He was active in town affairs, being representative in the General Court in 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799 and 1800, and holding other town offices. He was captain of a company of light infantry raised in Middlesex County, from September 7, 1789, to March 31, 1793, when his resignation of his command was accepted.

In 1800 when his brother-in-law, Samuel Dexter, the eminent lawyer, who held high offices under the National Government, left Charlestown, to attend to his duties in Washington, Artemas Ward removed to Charlestown to take the place of Mr. Dexter. He was a member of the Executive Council in 1803, 1804, 1805, 1808 and 1809.

In 1810 he became a citizen of Boston, where he resided until his death.

In 1811 he was one of the representatives from Boston in the General Court. He represented the Boston district in the Thirteenth and the Fourteenth Congress (from March, 1813, to March, 1817), declining a re-election at the end of his second term. He was a member of the State Senate, from Suffolk County, in 1818 and 1819, and of the convention to revise the Constitution of Massachusetts in 1820.

In 1819 he became judge of the Boston Court of Common Pleas, and upon the abolition of this tribunal and the establishment of the Court of Common



A. Ward

Pleas for the Commonwealth, in 1821, he was appointed chief justice of the last-named court. This position he retained until 1839, when he resigned.

At the height of his practice he was invited to accept a seat on the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court, but declined for domestic reasons.

He was a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College from 1810 to 1844, and received the degree of LL.D. from the college in 1842.

He married Catharine Maria Dexter, January 14, 1788. Miss Dexter was the daughter of Hon. Samuel Dexter, then a resident of Weston, and sister of Samuel Dexter, the distinguished lawyer. There were seven children of this marriage, of whom the last survivor died in 1881.

During the last few years of his life he was in feeble health, and seldom left his house. He died October 7, 1847.

Such are the facts which have been found as to the life of Artemas Ward, gathered mostly from the records of his time. They tell us little of the real man, as he appeared to those among whom he lived, and who took part with him in the action of his day—though from the number of responsible offices to which he was called, it may be inferred that he showed himself faithful in the performance of duty, and had the respect and esteem of the community.

The present writer cannot hope to supply the deficiencies in this narrative, so as to give a true representation of Artemas Ward as he was. There seem to be no sources from which the necessary information can be procured. He left no writing of his own which may be referred to for the purpose, nor has much been written of him by others. His generation has passed away, and none who can properly be called his contemporaries are left to tell of him. His children, who remembered him with warm love and a feeling which was almost reverence, are gone. His descendants now living knew him only as one who had already entered upon the period of old age. But something may be added to make the account less imperfect.

He was a man of solid and substantial qualities—with no taste for ostentation or display. As a lawyer he devoted himself to his profession; as a judge, to the duties of his position; in the various elective offices which he filled, he did the work that was to be done. In Congress he spoke sometimes, but not often.

He was not a politician in the usual sense of the word. Yet he held decided political opinions, sympathizing with the old Federal party till its dissolution and afterwards with the Whig party. He had much anti-slavery feeling, being interested in the cause in its earlier days, before it had grown popular and its advocates had become a political power.

It has been said of him: "If we should select any one trait as particularly distinguishing him, by the universal consent of those who best and those who least knew him, it would be his inflexible regard to justice. . . .

"Of his keen and resolute sense of justice others may speak besides his professional companions. It was seen in other relations than those which he sustained towards the legal interests of the Commonwealth. It was manifested in his political course. Conscientiously attached to one of the two great parties which then divided the nation, he gave a firm support to the measures which he thought right, and as strenuously resisted those which he deemed wrong. In his more private connections he showed the same unswerving purpose of rectitude, the same disapprobation of whatever was false or mean, the same reverence for the right." [1]

The estimation in which he was held by those knowing him and practicing in his court, will appear from the proceedings at a meeting of the Suffolk Bar, held Oct. 8, 1847, the day after his decease.

Hon. Richard Fletcher, in offering resolutions at the meeting, spoke thus:

"The decease of the late Chief Justice Ward is an event which must be deeply felt by the members of this bar, and I presume there can be but one feeling and one sentiment as to the propriety of our offering some public testimonial of our respect for his memory. He had reached an advanced age, and his long life had been usefully and honorably spent. As a man, in all the relations of domestic and social life, he sustained a most exemplary and elevated character. As a member of our national Legislature, his duties were faithfully and ably performed. As a lawyer he acquired and maintained a high rank. But it is in his judicial character that he is most known and more particularly remembered by the present members of the bar.

"He came to the bench as Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, under its present organization in 1821. It will, I presume, be universally admitted that he was eminently qualified for the duties of that office. He had a matured and established character. He had ample store of legal learning and habits of business admirably adapted to the great amount of details in the business of his court. He had great patience and equanimity of temper—qualities of great value in any station of life, but essential to a judge. His conduct on the bench was marked by uniform courtesy and kindness—crowning qualities of any judge of any court, without which any judge of any court must lose most of his dignity and much of his usefulness."

Among the resolutions adopted at the meeting were the following:

"*Resolved*, That this bar would honor his memory, as well for his great worth as a man, as for the distinguished ability, learning, integrity, patience and fidelity with which, for a long course of years, he discharged the important duties of his judicial station.

[1] Sermon by Rev. E. S. Gannett, preached Oct. 17, 1847.

"*Resolved*, That the members of this bar hold in grateful remembrance the courtesy and kindness which on the bench he uniformly extended to them in the performance of their professional labors."

EPHRAIM WOOD was descended from William Wood, who settled in Concord in 1638. William Wood died May 14, 1671, at the age of eighty-nine years, leaving a son, Michael, and a daughter, Ruth, the wife of Thomas Wheeler. Michael died May 13, 1674, having had Abraham, Isaac, Thomson, Jacob, John and Abigail, who married Stephen Hosmer. Of these, Jacob married Mary Wheeler in 1697, and died October 6, 1723, having had Jacob, Mary, Ephraim, Dorcas, Hannah and Millicent. Of these, Ephraim married Mary Buss, and was the father of Ephraim, the subject of this sketch. The last Ephraim was born in Concord, August 1, 1733, and died in Concord, April 8, 1814. He learned the trade of shoemaker, but rapidly advanced both in social and political life. He was chosen town clerk in 1771, selectman, assessor and overseer of the poor, and served in these offices many years. He was one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas under the Constitution, and in various ways rendered important services to the community.

JAMES TEMPLE, son of Benjamin Temple, was born in Concord, September 20, 1766, and graduated at Dartmouth in 1794. He taught the grammar school in Concord in 1795 and 1796, and read law with Jonathan Fay, of that town. He settled in the law at Cambridge, and died March 10, 1802.

WILLIAM CROSBY was born in Billerica, June 3, 1770, and graduated at Harvard in 1794. He read law with Samuel Dana, of Groton, and settled in Belfast, Maine, where he died March 31, 1852.

EPHRAIM BUTTRICK, son of Samuel Buttrick, of Concord, was born in that town about 1799 and graduated at Harvard in 1819. He was admitted to the Middlesex bar in 1823 and settled in East Cambridge.

JOHN MILTON CHENEY, son of Hezekiah Cheney, of Concord, was born about 1801 and graduated at Harvard in 1821. He settled as a lawyer in Concord, and was appointed cashier of the Concord Bank in April, 1832. He did in 1869.

HORATIO COOK MERRIAM, born in Concord, graduated at Harvard in 1829, and settled in the law at Lowell.

DANIEL NEEDHAM was born in Salem, Massachusetts, May 24, 1822. The branch of the Needham family to which he belongs has for several generations consistently adhered to the doctrine and usages of the Society of Friends.

Edmond Needham, the first American ancestor on his father's side, arrived in this country between the years 1635 and 1640. The date of his birth, the name of his birthplace in England and the date of his death are not known. His force of character and godliness of life were well known to his contemporaries, and impressed themselves upon his will, which is dated "fourth month, 1677." The opening paragraph reads as follows:

"The will and last testament of Edmond Needham, of Lyn, in New England being, blessed be God, in his perfect knowledge, memory, and understanding, tho' otherwise ill in body mak ye writin by min on hand, and according to min on mind, to my children and grandchildren as follows:"

He left two sons, of which Ezekiel was the elder; Edmond Needham (2d) was born in 1679 or 1680, and was married March 15, 1702. His family record, like those of the majority of the Friends, exhibits the principal lines of descent, but is extremely deficient in minor particulars, and fails to indicate the time of his birth. Daniel Needham, born December 5, 1703, was the father of Daniel Needham, who was born in 1754. He was a merchant by occupation and engaged in trade with Philadelphia. The names of his wife and the date of his death are alike unknown. His son James, born January 1, 1789, in Salem, was a tobacco manufacturer, and largely interested in trade in South America. His moral convictions and humane sympathies were fully enlisted in the great anti-slavery agitation. The temperance reform also found in him a wise and strong exponent. He married Lydia, daughter of Benjamin Breed, of Lynn, who was born January 26, 1795, and who became the mother of his five children. He died in 1845.

Daniel, the subject of this sketch, the son of James and Lydia Needham, was educated in the celebrated Friend's School, at Providence, Rhode Island. In 1845 he began the study of law in the office of Judge David Roberts, at Salem, and was admitted to the bar of Middlesex County in 1847. Prior to his qualifications for legal practice, Mr. Needham had been deeply interested in the Peterborough and Shirley Railroad, and, although quite young, had been made one of the board of directors. While officiating in this capacity his moral principles were subjected to the severest strain; but they resolutely bore the test, and thus demonstrated the real excellence of the man. It had seemed a matter of necessity that the Board of Directors should endorse the paper of the corporation to the amount of $42,000. When the obligations matured, other directors put their property out of their hands. Mr. Needham took a wholly different course. As it was, there was a probability of accumulating the funds thus forfeited, but in case of practical repudiation there was no possibility of expunging the stain from his reputation. He therefore gave up his property to the value of $35,000, obtained an extension of time for the payment of the remainder of the debt and continued to prosecute his business. He secured from the New Hampshire Legislature authority to issue construction bonds. These he sold in the market on such favorable terms that his ultimate loss was less than $2000. The clear gain was an untarnished name, which the highest authority affirms to be of more value



Yours truly, Wm. Graham

than "great riches." Thus in his twenty-sixth year the community held the key to the future of his career, which, from his known rectitude and decision, could not be other than honorable and beneficent. Fully prepared as he was for the pursuits of a legal practitioner, Mr. Needham prosecuted them to a limited extent.

Interesting himself in agriculture, he successfully conducted the management of several farms—one at Hartford, Vermont; one at Dover, Delaware; one at Prairie du Sac, Wisconsin, and others in Massachusetts. This continued for several years. In 1857, in association with others, he erected a woolen-mill at Montello, Wisconsin. He also bought a grain-mill situated on the same stream, on his own account. In 1865 he purchased the interests of his partners in the woolen-mill and became its sole proprietor. The business of both mills was then carried on by him until 1872. Both enterprises had been financially profitable. In 1866 Mr. Needham was one of three gentlemen who successfully introduced the "hand fire extinguisher" into the United States. He was the first president of the company organized for its manufacture. A French invention originally, it was improved in several important respects, and commanded a lucrative sale.

He was appointed national bank examiner for Massachusetts in 1871, an office which he held from 1871 to 1886. One hundred and eighty-five national banks were in his charge, and all of these, with two exceptions, were located in Massachusetts. During his term of office more official defalcations were brought to light than in the united terms of all other national bank examiners. The first of these was at the Lechmere National Bank, in 1873. Then followed in quick succession notably those conected with the Merchants' National Bank, of Lowell, the Hingham National Bank, of Hingham, the First National Bank, of New Bedford, and the Pacific National Bank, of Boston; more than a year before the collapse of the last-named institution he called attention to the reckless manner in which its business was done; but warning and advice were both unheeded. The crash followed, and the bank itself came officially into Mr. Needham's hands on the 18th of November, 1881. Carefully husbanding its resources and adjusting its numerous complications, he partially reconstructed its organization, and by direction of the Government returned it to the hands of the directors; but owing to many of its assets proving worthless, it again passed into the hands of a receiver.

In political life Mr. Needham's experience has been wide and various. In 1851 he was appointed to an official position on Governor Boutwell's staff, with the rank and title of colonel. In 1853 he succeeded Caleb Cushing as chairman of the Democratic State Committee and discharged his duties with great executive ability until 1854. In 1854 he was the Democratic candidate for Congress in the Seventh Massachusetts District, but was defeated by his Know-Nothing competitor. In 1855 Col. Needham purchased a large farm in Vermont and changed his residence from Massachusetts to that State. In 1857 he was elected to the Vermont legislature from the town of Hartford. In 1858 he was re-elected to the same position. Serving on the Committee on Education, he saw the necessity of a Reform School and earnestly advocated its foundation. Success was delayed, but was ultimately attained, and largely through his efforts. In 1859 and 1860 he represented Windsor County in the Vermont State Senate, and was a member of the Senate at the special session of 1861.

From 1857 to 1863 he rendered valuable service to Vermont as the secretary of the State Agricultural Society. In the last of these years he represented Vermont at the World's Exposition of Industry and Art in the city of Hamburg. There he secured for his State the first prizes for excellence of exhibited Merino sheep. European competitors were at first inclined to be indignant at his success, but finally acknowledged that it was merited. In America his services received due meed of applause and are still held in pleasant memory.

Requested by the United States Government to prepare a report of the Exposition, he responded to the demand, and the result of his mission to Germany is given to the country in the Patent Office Report of 1863.

Colonel Needham returned to the United States in 1864, and re-established himself in his former home in Massachusetts. Elected to the lower house of the Legislature from Groton in 1867, he served on several important committees of that body. In 1868 and 1869 he was returned to the Massachusetts State Senate. As chairman of the committee charged with the duty of investigating the affairs of the Hartford and Erie Railroad, whose managers wished to obtain aid from the State, he made a thorough examination of its organization, business and prospects; was chairman of the committee appointed to inquire into the advisability of permitting the Boston and Albany Railroad Company to issue stock to stockholders. On the question of granting authority to towns to subscribe for stock in aid of certain railroads, he voted with the minority. Subsequently, events vindicated the wisdom of his action.

Colonel Needham was elected secretary of the New England Agricultural Society, at its organization in 1865, and has since sustained that position. Singularly efficient in the exercise of his functions, his real zeal and abilities have been among the principal factors of its success. This society has held agricultural fairs in all the New England States, and that with full share of public patronage and with exceptional pecuniary success. At times responsible for the expenses incurred, he has skillfully conducted affairs so as to escape financial loss.

As one of the most enlightened and practical citizens of the grand old Commonwealth of Massachusetts, he is necessarily interested in popular education. For twenty years he has been chairman of the Groton School Committee. He was also treasurer of the town in the years 1853 and 1854.

From his earliest manhood Colonel Needham has been an eloquent speaker and a popular lecturer. When lyceums were most in vogue, his services were in frequent request and his income from effective response quite considerable. He is a trustee of the Massachusetts State College, and is president of the Board of Trustees of the Lawrence Academy; he has been several years president of the Middlesex North Conference, and is connected with many financial and eleemosynary boards as associate director or trustee.

He has delivered numerous addresses on different subjects to various organizations, and enjoys the reputation of a pleasing and instructive speaker. Among his most widely circulated addresses, are one on the "Evolution of Labor," one on "Strikes, their Cause and Remedy," and one on "Germany," before the Vermont Agricultural Society. He also delivered two orations during the three days' session of "New England at the Centennial Exhibition of 1876, at Philadelphia;" one of these was on the "Position of New England at the Centennial;" the other upon the "Growth and Development of Art in America"—both of which were printed in pamphlet form and had a wide distribution.

The life of Colonel Needham is a model of useful industry. Two States have served themselves, while honoring him, by elections to both branches of their Legislatures. Such a distinction is rare, and is fruitful of suggestion. Whether farmer, manufacturer, legislator, lecturer or bank examiner, he has been fully equal to all his relations and opportunities. Not less honest and upright in all his dealings than fearless in the execution of duty, and versatile in point of talent, he is ever "the right man in the right place."

Colonel Needham has visited Europe three times—twice on business and once for recreation. He has traveled extensively in his own country, having been in California and throughout the Republic of Mexico.

Colonel Needham was married on the 15th of July, 1842, to Caroline A., daughter of Benjamin Hall, of Boston. Mr. Hall was the first importer of ready-made clothing from Europe, and while engaged in that business was involved in serious disagreement with the government officials. Daniel Webster acted as his counsel at the trial, and brought Mr. Hall victoriously through it.

Two sons and two daughters constituted the fruit of Colonel Needham's first marriage; only one of them is now living. Mrs. Needham died on the 30th of June, 1878. On the 6th of October, 1880, he was married to Ellen M. Brigham, of Groton, by whom he has two children—Marion Brigham and Alice Emily.

Colonel Needham's son, William Chauncy Hall Needham, died at Columbus, Ohio, on the 11th day of January, 1882—while a member of the Ohio Senate—aged thirty-six years. He was a graduate of the Norwich University; studied medicine in the Medical Department of Harvard University, where he took the degree of M.D.; was subsequently city physician of Gallipolis, Ohio, and was elected one of Ohio's thirty-one Senators at the election of 1881. He was a man universally respected and beloved, leaving at his death a widow and two children—one son and one daughter.

Colonel Needham's mother, at the age of ninety-five, is still living in the enjoyment of health and all her faculties.

Benjamin Kinsman Phelps was born in Haverhill Sept. 16, 1832, and was the son of Rev. Dudley and Ann (Kinsman) Phelps. He removed with his father to Groton in 1837, and, fitting for college at the Groton Academy, graduated at Yale in 1853. He read law with Benjamin M. Farley, of Hollis, N H., and removed to New York. From 1866 to 1870 he was assistant district attorney of the Southern District of New York, and in 1872 and 1875 was chosen district attorney for the city and county of New York.

Eugene Fuller, born in Cambridge May 14, 1815, graduated at Harvard in 1834, read law with George F. Farley, of Groton, and was drowned at sea June 21, 1859.

John Locke was descended from William Locke, who died in Woburn in 1720. He was born in Hopkinton Feb. 14, 1764, and graduated at Harvard in 1792. He read law with Timothy Bigelow in Groton, and settled in Ashby. At one time he was a member of Congress, a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820, and died in Boston March 29, 1855.

George Morey was born in Walpole June 12, 1789, and graduated at Harvard in 1811. He read law with Luther Lawrence at Groton, and in the later years of his life was well known in Boston as an active and prominent member of the Whig party. He was at various times a member of both branches of the General Court, and a member of the Executive Council. He never, however, sought office for himself, but, proud of his State and city, he was always anxious to see them well governed, and unselfishly exerted all his influence in the selection of the best men for places of trust.

George Sewall Boutwell was born in Brookline, Mass., Jan. 28, 1818, and worked, when a boy, on a farm. He was engaged in mercantile pursuits many years. He kept a country store in Groton, and, on the death of Henry Woods, Jan. 12, 1841, he was appointed by President Van Buren postmaster of that town, holding the office until April 15, 1841, when he was displaced by the new Whig administration, and Caleb Butler was appointed. Somewhat later he abandoned business for the study of law, and from 1842 to 1850 he was a member of the Legisla-

ture from Groton. In 1851–52 he was Governor of Massachusetts, and in the first year of his service received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Harvard. In 1853 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention. Previous, however, to his election as governor he served as bank commissioner by appointment of the State executive. Between the years 1853 and 1862 he served five years as secretary of the Board of Education, and a term of six years as an overseer of Harvard College. He was the first commissioner of internal revenues, serving from July, 1862, to March, 1863, and from 1863 to 1869 was a member of Congress. From March, 1869, to March, 1873, he was Secretary of the Treasury, having, before his accession to that office, been one of the managers of the impeachment trial of President Johnson, in 1868. On the resignation of Henry Wilson as United States Senator to take the office of Vice-President of the United States, to which he was chosen in 1872, Mr. Boutwell was chosen to fill his place, and served from 1873 to 1877. Since 1877 Mr. Boutwell has devoted himself to his professional business. His home is still at Groton, but he has a law-office in Boston and one in Washington, and in the latter place is largely occupied with important business, both in committees of Congress and before the Supreme Court.

Henry H. Fuller, the son of Rev. Timothy Fuller, of Princeton, and brother of Elisha, William W. and Timothy Fuller, already mentioned, was born in Princeton in 1790, and graduated at Harvard in 1811. He read law in Litchfield, Vermont, with Chief Justice Reeve and Judge Gould, and also in Boston. He was admitted to the Suffolk bar in 1815, where he practiced many years. He died in Concord, September 15, 1853.

John Farwell graduated at Harvard in 1808, and read law with Asahel Stearns. He settled in Tyngsboro' and there died November 19, 1852.

Anson Burlingame was born in New Berlin, Chenango County, New York, November 14, 1822. He was educated at the Branch University, Michigan, and read law at the Harvard Law School. He lived in Cambridge for a time, and married a daughter of Hon. Isaac Livermore, of that town. He was a Senator in 1852; a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1853; a member of the Executive Council in 1853; and member of Congress from 1856 to 1861. He was appointed Minister to Austria by President Lincoln in 1861, and was Minister to China from 1861 to 1867, and from 1867 to his death in St. Petersburg, February 23, 1870, he was in the confidential employment of the Chinese Government.

Nathaniel Prentiss Banks was born of poor parents in Waltham, January 30, 1816. When a boy he worked in a factory, and in political sketches of his life he has been called the "bobbin boy." He was one of those boys whom all of us have seen, to whom books seemed to be a natural food and the only food which assimilated and nourished the system. With the appetite for learning born in him, he could no more fail to rise than boys of another class, with inborn proclivities which they were unable to resist and overcome, were sure to fall. There is as much difference between various forms of human nature as between the stone and the feather. Both obey the laws of nature, and common charity should lead us to reflect that oftentimes he who falls makes a greater effort to resist the law of gravitation than he who rises in yielding to his uplifting law. He attended the common schools of his native town, and while a young man edited a newspaper there, and afterwards in Lowell. After studying law he entered into politics and has been almost continuously in public life. Under the administration of President Polk he held a position in the Boston custom-house, and in 1849 was a member of the House of Representatives, holding his seat in 1850, 1851 and 1852, and during the last two years the Speaker of that body. For the duties of Speaker he possessed peculiar qualifications. He had a commanding presence, a good voice with a clear and sharp enunciation, a promptitude of decision, a clear brain—which made him an almost ideal presiding officer. The writer has seen in the chair of the House every Speaker since 1838, including Robert C. Winthrop, George Ashmun, Thomas Kinnicut, Daniel P. King, Samuel H. Walley, Ebenezer Bradbury, Francis B. Crowninshield, Ensign H. Kellogg, Nathaniel P. Banks, George Bliss, Otis P. Lord, Daniel C. Eddy, Charles A. Phelps, Julius Rockwell, John A. Goodwin, Alexander H. Bullock, James M. Stone, Harvey Jewell, John E. Sanford, John D. Long, Levi C. Wade, Charles J. Noyes, George A. Marden, John Q. A. Brackett and William E. Barrett, and he remembers none whose administration on the whole was so brilliant as that of Mr. Banks. The terse, crisp and well-pronounced method of putting questions to the House, the thorough knowledge of parliamentary law exhibited in the progress of debate, the dramatic manner with which the whole business of Speaker was conducted, made an impression on the writer's mind which has never been effaced. He believed, with every good parliamentarian, that in a large majority of questions of order a prompt ruling would be universally acceptable without a question of its absolute technical correctness. He never hesitated in deciding a point of order on the spot, for he was well aware that a ruling postponed until the following day would give others as well as himself an opportunity to examine the question and would be less likely to be accepted as correct, than a ruling made at the moment in the heat and smoke of debate.

In 1858 Mr. Banks was a member of the convention for the revision of the Constitution, and was chosen its president. He was a member of the Thirty-third, Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth Congresses, from 1853 to 1858 inclusive, and in 1855 and 1856 was the Speaker of the House. The contest which resulted in his election was more protracted than any before or since,

and the discretion, coolness and judgment which characterized him during its continuance, gave him a national reputation which his subsequent career in the chair only served to enhance. In the autumn of 1857 he was chosen by the Republican party Governor of Massachusetts, and on the 1st of January, 1858, resigned his seat in Congress to assume office. As Governor he fully met the expectations of the community in the performance of his official duties, while an address which as Governor he was called upon to deliver at the dedication of Agassiz Museum, gave him a renown as a scholar, for which the literary world had not been prepared.

After leaving the Gubernatoral chair he was made president of the Illinois Central Railroad, and occupied that position when the War of the Rebellion broke out. He at once offered his services to the President and received a commission as major-general of volunteers, dated May 16, 1861. He was soon after appointed to command the Annapolis Military District, and subsequently that of the Shenandoah. No man had at this time a clearer conception of the character of the war in which the nation had engaged, and of its probable duration. In May, 1861, about the time of his appointment to the Annapolis District, the writer, then on a tour of survey among Massachusetts men in the field by order of Governor Andrew, met General Banks at Fort McHenry, near Baltimore, where General Devens, then a major, was stationed in command of a Worcester battalion. General Banks rode from the fort to Baltimore with him, and expressed his belief that the call for troops, which then had been made, was wholly inadequate for a struggle which he confidently expected would last at least four years. On the 24th of May, 1862, he was attacked in the Shenandoah by Stonewall Jackson and compelled to retreat. In the battle of Cedar Mountain, August 9, 1862, he commanded a corps under General Pope, and in December of that year succeeded General Butler as commander of the Department of Louisiana. He took Opelousas in April, 1863; Alexandria in May; and Port Hudson on the 8th of July. In March, 1864, he commanded an expedition to the Red River, the results of which were not fortunate. In May, 1864, he was relieved from command. Like other civilian generals in the war, it is probable that he failed to receive from officers of a military education that cordial co-operation and support which are essential to success in operations in the field. He came out of the war with a reputation for honesty, fidelity, patriotism and courage, and for ability as a soldier fully up to the standard which it might have been expected that a man without military experience would reach.

In 1865 General Banks was chosen member of Congress again to the Thirty-ninth Congress, for the unexpired term of D. W. Gavit, and was re-elected to the Fortieth, Forty-first, Forty-second, Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth Congresses, and, March 11, 1879, was appointed United States marshal, serving until April 23, 1888. In the autumn of 1888 he was chosen again to Congress—to the Fifty-first Congress—and is now serving in that capacity.

Joseph Willard, son of Rev. Joseph Willard, president of Harvard College from 1781 to his death, in 1804, was born in Cambridge March 14, 1798, and graduated at Harvard in 1816. He settled in the law in Cambridge, but removed to Boston in 1829. From 1839 until 1855 he was clerk of the Common Pleas Court for Suffolk, and in that year he was appointed clerk of the Superior Court for the county of Suffolk. When that court was abolished, in 1859, he was chosen clerk of the Superior Court of the Commonwealth for the county of Suffolk, and so continued until his death, May 12, 1865. From 1829 to 1864 he was the corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and in 1826 published a history of the town of Lancaster, and in 1858 the life of Simon Willard. His son, Morgan Sidney Willard, was killed at Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862.

George F. Farley.—It is always a difficult, if not impossible, task to portray the qualities and characteristics of an eminent man in a memoir or in history so that he will be seen, known and judged by posterity as by his contemporaries. In this regard the painter has the decided advantage over the biographer and the historian, for the painter, when poring over the face of a man, divinely, through all hindrance, finds the man behind it, and so paints him that his face, the shape and color of a life and soul, lives for his children, ever at its best and fullest.

In attempting to write a just, accurate and full biographical sketch of the late George Frederick Farley, the writer is convinced of the impossibility of performing this task with any measure of satisfaction to himself or of justice to its distinguished subject.

He was the son of Benjamin and Lucy (Fletcher) Farley, and was born in Dunstable, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, April 5, 1793, and graduated at Harvard College in 1816. He read law in the office of his brother, Hon. B. M. Farley, of Hollis, in the State of New Hampshire, and Hon. Luther Lawrence, of Groton, in said Commonwealth. He was admitted to the bar and commenced the practice of his profession at New Ipswich in 1821. In the year 1831 he was a member of the New Hampshire General Court from New Ipswich, and in the same year removed to Groton, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, where he practiced his profession until his death, November 8, 1855.

He inherited a strong constitution, and always enjoyed vigorous health. He possessed a gigantic intellect, but it was associated with the finest emotions and the most genial feelings. He was "rich in saving common sense and in his simplicity absolute."

He had no disposition to enter into political life nor any ambition for its laurels.

He gave his sole and undivided attention to the

practice of his profession, which he dearly loved, and which was the fit arena for the exercise and display of his marvelous powers. He met without fear the greatest lawyers of his day in New Hampshire and in Massachusetts—Webster, Mason, Dexter and others—and always held his own. This fact is a conclusive test and proof of his extraordinary ability as a lawyer and advocate.

In a conversation with Mr. Webster in the last year of his life, he used the following language in speaking of Mr. Farley: "I know him well—we have measured lances together. He is a very great lawyer." In his brief practice in New Hampshire he attained very high distinction, and was retained in its most important causes, and encountered its most eminent lawyers.

Upon his removal to Massachusetts he quickly discovered, by his retainer in causes of magnitude in Middlesex, Worcester, Essex and Suffolk Counties, that his fame as a lawyer and advocate had preceded him.

Among these cases was one when the late eminent lawyer, Samuel Mann, was his junior counsel—the famous "Convent case," as it was called—where a large number of men were indicted for the alleged burning of the convent. It was one of the most celebrated cases in the history of trials in Massachusetts.

Mr. Farley defended all of the defendants, and with such consummate skill and ability that all of his clients were acquitted.

In this case the Lady Superior took the stand as a witness for the Government, attired in a thick veil, which completely concealed her face. Mr. Farley requested her to raise her veil. The Lady Superior refused. Mr. Farley addressed the Court, demanding that the witness should lift her veil, because, he claimed, that his clients had the constitutional right to look upon the witnesses against them face to face. The Court so ordered, and the veil was raised, much to the indignation and discomfiture of the Lady Superior, who found that the law of the convent was not the law of the courts.

Among the notable criminal cases in which Mr. Farley was engaged, was a capital case, tried at Keene, New Hampshire, after he had established his residence in Groton. His client was indicted for the murder of his wife by poison. Prof. Webster, who analyzed the contents of the stomach of the wife, testified as a witness for the government.

Mr. Farley in his keen, adroit and searching cross-examination of Prof. Webster, elicited the most important fact for the defence, that he employed poisons as tests in his analysis, and put him into a furious rage by the suggestion of the probability that the poisons contained in his tests satisfactorily explained and accounted for the presence of poisons, which he testified he had found in the stomach. The cross-examination of Prof. Webster in this trial was merciless, astute and triumphant, as the great lawyer exposed, with his imperturbable coolness and self-possession and perfect confidence in his position, the intrinsic weakness of his testimony as well as his ungovernable temper, and will be long remembered as one of the masterpieces of cross-examination in the courts of that State. The verdict of the jury in this case was for the prisoner, and wholly due to the transcendent skill and ability with which Mr. Farley conducted the defence.

Hon. John Appleton, ex-chief justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Maine, who was the first law student in the office of Mr. Farley in New Ipswich and who always enjoyed his friendship during his life, says of Mr. Farley: "He was an intellectual giant. He was one of the foremost men at the bar of New England. It was in the logic of his argument that he was strong. Grant his premises, and the conclusion followed necessarily and irresistibly. He made precedents rather than followed them. His logical powers were superior to those of any man I ever met. As a student in his office I was on quite intimate terms with him. I think if I have acquired any reputation, it is due in no slight degree to the advice and instruction I received from him."

The Hon. Amasa Norcross, of Fitchburg, Massachusetts, says of Mr. Farley: "In the early years of my practice it was my privilege to be engaged in several cases where Mr. Farley was senior counsel. I then had an opportunity to observe the remarkable intellectual powers he possessed. I thought then and now believe that he was not then nor has he been excelled by any member of our profession in the State in that he was able to present a cause to a jury upon its facts in a manner wholly unimpassioned—I may say in a conversational way; but with a precision of statement and with such an admirable selection of words as to carry to every mind the exact meaning he intended and to lead to the inevitable conclusion he was to reach. The simple, unadorned speech, yet most adorned with a forceful utterance and the severest logic, uttering no useless word, all supported the theory—the best possible for his client that could be constructed from the facts. His grasping of facts in support of his theory, with his ingenious arrangement of them, was simply marvelous. No case was tried by him without a theory and an application of evidence in a way that was best calculated to sustain it. As a man he secured the full confidence of whatever tribunal he addressed. The Worcester County jurors were wont to say of him that he was the fairest man in argument they ever heard. The simple, direct and graceful speech employed by him controlled their minds, as it tended certainly to the support of that view of the case he had determined in his mind as being best for his client. The statement of certain general principles involved in the case and a general statement of his theory, if accepted by the jury, determined the result, for the masterly argument that followed held the jury to the end. His treatment of

the evidence in a given case was oft-times philosophical, and his felicitious use of language secured the fullest attention of the tribunal he was addressing and the breathless attention of all within sound of his voice. His style of argument was said to be not unlike that of the distinguished lawyer, Jeremiah Mason, who was practicing in the courts of New Hampshire when Mr. Farley entered the profession. Several important causes pending in the courts of that State were tried by Mr. Farley in the later years of his profession. He was then regarded, as I happen to know, by the best lawyers of that State as a man possessing a remarkable intellect, and the peer of Mr. Mason, who also removed to Massachusetts from that State."

Hon. Peleg W. Chandler, of Boston, in speaking of Mr. Farley, used this language: "Farley was a very great lawyer. I never knew his superior as a logician; nor his equal, except in Jeremiah Mason."

Hon. Josiah G. Abbott, of Boston, writes of Mr. Farley: "I knew Mr. Farley from the time I was a student-at-law, and he was in the full maturity of his power as long as he lived. The last ten or twelve years of his life I knew him very intimately.

"He was among the ablest and strongest men I ever knew. He was not merely a lawyer and nothing else. Not only was he a good classical scholar, especially keeping bright his knowledge of Latin writers, but he was a most discriminating admirer of the best, English literature. This, I suppose, was not generally known, for I think he always was somewhat inclined to put on an appearance of brusqueness and carelessness in reference to matters usually reckoned as accomplishments.

"He had studied the law thoroughly and made himself master of all its great principles and rules.

"But through his whole life he passed no considerable time in looking up cases and authorities.

"He looked upon the law as establishing great principles and rules, to regulate and govern the conduct of life, and whenever legal questions were submitted to him he settled them by a thorough and careful consideration of the principles upon which they depended, as he believed, and then looked for the authorities to confirm his judgment. Early in my acquaintance with him, he told me that a lawyer who depended mainly on the study and citation of cases was never 'worth his salt.' The true course, he continued, for one who wishes to make himself a real lawyer, was to firmly and thoroughly ground himself on the great principles upon which the law was founded, and which pervaded and governed it in its application to human affairs, and to make them absolutely his own. His arguments and conduct of cases were always governed by such considerations. He discussed principles, making comparatively but slight use of cases, thus making authorities instead of being governed by them.

"To bring him up to the full measure of his powers, it required a cause of importance or one having some features which thoroughly interested him.

"I do not think in ordinary cases he by any means did justice to himself. They were not large enough to interest him. But when he was thoroughly interested and aroused, either by the case itself or by the strength of the opposing counsel, no man could excel and but few—very few—equal him. I never knew any man who was a more perfect master of logic than Mr. Farley. At his best, it was difficult to find any weakness in his chain of reasoning. Grant his premises, and his conclusions were impregnable. But logic was by no means all that gave him at times his wonderful power. Logic alone was never very successful with juries of masses of men. There must be something to give warmth and heat to logic to make it living, not dead—to so adapt it and so mould and warm those to whom it is addressed, that it shall control their thoughts and reason. When aroused no man had a greater power of impressing himself upon those he addressed, making them take his thoughts and his reasoning as their own. Upon whatever that power depends, whether it is sympathetic or magnetic, to use a cant phrase, or comes from sheer power of will and force of mind, as I rather think it does, Mr. Farley certainly possessed it to a most remarkable degree. But I do not think he ordinarily manifested it to any great extent. I think I have heard four or five arguments by him, which I never did and never expect to hear excelled, hardly equaled.

"In the ordinary run of cases there were men by no means his equals in power, who would appear as well as he. I always thought and I think now that Mr. Farley never realized the extent of his powers. Whatever the occasion required, he was always equal to and answered the demand. But I do not believe that supreme time ever came to him which called for the full measure of the great powers with which he was gifted.

"As I have said, he enjoyed the classics and the best English literature.

"Besides, he was interested in all new discoveries and new phases of thought. He kept well abreast with all advances made in his time, and no man could discuss questions outside of his profession better than he, when he met one capable of maintaining his part in the discussion. With a somewhat brusque and rough manner he had great warmth of feeling, and when he was a friend, was one always to be relied upon.

"Upon the whole, Mr. Farley impressed me as being one of the strongest and most remarkable men I have ever met with. But his case shows how very little there is in the life of the greatest lawyer that survives him long. Mr. Farley conducted trials and made arguments that showed he possessed more logic, more reasoning power, more mind, than is shown in many of the books that live for centuries or than was ever shown by many of the statesmen whose names have gone into history; yet notwithstanding this, his repu-

tation is now not much more than a tradition, only personally known to and cherished by a few, who linger upon the stage. It is only another instance, added to the long list, that the life of the lawyer, however great may be his powers, is written on nothing more enduring than sand or water."

Although Mr. Farley tried causes all over the Commonwealth and in New Hampshire, it was with the courts of Old Middlesex, where he won so many forensic victories, that his fame as a jurist must be most intimately associated as long as the gradually but surely failing memory of tradition shall hold it as its own.

There he was easily and always the leader of its bar, which was distinguished by many strong and eminent lawyers. In one notable cause tried there against the Vermont & Massachusetts Railroad, in which the late Judge B. R. Curtis was retained and acted as counsel for the company and Mr. Farley for the plaintiff, he most conspicuously exhibited his ready sagacity and tact. Some very handsome plans had been introduced as evidence in the case by Judge Curtis. Mr. Farley, in his argument to the jury, discarded these beautiful pictures and borrowing from one of the jury a piece of chalk, which every Middlesex farmer carried in his pocket, he proceeded to chalk out a diagram of the place of the accident upon the floor in full view of the jury, and so ingeniously employed it in his argument that, to use the expression of the late Rev. Thomas Whittemore, the president of the railway company: "Mr. Farley chalked us out of the case." Mr. Whittemore was so much impressed with the powers of Mr. Farley as manifested in that case, that he at once gave him a general retainer as counsel for his road.

Mr. Farley always had a peculiar habit of stating his cases to persons whom he met while the trial was going on, and whom he knew as possessing sound common sense, evidently with a view of seeing how the case struck them and of eliciting from them some thought or suggestion which he might use when he came to address the twelve men of sound "common sense" who were hearing and to pass upon the case.

It was his custom, when consulted by clients in his office, to hear their statements patiently, and, after carefully questioning them as to all the facts, to give them his opinion without consulting the reports or the books. After his client had left he would say to the students in the office, who had been attentive listeners to the interview: "Perhaps you had better look into the reports and see if the Supreme Court and I agree."

It was his distinguishing habit to so exhaustively examine and consider his opponent's case that when he came to state their side of the case he surprised them by disclosing much stronger points than they had discovered, but only to their embarrassment and defeat by his convincing and triumphant replies thereto. Judge Appleton, in his letter concerning Mr. Farley, from which quotations have been made, further says, in speaking of his home, where he was always a welcome guest:

"His wife was one of the saints that occasionally appear to bless her family and friends. Few men ever had a happier home than it was his fortune to enjoy. In his family he was genial and hospitable—delightful in conversation, a good talker—which in those days was estimated a high compliment. An amusing and true anecdote is told of Mr. Farley as a conversationist. Owing to some failure of the train from Boston to connect with the train at Groton Junction, as it was then called, but now Ayer, for Groton Centre, where Mr. Farley resided, he concluded, as it was a pleasant day, to walk from the Junction to his home, a distance of about four miles. He had for his companion in the walk the late Rev. Mr. Richards, formerly pastor of the Central Church, a highly cultivated and able man, whose acquaintance he made by chance at the Junction. Mr. Farley, in speaking of the walk and of Mr. Richards afterwards to the Rev. Mr. Bulkley, of Groton, Mr. Farley's own minister, and whose pulpit Mr. Richards came to fill on exchange with Mr. Bulkley said: 'That Mr. Richards is a most delightful man. I met him accidentally at the Junction and made his acquaintance and we walked up to Groton.' Mr. Bulkley enjoyed this praise of his friend Richards very much, as he recalled what Mr. Richards said of Mr. Farley. He had told Mr. Bulkley, 'that he met Mr. Farley and had a highly enjoyable walk with him from the Junction. That he was astonished and charmed with Mr. Farley's wonderful conversational powers, for he talked all the way from the Junction to the Centre, while he was a delighted listener.' This is but another illustration of the well-known fact that a good talker likes a good listener."

Mr. Farley's great and sure reliance was upon himself. He was conscious of his strength, but, as is usual with truly great intellects, made a modest display of it.

In the consideration of questions of law he made his own paths in the practice of his profession and did not seek or walk in the ways furnished by other minds in the published reports. He possessed an original creative legal mind. Firmly planted in the principles of the common law, he applied those principles to the various cases as they arose.

In his gigantic mental laboratory all his results were worked out.

Mr. Farley, at his decease, left as surviving members of his family—his son, George Frederick Farley, for many years a merchant of Boston, but now deceased, and his daughter, Sarah E. Farley, and Mary F. Keely, wife of Edward A. Keely, a member of the Suffolk bar.

In closing this necessarily very inadequate sketch of Mr. Farley, it is but simple justice to his memory to

say, upon the testimony furnished therein by the able contemporary jurists who knew him so well, in weighing his character, attainments, fame and success as a jurist and advocate, that he had but few equals at the bar of New England.

GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, the youngest child of Samuel and Sarah Sherman Hoar, was born in Concord August 29, 1826. He studied at the Concord Academy and graduated at Harvard in 1846. After studying law at the Dane Law School in Cambridge he settled in Worcester, where he was chosen representative to the State Legislature in 1852, a member of the Senate in 1857 and city solicitor in 1860. He was chosen a member of the Forty-first, Forty-second, Forty-third and Forty-fourth Congresses, which covered the period from 1869 to 1875, and declined a nomination for the Forty-fifth Congress. He has been in the Senate of the United States since 1877, and his third term, which he is now serving, will expire March 4, 1895. During his service in the lower house of Congress he was one of the managers on the part of the House of Representatives of the Belknap impeachment trial in 1876, and in the same year one of the Electoral Commission. He was an overseer of Harvard College from 1874 to 1880, presided over the Massachusetts State Republican Conventions of 1871, 1877, 1882 and 1885; was a delegate to the Republican National Conventions of 1876 at Cincinnati and of 1880, 1884 and 1888 at Chicago, presiding over the convention of 1880; was regent of the Smithsonian Institute in 1880; has been president and is now vice-president of the American Antiquarian Society, trustee of the Peabody Museum of Archæology, trustee of Leicester Academy; is a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of the American Historical Society and the Historic Genealogical Society and has received the degree of Doctor of Laws from William and Mary, Amherst, Yale and Harvard Colleges, and is a member of other organizations too numerous to mention.

EDMUND TROWBRIDGE DANA was the son of Richard H. Dana, the lawyer and poet, and brother of Richard H. Dana, Jr., the author of "Two Years Before the Mast." He was born in Cambridge, August 29, 1818, and graduated at Vermont University in 1839. He read law in the Dane Law School at Cambridge and practiced a few years with his brother, when he went to Heidelberg to pursue his studies. He translated and edited works on international and public law and political economy after his return home and also resumed practice with his brother, He died at Cambridge May 18, 1869. The writer knew him well, and believes that no man in the Commonwealth held out a brighter promise of prominence in the literature of law when his career was abruptly ended by death. He was a man of infinite humor, and his quaint illustrations of passing events are now in the writer's mind as he recalls his friend to memory.

JOHN WILLIAM PITT ABBOTT, son of John Abbott, already mentioned, was born in Hampton, Connecticut, April 27, 1806, and graduated at Harvard in 1827. He read law at Westford with his father and at the Dane Law School, was admitted to the bar in June, 1830, and settled at Westford, where he succeeded his father as treasurer of the Westford Academy, and practiced in his profession until his death in 1872. He was a representative to the General Court in 1862, a senator in 1866 and for many years selectman and town clerk of Westford.

JOHN BIGELOW was born in Malden November 25, 1817, and graduated at Union College in 1835. After his admission to the bar he practiced in New York City about ten years, mingling literary with professional work. In 1840 he was the literary editor of *The Plebeian*, and about that time an able contributor to the *Democratic Review*. In 1848 he was made an inspector of Sing Sing Prison, and in 1850 became a partner of William Cullen Bryant, of the New York *Evening Post*. In 1856 he published a life of John C. Fremont. in 1861 was appointed consul at Paris, and from 1864 to 1866 resided in that city as Minister of the United States, succeeding William L. Dayton. He is now living in New York.

JOSEPH GREEN COLE, son of Abraham Cole, of Lincoln, was born about 1801 and graduated at Harvard in 1822, and read law with Governor Lincoln, of Maine, in which State he settled in his profession and died in 1851.

ALBERT HOBART NELSON, son of Dr. John Nelson, of Carlisle, was born in that town March 12, 1812, and graduated at Harvard in 1832, afterwards reading law in the Cambridge Law School. He was appointed chief justice of the Superior Court for the County of Suffolk on the establishment of that court in 1855, and remained on the bench until his resignation in the year of his death. He died in 1858.

ALPHEUS B. ALGER, son of Edwin A. and Amanda (Buswell) Alger, was born in Lowell, October 8, 1854. He attended the public schools of his native town and graduated at Harvard in 1875. He read law in the office of Hon. Josiah G. Abbott, and was admitted to the bar in 1877, since which time he has been connected with the law firm of Brown & Alger, of which his father is a member. In Cambridge, where he resides, he has been chairman and secretary of the Democratic City Committee, and in 1884 he was a member of the Board of Aldermen. In 1886 and 1887 he was a member of the State Senate, and for several years preceding the present year he was the secretary of the Democratic State Central Committee.

JOHN HENRY HARDY, son of John and Hannah (Farley) Hardy, was born in Hollis, New Hampshire, February 2, 1847. He received his early education from the public schools of Hollis and the academies of Mt. Vernon and New Ipswich, and graduated at Dartmouth in 1870. After reading law at the Dane Law School and in the office of Hon. Robert M.



J. W. A. Bruchhoff

Morse, Jr., he was admitted to the Suffolk bar in 1872, and began practice in a partnership with Geo. W. Morse, which continued two years. He then associated himself with Samuel J. Elder and Thomas W. Proctor, with whom he continued until he was appointed, in 1885, associate justice of the Boston Municipal Court. At the age of fifteen Judge Hardy was a member of the Fifteenth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers at the siege of Port Hudson, and, though young in years, exhibited a resolution and will worthy of veterans in the service. In 1883 he represented the town of Arlington in the House of Representatives. He married, in Littleton, August 30, 1871, Anna J. Conant, a descendant of Roger Conant, and daughter of Levi Conant.

George Anson Bruce, son of Nathaniel and Lucy (Butterfield) Bruce, was born in Mt. Vernon, New Hampshire, November 19, 1839. He was fitted for college at the Appleton Academy, in Mt. Vernon, and graduated at Dartmouth in 1861. In 1862 he was commissioned First Lieutenant of the Thirteenth New Hampshire Regiment, and served as aide, judge advocate, inspector and assistant adjutant-general until he was mustered out, July 3, 1865. During his service he received three brevet promotions. He studied Law in Lowell, and was admitted to the Middlesex bar in that city, in October, 1866. During that year he was a member of the New Hampshire Legislature from his native town. He began practice in Boston in 1867, where he lived until 1874, when he removed to Somerville, of which city he was mayor in 1877, 1880 and 1881. He was a member of the Massachusetts Senate in 1882, 1883 and 1884, and, in 1884, its president. He married in Groton, in 1870, Clara M., daughter of Joseph F. and Sarah (Longley) Hall.

Nathaniel Holmes, son of Samuel and Mary (Annan) Holmes, was born in Peterboro', New Hampshire, July 2, 1814. He received his early education at the public schools of Peterboro', and at the Chester and New Ipswich and Phillips Academies, and graduated at Harvard in 1837. While in college he taught school in Milford, New Hampshire, in Billerica and Leominster, and in Welds Academy, at Jamaica Plains, near Boston. After graduating he was for a time a private tutor in the family of Hon. John N. Steele, near Vienna, Maryland, and there began the study of law. His law studies were completed at the Dane Law School and in the office of Henry H. Fuller, and he was admitted to the Suffolk bar in September, 1839. He settled in St. Louis, entering into partnership with Thomas B. Hudson, with whom he remained until 1846, when he became associated with his brother, Samuel A. Holmes, with whom he continued until 1853. In 1846 he was circuit attorney for the county of St. Louis, and at later dates a director of the St. Louis Law Association, counselor of the St. Louis Public School Board and of the North Missouri Railroad Company. In 1865 he was made a judge of the Missouri Supreme Court, and resigned in 1868 to accept the appointment of Royall Professor of Law at the Dane Law School in Cambridge. In 1872 he resigned his professorship and returned to St. Louis, but in 1883 retired from active practice and took up his residence again in Cambridge.

John Quincy Adams Brackett was born in Bradford, New Hampshire, June 8, 1842, and is the son of Ambrose S. and Nancy (Brown) Brackett, of that town. He received his early education in the public schools of his native town and at Colby Academy, in New London, in the above-mentioned State, and graduated at Harvard in 1865, in the class with Charles Warren Clifford, Benjamin Mills Pierce and William Rotch. He received the degree of Bachelor of Laws from Harvard in 1868, and in the same year was admitted to the Suffolk bar, at which he has continued to practice until the present time. In the earlier days of his practice he was associated in busintss with Levi C. Wade two or three years, but since 1880 has pursued his profession in company with Walter H. Roberts, under the name of Brackett & Roberts.

Almost continuously since his admission to the bar Mr. Brackett has been associated actively with politics, and few names have been more widely known than his on the political platforms of the State. He has surrendered himself to the fortunes of the Republican party, and little else than its dissolution would be likely to weaken his party loyalty. He was a member of the Common Council of Boston in 1873, '74, '75 and '76, and during the last year of his service was president of that body. He was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives from Boston in 1877, '78, '79, '80 and '81, and distinguished his legislative career by his advocacy and championship of the establishment of co-operative banks, in the welfare of which he has maintained a deep interest. In 1889 he had become a resident in Arlington and again became a member of the House of Representatives, holding his seat three years, during the last two of which he was Speaker. In 1887, '88 and '89 he was Lieutenant-Governor, during a considerable portion of the last year acting as Governor in consequence of the continued illness of Governor Oliver Ames. In September, 1888, also, during an earlier illness of the Governor, he was called into service as his substitute, and in that capacity represented the State at the celebration in Columbus of the anniversary of the settlement of Ohio, in a manner reflecting honor on the Commonwealth. At the celebration at Plymouth on the 1st of August, 1889, he again represented the Governor, and his speech on that occasion stamped him as a master of the art which in his official capacity he has been so often required to test. In September, 1889, after a somewhat earnest contest, he was placed in nomination for Governor by the Republican party and chosen in November following to serve for the year 1890.

Few young men in Massachusetts have had a more successful career in the political arena. During the twenty-two years which have elapsed since his admission to the bar, sixteen, with the present year, have been spent in public office, and his continued advancement seems only to depend on the maintenance of power by the party he has served so long.

Governor Brackett married, June 20, 1878, Angie M., daughter of Abel G. and Eliza A. Peck, of Arlington, and makes that town his home.

Montressor Tyler Allen, son of George W. and Mary L. Allen, was born in Woburn, May 20, 1844. He read law at the Boston University Law School, and was admitted to the bar in 1879. He married, in 1865, Julia Frances Peasley, and while practicing his profession in Boston makes Woborn his residence.

Joseph O. Burdett was born in Wakefield, October 30, 1848. He graduated at Tuft's College in 1867, and read law in the office of John Wilkes Hammond, in Cambridge, and was admitted to the Middlesex bar in April, 1873. In 1874 he removed to Hingham, where he married Ella, daughter of John K. Corthell. He has represented his adopted town in the Legislature, and during the last three years has been chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. He has a law-office in Boston, but still resides in Hingham.

William Amos Bancroft was born in Groton, April 26, 1855, and was the son of Charles and Lydia Emeline (Spaulding) Bancroft, of that town. He fitted for college at Phillips Academy, and graduated at Harvard in 1878. He read law at the Dane Law School and in the office of Wm B. Stevens, and was admitted to the bar in 1881. In 1885 he was appointed superintendent of the Cambridge Street Railroad, and in 1888 was appointed by the West End Street Railway Company its road-master, from which he has retired to resume his profession. Having given his attention soon after leaving college to military matters, he was made a captain in 1879 of Company B, of the Fifth Massachusetts Regiment, which he had joined as a private during his freshman year in college, and in 1882 was chosen colonel of that Regiment, a position which he still holds. He has been a member of the Common Council of Cambridge, the place of his residence, and has represented that city three years in the Legislature. He married, January 18, 1879, Mary, daughter of Joseph Shaw, of Boston.

John James Gilchrist was born in Medford Feb. 16, 1809. His father, James Gilchrist, a shipmaster, removed while he was quite young to Charlestown, N. H., and carried on the occupation of farming. John, the son, fitted for college with Rev. Dr. Crosby, and graduated at Harvard in 1828, in the class with Dr. Henry Ingersoll Bowditch, George Stillman Hillard and Robert Charles Winthrop. He read law in Charlestown, N. H., with William Briggs, and at the Dane Law School. After admission to the bar he became associated in business with Governor Hubbard, whose daughter, Sarah, he married in 1836. In 1840 he was appointed an associate justice of the Supreme Court, and in 1848, on the resignation of Judge Parker, was made chief justice. On the establishment of the Court of Claims at Washington he was placed at its head by President Pierce, and died at Washington April 29, 1858. He published a digest of New Hampshire reports in 1846, and it has been said of him that "in depth and extent of legal lore many of his judicial contemporaries may have equaled him, but only a few have excelled him."

James G. Swan, the third son of Samuel and Margaret (Tufts) Swan, of Medford, was born in that town January 11, 1818. He went to California in its early golden days, and thence to Washington Territory, where, in 1871, he was made probate judge. He was afterwards appointed inspector of customs in the district of Puget Sound, and stationed at Neah Bay three years, and, later, at Fort Townsend. Subsequently he was appointed United States Commissioner of the Third Judicial District of Washington Territory, and in 1875 went to Alaska as United States commissioner, to procure articles of Indian manufacture for the Centennial Exposition. In 1857 he published a book entitled "The Northwest Coast; or, Three Years in Washington Territory," and in 1880 gave to the town of Medford a collection of Indian curios for the public library of the town.

Thomas S. Harlow was born in Castine, Me., Nov. 15, 1812. In 1824 his family removed to Bangor, and in 1831 he came to Boston. He taught the grammar school in Medford, and graduated at Bowdoin in 1836. He read law with Governor Edward Kent, in Bangor, and for a short time edited a newspaper in Dover, Me. He was admitted to the bar in 1839, and spent three years in Paducah, Ky. In 1842 he returned to Massachusetts, and opened an office in Boston. In November, 1843, he married Lucy J. Hall, of Medford, and took up his residence in that town. He has always, during his residence there, been interested in town affairs, and won the respect and confidence of his fellow-citizens. He has been a member of the School Committee and of the Board of Trustees of the Public Library, and is at the present time a special justice of the First Eastern Middlesex District Court, having within its jurisdiction the towns of North Reading, Reading, Stoneham, Wakefield, Melrose, Malden, Everett and Medford, and holding its sessions at Malden and Wakefield.

Alfred Brewster Ely, the son of Rev. Dr. Alfred Ely, of Monson, was born in that town Jan. 13, 1817. He fitted for college at the Monson Academy, and graduated at Amherst in 1836. After leaving college he taught the high school in Brattleboro', Vt., and the Donaldson Academy, at Fayetteville, N. C., and read law with Chapman & Ashmun, in Springfield, Mass., where he was admitted



to the bar. In 1848 he removed to Boston, where he established himself in the law, making Newton, a part of the time, his place of residence, from which town he was representative to the General Court in 1872. He early became an active "Native American," and introduced into Massachusetts in 1846 the "Order of United Americans," of which for a time he was the president. At one time he edited, and perhaps owned, the *Boston Daily Times* and the *Boston Ledger*, and held the offices of State director in the Western Railroad, and commissioner of Back Bay Lands. In 1861 he was quartermaster of the Thirteenth Connecticut Regiment, and aid-de-camp of Brigadier-General Benham. In 1862 he was assistant adjutant-general of the Northern Division of the Department of the South, and was at Hilton Head and Fort Pulaski, and in the battles of Edisto and Stono, and afterwards on the staff of General Morgan. He resigned in 1863. He married, first, Lucy, daughter of Charles J. Cooley, of Norwich, and second, Harriet Elizabeth, daughter of Freeman Allen, of Boston, and died at Newton July 30, 1872.

DAVID H. MASON was born in Sullivan, New Hampshire, March 17, 1818, and graduated at Dartmouth in 1841. He lived in Newton twenty-five years and there died May 29, 1873. He delivered the oration at the centennial anniversary of his native town, July 14, 1864; in 1860 he was a member of the Massachusetts Board of Education, and December 22, 1870, was appointed United States district attorney.

JOEL GILES was born in Townsend in 1804, and graduated at Harvard in 1829, after which he was for a time a tutor in the college. He was descended from Edward Giles, who came from Salisbury, in England, and settled in Salem. He settled in Boston, and in 1848 delivered the Fourth of July oration in that city. He was a member of both branches of the General Court, member of the Constitutional Convention of 1853, and died in Boston.

JOHN GILES, brother of the above, born in Townsend in 1806, graduated at Harvard in 1831, read law with Parsons & Stearns, in Boston, and died in June, 1838.

LUTHER STEARNS CUSHING, son of Edmund Cushing, of Lunenburg, and grandson of Colonel Charles Cushing, of Hingham, was born in Lunenburg, June 22, 1803, and graduated from the Harvard Law School in 1826. After conducting for a time the *Jurist and Law Magazine*, he was appointed clerk of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1832, and served until 1844. In the latter year he was chosen a representative from Boston, and in the same year appointed judge of the Court of Common Pleas, remaining on the bench until 1848. In 1845 he published a "Manual of Parliamentry Practice." In 1854, as reporter of the Supreme Judical Court, to which position he was appointed after leaving the bench, he published twelve volumes of Reports. He also published "Elements of the Law and Practice of Legislative Assemblies," "Introduction to the Study of Roman Law," and "Rules of Proceeding and Debates in Deliberative Assemblies." He died in Boston, June 22, 1856.

THOMAS HOPKINSON was born in New Sharon, Maine, August 25, 1804, and graduated at Harvard in 1830, in the class with Charles Sumner and George Washington Warren. He read law with Lawrence & Glidden in Lowell, and was admitted to the bar in 1833. He was a representative from Lowell in 1838 and 1847, Senator in 1845, and in 1848 was appointed judge of the Court of Common Pleas, resigning the next year to assume the position of president of the Boston and Worcester Railroad Company. He was city solicitor of Lowell in 1840, a member of the Constitutional Convention from Cambridge, in 1853, and died in that place on November 17, 1856.

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS WORCESTER was born in Hollis, New Hampshire, in 1807, and was the son of Jesse Worcester, of that town, and graduated at Harvard in 1831. He had four brothers who were college graduates,—Joseph Emerson, the lexicographer, who graduated at Yale in 1811, and died in 1865; Rev. Taylor Gilman, who graduated at Harvard in 1823, and died in 1869; Rev. Henry A, who graduated at Yale in 1828, and Hon. Samuel Thomas, who graduated at Harvard in 1830. He had two other brothers—Jesse, who entered Harvard in 1809 and died the same year, and David, who entered Harvard in 1828 and left college in his junior year. Frederick Augustus studied at Pinkerton Academy, in Derry, New Hampshire, and at Philips Academy before entering college. He read law with Benjamin M. Farley, at Hollis, and at the Harvard Law School; and finished his studies with George F. Farley in Groton. In 1835 he went to Townsend, thence to Bangor, but returned. He married Jane M. Kellogg, of Amherst.

JOHN A. KNOWLES was born in Pembroke, New Hampshire, April 25, 1800, and died at his home on South Street, Lowell, Mass., July 25, 1884, at the age of eighty-four years. He was the son of Simon and Deborah Knowles who were natives of Hopkinton, New Hampshire, and was the youngest of a family of thirteen children. Like almost all other boys reared in the farming towns of New Hampshire in the beginning of the present century, he very early learned to rely for support upon his own exertions. At the age of fifteen years he left home and engaged in the trade of wagon-making in Hopkinton, New Hampshire. A part of his time, however, was devoted to attending school. He seems to have very early entertained the fixed resolve to attain by the cultivation of his intellect a higher position in life than that of an ordinary workman. Accordingly from the age of nineteen years to that of twenty-four years he devoted himself alternately to a course of study and to teaching in district schools. Subsequently, however, on ac-

count of his feeble health and his limited pecuniary ability, he relinquished the cherished hope of obtaining a college education, and devoted himself for two years to teaching school in Keene, New Hampshire, and Taunton, Massachusetts.

Mr. Knowles came to Lowell in the autumn of 1827, when twenty-seven years of age, and opened an evening school, in which penmanship (in which he was an expert) was the leading branch. This school, however, he soon relinquished, and commenced the study of law in the office of Elisha Glidden, who for nine years was an attorney-at-law in Lowell, and was at one time the partner of Luther Lawrence, second mayor of the city.

After nearly five years spent in the office and family of Mr. Glidden, and in attending, at Dedham, the lectures of Judge Theron Metcalf, he was admitted to the bar in 1832, at the age of thirty-two years, and immediately opened a law-office in the city of Lowell. He continued the practice of law in that city until increasing deafness demanded his retirement. As a lawyer he was distinguished, not for brilliant oratory or persuasive eloquence before a jury, but for the soundness of his counsel, the conscientious fidelity of his service, and the purity and uprightness of his character. These qualities secured to him for many years a large office practice, and gained for him not only a good estate, but also an enviable name as a man of exalted moral character.

Few citizens of Lowell have been called to a larger number of positions of trust and honor. For several years he was clerk of the Police Court under Judge Locke. In 1833 and 1834 he was city solicitor. In 1835, 1844 and 1845 he was a representative of Lowell in the General Court of Massachusetts. In 1847 he held the office of State Senator. For several years he was a member of the Board of School Committee. From 1847 for nearly thirty years he was president of the Appleton Bank, resigning the office at length on account of impaired eye-sight. From 1848 he served for several years as treasurer of the Lowell & Lawrence Railroad.

In every position of responsibility Mr. Knowles displayed a character of transparent honesty and strict integrity. He was a man to be trusted. Though of a genial and complacent nature, yet, when occasion called and justice demanded, he knew how to "put his foot down firm." When he was president of the Citizens' Bank, an institution which, after a brief existence, went down in the financial depression of 1837 and the following years, he gained an enviable name by his firmness in resisting steadfastly every attempt of speculators to induce him to resort to doubtful methods of management.

Mr. Knowles was fond of literary pursuits. His pen was not idle. By his sketches of the early days and the early men of Lowell, read before the Old Residents' Historical Association, he did much to interest its members. There was in his mind a poetic vein, and he often repeated the flowing lines of Pope and other old poets which his memory had retained for fifty years. The writing of poems was to him a pleasant recreation. He was for many years a beloved officer of the Unitarian Church, of which he was one of the founders.

DANIEL SAMUEL RICHARDSON was born in Tyngsborough, Mass., December 1, 1816, and died at his residence on Nesmith Street, Lowell, March 21, 1890, at the age of seventy-three years. He was descended from a long line of New England ancestors, all of whom occupied such honorable positions in life that it is interesting to trace his genealogical descent from the early settlement of Massachusetts.

1. Ezekiel Richardson, his earliest American ancestor, belonged to that large colony of Puritan Englishman who, about 1630, under Governor John Winthrop, settled in Salem, Boston, Charlestown and the neighboring towns. He was a conspicuous man, having been on the first Board of Selectmen of Charlestown and representative of that town in the General Court. He subsequently served on the Board of Selectmen of the town of Woburn.

2. His son, Captain Josiah Richardson, was prominent among the first settlers of Chelmsford, having been for fourteen years a selectman of the town. It is an interesting fact regarding him that he was once the owner of that part of the territory of Lowell on which now stand most of the large manufactories of that city, having, in 1688, received it by deed from two Indians, John Nebersha and Samuel Nebersha, "for ye love we bear for ye aforesaid Josiah."

3. His son, Lieutenant Josiah Richardson, was the clerk and a selectman of the town of Chelmsford.

4. Captain William Richardson, son of the latter, represented the town of Pelham (then a part of Massachusetts) in the General Court. He died in 1776, at the age of nearly seventy-five years.

5. His son, Captain Daniel Richardson, resided also in Pelham. He was for three years a soldier in the Revolutionary Army, and was present at the battle of Monmouth. He died in 1833, at the age of eighty-four years.

6. His son, Daniel Richardson, the father of the subject of this sketch, was a successful attorney-at-law in Tyngsborough, Mass., and served the town in the General Court of Massachusetts, both as Representative and Senator. Of his three sons, who were his only children, Daniel S. was the oldest, William A. is chief justice of the Court of Claims at Washington, having formerly held the high office of Secretary of the United States Treasury, and George F. is one of the ablest lawyers of the bar of Middlesex County. The three brothers all graduated from Harvard College and the Law School, all pursued the study of law, all practiced their profession in Lowell, and all in succession were elected to the presidency of the Common Council of that city. It is an interesting fact that for twenty-one years one at



Daniel S. Richardson

least of the brothers was a member of the university.

Daniel S. Richardson fitted for college at the academy at Derry, N. H., and graduated at Harvard in 1836, before he had reached the age of twenty years. In college he ranked among the first scholars of his class, being a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society and receiving the Bowdoin prize. He subsequently graduated from the Law School.

At the age of twenty-three years he commenced the practice of law in Lowell, occupying an office in a location on Central Street, in which he remained for more than fifty years.

He loved his profession, and to it he devoted his highest powers. His cases were prepared with scrupulous fidelity, and all that patient research and unremitting toil could do he freely gave to his clients. He was a lawyer and not an orator. Others might excel him in a popular harangue, but before a jury such was the force of his logic, the perspicuity of his language, the evident sincerity of his conviction, and above all the admirable thoroughness of his preparation, that few advocates were his peers. In the first case which Mr. Richardson argued before the full bench of the Supreme Court the celebrated Chief Justice Shaw so far departed from his habitual reticence as to say: "This case has been very well argued."

Mr. Richardson acquired a very extensive practice in civil cases. It is said that in the Massachusetts Reports there are more than three hundred cases which he took to the Supreme Court. His office was a school for young lawyers. Very few men have had around them so many students of the law. In him they found a patient and sympathizing instructor and friend whom they learned to love, and whose generous kindness they still recall with affection and tenderness. The honor and esteem in which his compeers at the bar hold him were well expressed at the recent memorial meeting of the Middlesex bar by General Butler, who had intimately known him for fifty years, in the following words: "He was one of the few men I ever knew who apparently had no enemies. The practice of the bench shows no more fragrant name than that of Daniel S. Richardson."

Although the practice of the law was Mr. Richardson's chosen vocation, yet his fellow-citizens recognized his merits by placing him in many positions of trust and honor. In 1842, 1843 and 1847 he was a member of the General Court and was in the State Senate in 1862. In 1845 and 1846 he served in the Common Council, and was, in both years, president of that body. He was in 1848 on the Board of Aldermen. He was for a very long time a director, and for sixteen years the president of the Prescott National Bank. For fifteen years or more he was trustee of the State Lunatic Asylum at Danvers. He was president of the Lowell Manufacturing Company and director in the Lowell Bleachery and the Traders' and Mechanics' Insurance Company. He was president of the Vermont and Massachusetts Railroad from 1863 to the time of his death. He was also formerly president of the Lowell & Nashua Railroad. For three years he was chairman of the commissioners of Middlesex County. And even yet we have by no means completed the full list of offices and trusts which occupied his busy and useful life.

Mr. Richardson was, during all his life, a diligent student. He kept himself informed in the politics, science and literature of the day. In 1841 he was, for several months, the editor of the *Lowell Courier*, but his law business forbade him to continue his work as a journalist. As editor his motto, as he declared in his valedictory, was expressed in the following couplet:

> "Do boldly what you do, and let your page
> Smile when it smiles, and when it rages, rage."

He adds, however, that he had leaned towards the smiling page. In religious sentiment he was a Unitarian and it has been said of him that his creed was the Sermon on the Mount. In politics he was, in his early years, a Whig. After the Whig party became extinct he was through life a firm and consistent Republican.

Giles Henry Whitney, son of Abel and Abigail H. (Townsend) Whitney, of Lancaster, was born in Boston January 18, 1818. His father kept, in Boston, a private school for boys. The son Giles attended the Latin School from the age of eight to that of thirteen, and finished his preparation for college with Frederick P. Leverett. He graduated at Harvard in 1837, and after reading law with George F. Farley, of Groton, with Washburn and Hartshorn, of Worcester, and at the Harvard Law School, was admitted to the bar in September, 1842. He practiced in Westminster until April, 1846, when he removed to Templeton, and in June, 1857, to Winchendon. He was in the Senate in 1851, and in the House of Representatives in 1864, 1866 and 1881. He married, in November, 1850, Lydia A., daughter of Capt. Joseph Davis, of Templeton.

Henry Vose was the son of Elijah and Rebecca Gorham (Bartlett) Vose, of Charlestown, and was born in that town May 21, 1817. Early afflicted with asthma, he was sent to Concord, where he lived several years in the family of a farmer. He fitted for college at the Concord Academy and graduated at Harvard in 1837. During a part or the whole of his college life he was an inmate of the family of Rev. Henry Ware, Jr. After leaving college he was, for a time, a family instructor in Western New York and read law, first in the office of George T. Davis, of Greenfield, and afterwards in that of Chapman & Ashmun, of Springfield, when he was admitted to the bar. He was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1858, and on the organization of the Superior Court in 1859 he was appointed one of its judges. He removed to Boston soon after his appoint-

ment and made that place his residence until his death, January 17, 1869. He married, October 19, 1842, Martha Barrett Ripley, of Greenfield.

FREDERIC T. GREENHALGE was born in Clithero, England, July 19, 1842, and was brought to this country by his father in his youth. He received his early education in the common schools of Lowell, and though he entered Harvard in 1859 he did not pursue the whole college course. He studied law and was admitted to the bar at Lowell in 1865. He was a member of the Common Council of that city in 1868–69, and received a degree of Master of Arts from Harvard in 1870. He was also a member of the Lowell School Committee from 1871 to 1873, mayor of the city in 1880 and 1881, delegate to the National Republican Convention in 1884, a representative in 1885, city solicitor in 1888 and was chosen member of the Fifty-first Congress as a Republican, in 1888. He is a man of fine scholarship as well as high legal attainments and of polished and winning eloquence. With life and health his further advancement is sure.

CHARLES THEODORE RUSSELL, now living in Cambridge, is descended from William Russell, who came to Boston in 1640, and settled in Cambridge in 1645. Mr. Russell is the son of Charles and Persis (Hastings) Russell, of Princeton, and was born in that town November 20, 1815. His father was a merchant in Princeton, clerk of the town and postmaster, representative eight years, four years a member of the Senate and four years a member of the Governor's Council. Mr. Russell fitted for college at the Princeton Academy, under the care of Rev. Warren Goddard, and graduated at Harvard in 1837, delivering the Latin salutatory at his commencement and the valedictory on the reception of the degree of Master of Arts in 1840. He read law in the office of Henry H. Fuller and at the Harvard Law School, and was admitted to the bar in 1839. The writer, a student at Harvard at the time Mr. Russell was in the Law School, remembers the ease and skill in debate shown by him in the Harvard Union, to whose discussions the law students were admitted. After admission to the bar he was associated with Mr. Fuller two years, and in 1845 entered into partnership with his younger brother, Thomas Hastings Russell, who graduated at Harvard in 1843, and had then become a member of the bar. Until 1855 he made Boston his residence and then removed to Cambridge, where he has since lived. He was a representative from Boston in 1844, 1845 and 1850, and a Senator from Suffolk in 1851 and 1852, and from Middlesex in 1877 and 1878. He was mayor of Cambridge in 1861–62, has been professor in the Law School of Boston University, fourteen years one of the Board of Visitors of the Theological School at Andover and secretary of the board, a corporate member of the Commissioners for Foreign Missions, member of the Oriental Society, president of the Young Mens' Christian Association, and delivered an address at its inauguration. He has written a short history of his native town and delivered a centennial oration there in 1859 and also delivered the oration in Boston on the 4th of July, 1852. The law-firm of which he is the senior member includes, besides his brother, above-mentioned, his sons, Charles Theodore, Jr. and William E. and Arthur H., a son of his brother. Mr. Russell married, June 1, 1840, Sarah Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph Ballister, of Boston.

RICHARD H. DANA, JR., son of Richard H. Dana, a sketch of whom has been given, and grandson of Francis Dana, also included in this chapter, was born in Cambridge, August 1, 1815. His mother was Ruth Charlotte Smith, of Providence. He entered Harvard in 1831, but owing to a severe affection of the eyes, he was obliged to abandon study for a time, and as a sailor before the mast, sailed from Boston, August 6, 1834, for the northwest coast. He reached Boston on his return September 20, 1836, and joined the class of 1837, with which he graduated. He attended the Harvard Law School, and was admitted to the Suffolk bar in 1840. He published in that year "Two Years Before the Mast," and at later times "The Seaman's Friend," "Dictionary of Sea Terms," "Customs and Usages of the Merchant Service," "Sketches of Allston and Channing" and "To Cuba and Back, a Vacation Voyage." He entered at once on a successful practice, not a small portion of which, in the earliest years of his career, was in the defense of seamen from unjust and hard usage. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1853, and one of the founders of the Free Soil party, and its successor the Republican party. In the trials had in Boston of persons charged with the unlawful rescue of a fugitive slave from the hands of United States officers, in the court-house in that city, he labored diligently and eloquently, alone in some cases, and in others associated with Hon. John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and secured their acquittal. He was appointed United States district attorney by President Lincoln in 1861, and held the office until 1865. In 1866 he received the degree of Doctor of Laws from his *Alma Mater*. He married, August 25, 1841, Sarah Watson, of Hartford In 1881 he went to Italy and died at Rome, January 6, 1882.

BENJAMIN ROBBINS CURTIS was born in Watertown, November 4, 1809, and graduated at Harvard in 1829, receiving a degree of Doctor of Laws from his *Alma Mater* in 1852. He was admitted to the bar in 1832, and began practice at Northfield, Massachusetts. In 1834 he removed to Boston, where he soon reached the front rank in his profession, meeting as his competitors in the courts Charles G. Levering, Rufus Choate, Sidney Bartlett and at times Daniel Webster. In September, 1851, he was appointed an associate justice on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, and resigned in 1857. In 1868 he was one of the counsel of President Andrew Johnson before the Court of Impeachment, and before that time he was two years in the Legislature. He published in

1857 "Reports of the United States Circuit Court" in two volumes, and later twenty-two volumes of "Decisions of the United States Supreme Court" and a "Digest" of the same.

GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS, brother of the above, was born in Watertown, November 28, 1812, and graduated at Harvard in 1812. He was admitted to the Suffolk bar in August, 1836, and was a representative in the General Court from Boston from 1840 to 1844. He has been a voluminous law writer, of sound though conservative mind, and a respected authority on all constitutional questions. Among his published law works are "Rights and Duties of Merchant Seamen," "Digest of the Decisions of the Courts of Common Law and Admiralty," "Cases in the American and English Courts of Admiralty," "American Conveyances," "Treatise on the Law of Patents," "Equity Precedents," a tract entitled "The Rights of Conscience and Property," a treatise on the "Law of Copyright," "Commentaries on the Jurisprudence, Practice and Peculiar Jurisdiction of the Courts of the United States," and a "History of the Origin, Formation and Adoption of the Constitution of the United States." Besides these he has published a "Life of Daniel Webster." He is now a resident of New York, engaged in literary pursuits, and in practice in the Unites States Supreme Court.

WILLIAM W. STORY, son of Judge Joseph Story, was born in Salem February 12, 1819, and graduated at Harvard in 1838. He read law in the Harvard Law School, from which he graduated in 1840. His father removed from Salem to Cambridge when he was ten years of age, and during his college and professional life he was a resident of that town. He soon abandoned the law for the more congenial pursuit of sculpture, in which he has won an enviable distinction. Among his best known works are the statue of Edward Everett in the Boston Public Garden, and that of Chief Justice Marshall at the west front of the Capitol in Washington. He is now in Italy, where most of his artist life has been passed.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS SOMERBY, son of Samuel and Hannah (George) Somerby, of Newbury, was born in that town November 2, 1821. He was descended from Anthony Somerby, one of the clerks of courts in Essex County in the seventeenth century. He attended school at Wayland, and read law with Edward Mellen, being admitted to the bar in 1844. He practiced in Wayland until 1852, when he removed to Waltham and joined with Josiah Rutter in a law partnership, which continued until 1858, when he removed to Boston. During his career he occupied offices in Gray's Building on Court Street, in the old State-House and Sears Building. He died at South Framingham July 24, 1879, leaving a son, Samuel Ellsworth Somerby, who graduated at Harvard the year of his father's death. Mr. Somerby was a man of large frame and with mental powers in harmony with his physical. He practiced largely at the Middlesex bar, where he early accustomed himself to the legal blows which its members were in the habit of giving and receiving. He was especially distinguished and successful before a jury, and some of his greatest triumphs, in criminal cases particularly, were due to the boldness, almost heroic at times, with which he presented his case. The acquittal of Leavitt Alley, on trial in Boston in 1873 for murder, will ever stand as a monument to his courage and shrewdness. The line of his defense was a hint, so shrewdly given that it rather originated the suggestion in the minds of the jurymen themselves than passed his own lips, that the son of Mr. Alley was the real criminal. The prisoner's witnesses and the cross-examination of the witnesses for the Government were so handled as to necessarily convey, through unseen and unexpected channels, this hint to the jury, and the refusal to put the boy on the stand, though it was well known that he was conversant with many of the incidents of the affair, served to carry this hint home with a force that was sure to have an effect. The trial lasted ten or twelve days, and the strain upon nerve and brain was so severe that Mr. Somerby never fully recovered from the prostration which it induced.

GEORGE WASHINGTON WARREN was born in Charlestown October 1, 1813, and was the son of Isaac and Abigail (Fiske) Warren, of that town. He was descended from John Warren, who appeared in New England in 1630. He graduated at Harvard in 1830. He married, in 1835, Lucy Rogers, daughter of Dr. Jonathan Newell, of Stow, and had a son, Lucius Henry Warren, born in 1838, who graduated from Princeton in 1860, and from the Harvard Law School in 1862. His first wife died September 4, 1840, and he married, second, Georgianna, daughter of Jonathan and Susan Pratt Thompson, of Charlestown, by whom he had two sons and three daughters. Mr. Warren settled in the practice of law in his native town, and in 1838 was a representative to the General Court, and senator in 1853–54. After the incorporation of Charlestown as a city, by an act passed February 22, 1847, and accepted March 10, 1847, Mr. Warren was chosen its first mayor, and continued in office three years. From 1837 to 1847 he was secretary of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, and from 1847 to 1875 its president. He also wrote a history of the association. In 1861 he was appointed judge of the Municipal Court of the Charlestown District, and remained on the bench until his death, which occurred at Boston May 13, 1883.

CHARLES COWLEY was born in Eastington, England, January 9, 1832. He came to New England with his father, who settled as a manufacturer in Lowell. With a common-school education, he read law in the office of Josiah G. Abbott, and was admitted to the Middlesex bar in 1856. He was in both the army and navy during the war. Mr. Cowley has, aside from his profession, devoted himself creditably to literary pursuits, and in politics has sought to pro-

mote the welfare of the laboring man. Lowell has always been his residence since he came to America.

JEREMIAH CROWLEY was born in Lowell, January 12, 1832, and is the son of Dennis Crowley, of that city. He was a member of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment during its three months' campaign in 1861. He read law in the office of John F. McEvoy, of Lowell, and was admitted to the Middlesex bar in 1869. He has been a councilman and alderman of Lowell and a member of the State Senate. He is in the enjoyment of a lucrative practice in his native city.

BENJAMIN DEAN was born in Clithero, England, August 14, 1824, and was the son of Benjamin and Alice Dean. His father came to New England and settled in Lowell, where the subject of this sketch received his early education. After one year in Dartmouth College, Benjamin, the son, entered, as a student, the law-office of Thomas Hopkinson, of Lowell, and was admitted to the bar in 1845. He practiced law in Lowell about seven years and then removed to Boston, where he has since resided. He has been a member of the State Senate three years, a member of the Boston Common Council four years and represented the Third District in the Forty-fifth Congress. For a number of years he has been a member of the Boston Park Commission. He married, in 1848, Mary A., daughter of J. B. French, of Lowell.

PHILIP J. DOHERTY was born in Charlestown, January 27, 1856, and at the age of twenty graduated at the Boston University Law School. He was admitted to the bar in 1877 and has since practiced his profession in Boston. He has been a member of the House of Representatives and a member of the Board of Aldermen of Boston. He married, August 16, 1878, Catharine A. Butler, of Charlestown.

GEORGE STEVENS, son of Daniel and Tabitha (Sawyer) Stevens, of Stoddard, New Hampshire, was born in that town October 23, 1824. He was descended from John Stevens, of Chelmsford, 1662, through John, Henry, Daniel and Daniel. He graduated at Dartmouth in 1849, and read law with Ira A. Eastman, of Gilmanton, N. H., and with Moses N. Morris, of Pittsfield, Mass. After teaching school two or three years he was admitted to the bar in 1854, and settled in Lowell, where he established a lucrative practice and was city solicitor in 1867–68. He married, September 19, 1850, Elizabeth Rachel, daughter of James Kimball, of Littleton, by whom he had three children, one of whom, George Hunter Stevens, was his partner at the time of his death, which occurred at Lowell, June 6, 1884.

JOHN SULLIVAN LADD, son of John and Profenda (Robinson) Ladd, of Lee, New Hampshire, was born in that town July 3, 1810. He graduated at Dartmouth in 1835, and read law with John P. Robinson. After teaching two years he settled in Cambridge in 1839, and married, in June, 1841, Ann, daughter of David Babson. September 5, 1847, he married Mary Ann, daughter of Samuel Butler, of Bedford. He represented Cambridge in the General Court, was a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1853, a member of the Common Council and in 1851 its president. He was trial justice some years, and in 1854 was made judge of the Police Court in Cambridge, which position he held twenty-eight years. He died at Cambridge, September 5, 1886.

CHARLES R. TRAIN, son of Rev. Charles Train, of Framingham, was born in that town Oct. 18, 1817. His father had two wives—Elizabeth Harrington and Hepsibah Harrington, the latter of whom was the mother of the subject of this sketch. He was descended from John Train, of Watertown, an early settler. He attended the public schools of Framingham and the Framingham Academy, and graduated at Brown in 1837. He read law in Cambridge and was admitted to the bar in 1841. He settled in Framingham, representing that town in the General Court in 1847, and in the Constitutional Convention in 1853. He was district attorney from 1848 to 1855, a member of the Council in 1857–58, member of Congress from 1859 to 1863, again a member of the General Court in 1871 from Boston, and Attorney-General of Massachusetts from 1872 to 1879. He removed to Boston about 1866, and died at North Conway, New Hampshire, July 29, 1885.

GEORGE HENRY GORDON was born in Charlestown, July 19, 1825, and graduated at West Point in 1846. He entered the mounted rifles and served under General Scott in the Mexican War. He was severely wounded at Cerro Gordo and breveted first lieutenant for gallantry in the field. In 1853 he was made full first lieutenant, and resigned in 1854, entering the Cambridge Law School and being admitted to the Suffolk bar. In 1861 he raised the Second Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, and as its colonel was made military governor of Harper's Ferry. In 1862 he commanded a brigade under General Banks and was made brigadier-general of volunteers June 9, 1862. He was at the second battle of Bull Run and at Antietam. He was also engaged in operations about Charleston Harbor in 1863–64, and against Mobile in August, 1864. He was breveted major-general of volunteers April 9, 1865, for meritorious services. After the war he was at one time United States collector of internal revenue, and practiced law in Boston until his death, about 1885 or '86.

THOMAS A. BEARD was born in Littleton, New Hampshire, and practiced law in Lowell from 1842 to 1856. He was appointed assistant treasurer by President Pierce and died November 6, 1862.

GEORGE FRANCIS RICHARDSON was born on Dec. 6, 1829, at Tyngsborough, Mass. He is the son of Daniel and Hannah (Adams) Richardson, his father having been an attorney-at-law and a prominent citizen of Tyngsborough. The ancestors of both his parents were honorably identified with the early history of New England. A more extended notice



Chas. R. Train



George F. Richardson.

of the ancestry and family of Mr. Richardson is to be found in the sketch of the life of his older brother, Daniel S. Richardson, on another page of this work.

Having pursued his preparatory course of study in Phillips Academy, Exeter, Mr. Richardson entered Harvard College in 1846, at the age of sixteen years. Upon his graduation from college he entered the Dane Law School in Cambridge, from which, at the age of twenty-three years, he graduated with honor, having received the first prize for an essay.

After being admitted to the bar and practicing law in Boston for two years, in 1858 he entered as partner the law-office of his brother, Daniel S., being in that position the successor of his brother, William A. who had been appointed judge of Probate and Insolvency for Middlesex County. The firm of Daniel S. and Geo. F. Richardson has now continued thirty-two years, holding at the bar of Middlesex County a very high reputation for legal learning and professional honors.

Though devoted to the practice of his profession, Mr. Richardson never forgets that he is a citizen of Lowell. He is always alive to all that pertains to the welfare and honor of the city. Especially when the War of the Rebellion made its first demand upon the self-sacrifice and patriotism of the people, he stood forth as the trusted and accepted leader, and inspired his fellow-citizens with courage and hope. By his efforts a company was promptly raised and equipped in Lowell, which had the honor of being the first company of three-years' men formed in the State of Massachusetts. It was organized on the evening of the 19th of April, 1861, the day on which the Sixth Regiment marched through Baltimore. In his honor it received the name of the Richardson Light Infantry.

Mr. Richardson has been placed in very many positions of trust and honor. In 1862 and 1863 he was a member of the Common Council, and occupied the same position, as president of that body, which his brothers, Daniel S. and William A., had filled before him. In 1864 he was in the Board of Aldermen. In 1867 and 1868 he was mayor of the city, having received his second election almost without a dissenting vote. As mayor of the city he filled the position with great popular acceptance. His professional practice had well equipped him for the performance of the ordinary duties of the office, and his intellectual culture and graceful address brought honor to the city on all public occasions. In 1868 he was a member of the Republican Convention at Chicago which nominated Gen. Grant for his first election. In 1871 and 1872 he was a member of the Massachusetts Senate. At the close of his service as Senator, Mr. Richardson was brought to the decision of a very important question in respect to his future career. On one hand was the alluring prospect of political advancement, for he had already made a flattering record, and he possessed all the qualities of a successful political leader. On the other hand was his chosen profession. He could not hold both; he must choose one and reject the other. He deliberately chose his profession, and now for eighteen years he has conscientiously and very successfully devoted himself to its arduous duties. Meantime he has filled such positions in social and civil life as came to him as a good citizen, having been city solicitor, member of the School Board, trustee of the City Library, president of Middlesex Mechanic Association, director of the Traders' and Mechanics' Insurance Company, a director of the Prescott National Bank, of the Stony Brook Railroad and of the Vermont & Massachusetts Railroad, and president of the Lowell Manufacturing Company. He has also been president of the Unitarian Club and of the Ministry-at-Large. As trustee of the Boston Water-Power, he has borne the important responsibility of the sale of land to the amount of about three million dollars.

Mr. Richardson is fond of literary pursuits. He loves his library, which is especially rich in the old English classics. Few literary men possess so large and so unique a collection of the various editions of the plays of Shakespeare. He is a connoisseur in Shakespearean literature, and his articles given to the press in defence of the claims of William Shakespeare as the veritable author of the plays so long attributed to him, exhibit a thorough mastery of his subject and a wide range of literary attainments.

Isaac O. Barnes was in the practice of law in Lowell from 1832 to 1835 inclusive. His name appears in the first directory published in 1832 with an office on Central Street. It is possible that he may have been in Lowell before the directory was issued. In 1833 he was associated with Francis E. Bond, having an office in Railroad Bank Building and boarding at the Mansion House. In 1834 his office was in the same building and in 1835 he appears in the directory as associated with Tappan Wentworth in the same building. He probably removed to Boston in 1836, where he was at one time United States marshal. He died at the Bromfield House on Bromfield Street in that city, if the writer remembers correctly, where he made his home for many years.

Edward F. Sherman was born in Acton February 10, 1821, and went when a child to Lowell, where he remained until 1839. He graduated at Dartmouth in 1843 and before entering on the study of law was for a time principal of the academy at Canaan, New Hampshire, and of the academy at Pittsfield, Massachusetts. In 1846 he returned to Lowell, where he read law with Tappan Wentworth, whose partner he was for eight years. In 1855 he was chosen secretary of the Traders' and Mechanics' Insurance Company, and held this office sixteen years. He was a director in the Prescott National Bank, trustee of the

Mechanics' Savings Bank, representative in 1861 and 1866, a member of the School Committee, in 1870 a member of the City Government, and in 1871 mayor. He died February 10, 1872.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, son of John Phillips, the first mayor of Boston, was born in Boston, November 29, 1811, and graduated at Harvard in 1831. He attended the Harvard Law School and read law in the offices of Luther Lawrence and Thomas Hopkinson at Lowell. He was admitted to the Middlesex bar in 1834, but never practiced in Middlesex County.

CHESTER W. EATON was born in Wakefield January 13, 1839. He graduated from the Scientific Department of Dartmouth College in 1859, and after reading law at the Dane Law School was admitted to the bar in 1864. After some years' practice in Wakefield and Boston he has devoted himself largely to literary and business pursuits and has held various important and responsible offices in his native town. He married, in 1868, Emma G., daughter of Rev. Giles Leach, of Rye, New Hampshire.

GEORGE MILLER HOBBS was born in Waltham April 11, 1827, and is the son of William and Maria (Miller) Hobbs, of that town. He graduated at Harvard in 1850, and at the Dane Law School in 1857. He was admitted to the bar in Boston in 1858, and entered practice with Hon. Edward Avery, with whom he has ever since been associated. He has been a member of the House of Representatives and of the Roxbury and Boston School Boards. He married, October 26, 1859, Annie M., daughter of Dr. Samuel Morrell, of Boston.

CHARLES SUMNER LILLEY was born in Lowell December 13, 1851, and was the son of Charles and Cynthia (Huntley) Lilley, of that city. He read law in the office of Arthur P. Bonney, of Lowell, and was admitted to the bar in 1877. He has been a member of the Lowell Board of Aldermen, of the State Senate and the Executive Council.

CHARLES JOHN MCINTIRE was born in Cambridge March 26, 1842. He read law at the Dane Law School and was admitted to the Suffolk bar in 1865. During the pursuit of his law studies he served as a private in the Forty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment. He has been a member of the Cambridge Common Council, of the Board of Aldermen of that city and a member of the House of Representatives. For three years he was assistant district attorney for Middlesex County, and is now city solicitor of Cambridge. He married, in 1865, Marie Terese, daughter of George B. Linegan, of Charlestown.

JOHN H. MORRISON was born in Westford December 23, 1856, and is the son of John and Bridget Morrison, of that town. After a term at Harvard shortened by sickness, he read law in the office of William H. Anderson, of Lowell, and at the Dane Law School, from which institution he graduated in 1878. He was admitted to the bar in 1879 and has since practiced in Lowell. He has been a member of the Lowell School Board, of the House of Representatives and the State Senate. He married, in 1884, Margaret L., daughter of James Owen, of Lowell.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BUTLER is the grandson of Zephaniah Butler, of Woodbury, Connecticut, who served in the Continental Army in the War of the Revolution. The father of Benjamin was John Butler, of Deerfield, New Hampshire, a captain of dragoons during the War of 1812, a follower in war and an admirer in peace of Andrew Jackson, for whom the eldest of his two sons was named. After the war John Butler engaged in trade with the West Indies and died in March, 1819, of yellow fever at one of the West India islands, leaving his widow, with two young children and only a scanty share of worldly goods, to make her way and theirs in the world. The younger child, Benjamin Franklin, the subject of this sketch, was born at Deerfield on the 5th of November, 1818, only four months before his father's death. He was a delicate child, and, like many a delicate child before and since, possessed a precocious mind, which sought with avidity wherever it could be found that mental food on which it was destined to develop and mature. He attended the common schools of his native town, and the few books which came in his way he eagerly devoured. It was as true with him as with others that a few books thoroughly read gave an impulse to thought and nourished the intellectual powers more surely than that desultory reading which the bountiful library often leads to, and which ends in a scattering mind without definiteness of action or a power of concentration. A single book, no matter what its title or contents may be, read carefully and reread sentence by sentence will in every word suggest a thought which, in ever-widening circles, finally covers and includes the whole field which the mind of man is able to survey. As concentrated food nourishes the system more than a bountiful but unassimilating supply, so the few plain, simple books to which young Butler had access met exactly the wants of mental digestion, exercising and nourishing it without distracting and disordering it.

In 1828, Mrs Butler removed to Lowell, where, by taking a few boarders and carefully saving her gains she became able to give to her children a better education than she had ever dared to expect. Benjamin was sent to Phillips Academy at Exeter, and in 1834, at the age of sixteen, was sent to Waterville College in Maine. At that college there was a manual department in which the students worked three hours in each day, thus earning a moderate amount of wages to help pay the cost of their education. Here young Butler earned something, but still left college in 1838 somewhat in debt for his college expenses. During his college life those keen powers of argument and speech, which have since characterized him, manifested themselves, and his fellow-students recall many an arena in which he came off victorious.

After leaving college, oppressed by debt and with



Benj F Butler

health impaired, he went with an uncle on a fishing voyage to the coast of Labrador, and, as he says himself, "hove a line, ate the flesh and drank the oil of cod, came back after a four months' cruise in perfect health, and had not another sick day in twenty years." The discussions in which he often took part at Waterville, were either the result of a naturally controversial taste, or were the means of developing one, and in seeking a course of life to follow, he almost as a matter of course selected the profession of law. He entered the office of Wm. Smith, of Lowell, the father of Henry F. Smith, whose name was afterwards changed to Durant and who became distinguished at the Suffolk bar.

In 1841 he was admitted to the Middlesex bar. On his examination for admission by Judge Charles Henry Warren, then holding a session of the Court of Common Pleas, questions were put to him whose answers impressed the judge with his acquirements in the principles of law. It happened that on the day of the examination a case was on trial before the judge in which the question of admitting certain evidence had somewhat puzzled him. The case was Robert Reed against Jenness Batchelder, which was carried finally to the Supreme Court on exceptions, and is reported in the first of Metcalf, page 529. It was an action of assumpsit on a promissory note given by the defendant, when a minor, to Reed & Dudley, July 26, 1835, and payable to them as bearer. The defence of course was infancy. But in July, 1839, while the note was in the hands of the promissees, and after the defendant had come of age, he verbally renewed his promise to pay, to Henry Reed, one of the firm of Reed & Dudley, and the note was subsequently endorsed to Robert Reed, the plaintiff. The plaintiff's offer to put the renewal of the promise in evidence was objected to by the defendant's counsel, and on the day of the examination above referred to, Judge Warren had sustained the objection. Mr. Butler had been present during the trial, and the general question was asked him by the judge, what effect such a renewal of promise would have, and what he thought of his ruling. The student replied that he thought the ruling wrong and the note good. "Why," asked the judge. "Because," said the student, "the note was not void but only voidable, and when the verbal promise was made the note became at once negotiable." The next day the judge reversed his ruling, exception was taken and the case carried up. Judge Warren afterwards complimented Mr. Butler on his ready and just application of the principles of law to the case in question, and acknowledged the influence it had on his mind. Judge Shaw, in the opinion of the Supreme Court, overruled the exception, and decided that though the renewal of promise was made verbally to Henry Reed, one of the firm of Reed & Dudley, it at once became negotiable, and in the hands of Robert Reed, to whom it was passed, was good.

Mr. Butler settled in Lowell, and rose rapidly in his profession, as he could scarcely fail to do with his learning in the law, his infinite resource, his boldness and persistency in every case in which he was engaged, and his readiness, with or without fee, to relieve the suffering and oppressed. His practice soon extended beyond the limits of his own county, and in the courts of Suffolk he became a familiar object of interest. It is unnecessary to say that the son of a friend and admirer of Andrew Jackson, he was from childhood a Democrat, fully imbued with those principles, not always kept in view, for the support of which the Democratic party was created, and which will keep it alive through all mutations as long as our nation exists. He believed that a too great centralization of power in the hands of the general government was a danger to be avoided, and that the rights of States, not to recede from the Union, but to maintain and retain certain functions, were absolutely essential to our nation's permanent existence and welfare. A nation with all the strength and density of power at its central point, could be as weak as an army with depleted wings, which the slightest disorder would break and destroy.

As a Democrat, Mr. Butler early engaged in political activity, and almost from the date of his admission to the bar his voice has been heard in political conventions and on the stump. His earliest essay in the political line was at Lowell, in which he successfully advocated the ten-hour rule, in the factories of that town. He was a member of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts in 1853, and in the same year a delegate to the convention for the revision of the State Constitution. While a member of the House, George Bliss, of Springfield, was the Speaker, and the Whig party was in the ascendant. Otis P. Lord, of Salem, was the Whig leader of the House, and, by his great abilities and unconquerable will, held the Speaker under his control, and always obedient to his wish. The altercations between Mr. Butler and the Speaker were numerous, and Mr. Bliss was only extricated from the perplexities into which he was repeatedly led by the ingenious devices of his Democratic opponent on the floor, by the helping hand of Mr. Lord. Practically, while Mr. Bliss was the chosen occupant of the chair, Mr. Lord was Speaker, and Mr. Bliss was only his mouth-piece. On one occasion, when the Speaker, at the behest of Mr. Lord, had added another to the long list of rulings which Mr. Butler's points of order had received, he said, "Mr. Speaker, I cannot complain of these rulings. They doubtless seem to the Speaker to be just. I perceive an anxiety on your part to be just to the minority and to me, by whom at this moment they are represented, for, like Saul on the road to Damascus, your constant anxiety seems to be, "Lord, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do.'"

Mr. Butler was in the State Senate in 1859–60, and in the former year performed an important part in the

revision of the statutes. In that year the writer was with him in the Senate, and had abundant opportunities to observe and measure the various qualities of his head and heart. Though opposed to him in politics, he was not sufficiently blind to fail to discover those traits of character which have attracted to him the circle of friends which, like satellites, he has always carried with him in his social and political orbit. He disclosed two sides—a sharp bitterness of antagonism, and the warmest of hearts; a harshness of deportment at one time, and at another a polish of manner and conversation not easily excelled; now inspiring those about him with fear, and again as gentle as a child, as affectionate as a brother, as loving as the dearest friend. His character seemed to consist of extremes; like the extremes of the magnet one attracted, the other repelled, and no one looked on him with entire indifference. So, in his treatment of men, as he could be implacable in his antagonism he could never forget a friend or be faithless to his interests. Indeed, it has seemed to the writer as if his regard for friendship and its obligations were the inspiring cause of that seeming bitterness, which he has exhibited towards those who have attacked and denounced him.

The Superior Court, established by the Legislature of 1859, was mainly the work of his hands. The old Common Pleas Court had, with the material of which it was mainly composed, evidently outlived its usefulness, and the bill creating the new court was drawn by Mr. Butler, and has stood the tests of time and criticism. The retiring court, consisting of Edward Mellen, chief justice, and Henry Walker Bishop, George Nixon Briggs, George Partridge Sanger, Henry Morris and David Aiken, associates; gave way to the new court, consisting of Charles Allen Chief Justice, and with him as associates, Julius Rockwell, Otis Phillips Lord, Marcus Morton, Jr., Seth Ames, Ezra Wilkinson, Henry Vose, Thomas Russell, John Phelps Putnam and Lincoln Flagg Brigham.

In 1860 Mr. Butler, having passed through the various preliminary grades, was brigadier-general of the militia, with headquarters at Lowell. In that year he was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention held at Charleston in April. His presence was a familiar one in Democratic National Conventions, as he had never failed to attend one since the nomination of James K. Polk in 1844. Mr. Parton says that "he went to Charleston with two strong convictions in his mind. One was that concessions to the South had gone as far as the Northern Democracy could ever be induced to go. The other was that the fair nomination of Mr. Douglas by a National Democratic Convention was impossible." General Butler was a member of the committee to construct a platform. The committee divided, making three reports—one by the majority adhering to the demand for a slave code for the Territories and protection to the slave trade; one by the minority, referring all questions in regard to the rights of property in States or Territories to the Supreme Court, and one by General Butler, reaffirming the Democratic principles laid down at the National Democratic Convention at Cincinnati in 1856. The report of General Butler was adopted, but a nomination failed to be made, and the convention adjourned to meet at Baltimore on the 18th of June. At Baltimore the convention was again divided. The Douglas men nominated their chief for the Presidency, and Herschell Johnson, of Georgia, an avowed disunionist, for Vice-President. The other members of the convention retired and nominated for President John Cabell Breckenridge, of Kentucky, and Joseph Lane, of Oregon, for Vice-President. General Butler was one of the supporters of the latter nominations. The Douglas platform said, "We do not know whether slavery can exist in a Territory or not. There is a difference of opinion among us upon the subject. The Supreme Court must decide and its decision shall be final and binding." The Breckenridge platform said: "Slavery lawfully exists in a territory the moment a slaveholder enters it with his slaves. The United States is bound to maintain his right to hold slaves in a Territory. But when the people of a Territory frame a State Constitution they are to decide whether to enter the Union as a slave or free State. If as a slave State, they are to be admitted without question. If as a free State, the slave-owner must retire or emancipate." In addition to the two tickets of the Democratic party, there was the ticket of what was called the Bell and Everett party, with John Bell, of Tennessee, for President, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President, which constructed no platform and expressed no opinion on the question of slavery then at issue, and the ticket of the Republican party, with Abraham Lincoln for President and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, for Vice-President, which distinctly opposed the extension of slavery into the Territories.

General Butler returned to Massachusetts and to Lowell an unpopular man, but defended his course with ability, though without success. He was the candidate for Governor on the Breckenridge ticket and received only six thousand out of one hundred and seventy thousand votes. He had previously been the Democratic candidate for the same office, and received fifty thousand votes.

In December, 1860, Mr. Lincoln having been chosen President in November, General Butler went to Washington, and, in company with Southern Democrats, declared himself in unmistakable terms against any attempts to break up the Union. No Republican was more emphatic in his denunciation of the treasonable language which he heard. His friends at the South insisted that the North would not fight against secession. He told them that the North would fight, and that if the South went into a war there

would be an end to slavery. "Do you mean to fight yourself?" they asked. "I would," he said, "and by the grace of God I will." South Carolina seceded, and it was expected that a delegation would come to Washington to present the ordinance of secession to the President. Mr. Black, the United States Attorney-General, had given it as his opinion that the proceedings of South Carolina were legally definable as a "riot," which the forces of the United States could not be legally used in suppressing. General Butler said to the Attorney-General: "You say that the government cannot use its army and navy to coerce South Carolina in South Carolina. Very well, I do not agree with you; but let the proposition be granted. Now, secession is either a right or it is treason. If it is a right, the sooner we know it the better. If it is treason, then the presenting of the ordinance of secession is an overt act of treason. These men are coming to the White House to present the ordinance to the President. Admit them. Let them present the ordinance. Let the President say to them: 'Gentlemen, you go hence in the custody of a marshall of the United States as prisoners of state, charged with treason against your country.' Summon a jury here in Washington. Indict the commissioners. If any of your officers are backward in acting, you have the appointing power; replace them with men who feel as men should at a time like this. Try the commissioners before the Supreme Court, with all the imposing forms and stately ceremonies which marked the trial of Aaron Burr. I have some reputation at home as a criminal lawyer, and will stay here and help the District Attorney through the trial without fee or reward. If they are convicted, execute the sentence. If they are acquitted, you will have done something toward leaving a clean path for the incoming administration. Time will have been gained; but the great advantage will be that both sides will join to watch this high and dignified proceeding; the passions of men will cool; the great points at issue will become clear to all parties; the mind of the country will be active, while passion and prejudice are allayed. Meanwhile, if you cannot use your army and navy in Charleston Harbor, you can certainly employ them in keeping order here."

The war followed, and on the 15th of April, 1861, Fort Sumter had fallen, and the President's proclamation for troops was issued. A brigade of four regiments was called for from Massachusetts, to be commanded by a brigadier-general. The Third, Fourth, Sixth and Eighth Regiments were selected to go. The Third and Fourth went by water to Fort Monroe; the Sixth went by land, meeting its well-known experience in its passage through Baltimore, and on the 18th of April, with the Eighth Regiment, General Butler, the brigadier-general selected, started by rail for Washington. From this point, during his service in the war, his history forms a part of the history of his country. His arrival at Annapolis by water from Havre de Grace, his rescue of the frigate "Constitution," his possession of Annapolis and the Naval Academy, his reconstruction of the railroad track to Annapolis Junction and his possession of Baltimore are related on too many historic pages to be repeated in this narrative.

The occupation of Baltimore by General Butler was not approved by General Scott, who sent to him, on the 14th of May, the following despatch: "Sir, your hazardous occupation of Baltimore was made without my knowledge, and, of course, without my approbation. It is a God-send that it was without conflict of arms. It is also reported that you have sent a detachment to Frederick; but this is impossible. Not a word have I received from you as to either movement. Let me hear from you." This despatch struck the general with surprise, as the various despatches received by him from Colonel Hamilton, then on the staff of the lieutenant-general, certainly warranted the movement he had successfully made. General Butler was soon after removed from the Department of Annapolis, which included Baltimore, and commissioned major-general of volunteers, in command of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, with headquarters at Fort Monroe. In explanation of the conduct of General Scott it may be said that he had planned a combined movement against Baltimore of 12,000 troops, in four columns, marching from different posts, and was somewhat chagrined to find that General Butler had accomplished the occupation of the city with a small body of soldiers without bloodshed, and without even the semblance of resistance.

The commission of General Butler as major general was dated May 16th, two days after his occupation of Baltimore, and thus he became, in reality, the senior major-general in the service of the United States. It is believed, however, that General McClellan and General Banks received ante-dated commissions afterwards, and thus on paper, but not in fact, became his seniors. The writer saw General Butler at Fort Monroe soon after he assumed command at that fort, and during the period of four days had an opportunity of observing his aptitude for military affairs and the growth of discipline among the three months' men stationed at the fort.

Early in August General Butler was relieved of his command in the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, and General Wool was appointed in his place. His removal, however, was caused more by a desire on the part of the War Department to place a skillful and experienced officer of the army in active service than by any dissatisfaction with the manner in which General Butler had performed his duties. One of the first acts of General Wool was to place General Butler in command of the volunteer troops outside the fort. This command included nearly all the troops in the department. Few were in the fort itself, but the constantly-arriving regiments were stationed at Hampton, Newport News and other points in the

vicinity. Most of these were fresh troops, lately enlisted and equipped, and needed the most rigid oversight and discipline to prepare them for active service. Not long after he was placed in command of an expedition to reduce the forts at Hatteras Inlet, which sailed August 22d, and proved successful. On his return from that expedition his command of the troops outside Fort Monroe ceased and he returned to Washington. From Washington he came to Massachusetts, having received from the War Department an order, issued September 16, 1861, "to raise, organize, arm, uniform and equip a volunteer force for the war, in the New England States, not exceeding six regiments of the maximum standard of such arms, and in such proportions and in such manner as he may judge expedient; and for this purpose his orders and requisitions on the quartermaster, ordnance and other staff departments of the army are to be obeyed and answered; provided the cost of such recruitment, armament and equipment does not exceed, in the aggregate, that of like troops now or hereafter raised for the service of the United States."

These troops embarked from Boston Feb. 20, 1862, under the command of General Butler, and after the reduction of Fort St. Philip and Fort Jackson, on the Mississippi River, and their surrender to Admiral Farragut, May 1st, he took possession of New Orleans, and remained in command of the Department of the Gulf until the arrival of General Banks, on the 14th of December, 1862, who, under a general order dated November 9th, assumed command. The cause of his removal was doubtless a diplomatic one, in which the French government was involved, having its origin in the treatment of French neutrals by General Butler, which our government really approved, but which, through French spectacles, it might seem to disapprove by the removal of the general at whose hands it was received. If General Butler had done nothing in the war prior to the occupation of New Orleans, and nothing after he was relieved of his command of the Department of the Gulf, his administration of affairs in that city alone would secure to him abundant and lasting fame. The limits fixed for this narration will not permit a detailed account of its brilliant incidents. It is a little singular that by his acts in that city he should have dulled the glory of Andrew Jackson, the master of his youth and age, by robbing him of one of his titles, and becoming himself the hero of New Orleans.

He was appointed to the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, and during the campaign of 1864 he participated in the military operations before Petersburg and Richmond as commander of the Army of the James. In December, 1864, he commanded an expedition against Fort Fisher, and in November, 1865, resigned his commission. From 1866 to 1871 he was a member of Congress from the Essex District, and in 1868 one of the managers of the impeachment trial of President Johnson. At the Republican State Convention in 1871 he was a candidate for nomination for Governor, and defeated by William B. Washburn. In 1879 he was an independent candidate for Governor, and in 1882 he was chosen Governor by the Democratic party, and served through 1883. In 1883, on his re-nomination, he was defeated by George D. Robinson. He is still, at the age of seventy-two, enjoying and successfully managing a large practice, and as a statesman and politician may be said to have, though perhaps not the largest, yet the most enthusiastic following of which any public man in our country can boast.

CHARLES EDWARD POWERS was born in Townsend May 9, 1834, and is the son of Charles and Sarah (Brooks) Powers, of that town. He graduated at Harvard in 1856, and, after studying medicine for a time, read law at the Dane Law School, and graduated in 1858. He settled in Boston, and has since made that city his place of residence and business.

FRANCIS WINNIE QUA was born in Lisbon, N. Y., Sept. 2, 1845. He was admitted to the Middlesex bar in 1878, and settled in Lowell. He was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1888 and 1889, and served with credit to himself and to his constituents. He married, September 6, 1879, Alice L., daughter of Michael Harden, of Ogdensburg.

ROBERT ALEXANDER SOUTHWORTH was born in Medford May 6, 1852, and is the son of Alexander and Helen Southworth, of that town. He graduated at Harvard in 1874, and, after studying law in the office of Charles Theodore and Thomas H. Russell, was admitted to the Suffolk bar in 1876. He has been assistant clerk of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and secretary of the Republican State Central Committee. In 1888 he was a member of the State Senate. He now practices law and resides in Boston.

GEORGE CLARK TRAVIS was born in Holliston, August 19, 1847, and graduated at Harvard in 1869. He was admitted to the Middlesex bar in 1872, and, after practicing law in his native town several years, removed to South Framingham, where he lived and practiced until 1886, when he removed to Groton, his present place of residence, continuing his office in Framingham and occupying one also in Boston. He married, April 5, 1871, Harriet March, daughter of Austin G., and Mary Charlotte (March) Fitch, of Holliston.

JOHN C. DODGE was born in New Castle, Maine, in 1810, and graduated at Bowdoin College in 1834. In 1842 he opened a law-office in Boston and made a specialty of maritime law. He represented Cambridge in the House of Representatives, and was a member of the Massachusetts Senate. He was president of the Board of Overseers of Bowdoin, and received from that college, in 1875, the degree of Doctor of Laws. He married, in 1843, Lucy Sherman, of Edgecomb, Maine, and died in Cambridge, where he had resided many years, July 17, 1890.

GEORGE BEMIS was born in Watertown in 1816, and graduated at Harvard in 1835. He read law at the Harvard Law School and was admitted to the bar in 1839. He practiced law in Boston until 1858, when a severe hemorrhage of the lungs so far impaired his health as to cause him to abandon ordinary professional employment and to spend a large part of the remainder of his life abroad. He was employed in connection with Judge Phillips in the preparation of a code of criminal law for Massachusetts, which, however, was not adopted by the Legislature. He distinguished himself in the trial of Abner Rogers a convict who killed the warden of the State Prison, being associated in the defence with George T. Bigelow, afterwards chief justice of the Supreme Court. He was also associated with John H. Clifford, Attorney-General, in the prosecution of Dr. Webster for the murder of Dr. Parkman, and the preparation of that celebrated case was the work of his hands. His own earnings, with some inherited property enabled him to devote the last twenty years of his life to the study of public law, and, especially after the Rebellion to the subject of belligerent and neutral rights and duties. He rendered valuable assistance to the State Department in the discussion of the claims of the United States against Great Britain for the depredations of the Alabama and other cruisers from British ports against our commerce, and published several spirited and able pamphlets as a contribution to the controversy. He died at Nice, in Italy, January 5, 1878.

JOHN W. BACON was born in Natick in 1818 and graduated at Harvard in 1843. After leaving college he taught for a time in the Boston High School, and after reading law was admitted to the Middlesex bar in 1846. He practiced law in Natick fourteen years, and from 1859 to 1862 was a member of the State Senate. In 1866 he was appointed by Governor Bullock chief justice of the Municipal Court of Boston, and in 1871 by Governor Claflin one of the justices of the Superior Court. He died at Taunton, March 21, 1888.

WILLIAM WHITING was born in Concord, March 3, 1813, and graduated at Harvard in 1833, and after teaching private schools at Plymouth and Concord, read law at the Harvard Law School and was admitted to the bar in 1838. He opened an office in Boston, and very early, by assiduous labor and an exhaustive preparation of all cases placed in his charge, won a place in the front rank of the Massachusetts bar. He married Lydia Cushing, daughter of Thomas Russell, of Plymouth, and William G. Russell, a Harvard graduate of 1840, and brother of his wife, read law in his office and became his partner in business. In 1864 he was appointed solicitor of the War Department and served three years. In 1868 he was a Presidential elector and in 1872 was chosen Representative to Congress, but died before he took his seat. In 1862 he published a work entitled "The War Powers of the President and the Legislative Powers of Congress in Relation to Rebellion, Treason and Slavery." He also published various pamphlets, chiefly legal arguments before the United States Courts, and a memoir of Rev. Joseph Harrington. He died at Roxbury Highlands, June 29, 1873.

JOHN COCHRAN PARK was born in Boston, June 10, 1804, and graduated at Harvard in 1824, in the class with George Lunt and Elias Hasket Derby. He was admitted to the bar about 1827 and lived to be the oldest member of the Suffolk bar. In the early days of his practice he was active in military matters and at various times commanded the Boston City Guards, the Boston Light Infantry and the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. He joined the last-named company in 1829, was its adjutant in 1837, its second lieutenant in 1845, its first lieutenant in 1850 and its captain in 1853. He was also the clerk of the company from 1830 to 1833. For many years he was an active and prominent member of the Whig party and one of the most fluent and popular speakers in its ranks. He passed through the Free Soil party into the Republican party, and continued his connection with that party until the Presidential campaign of 1888, when he voted for Grover Cleveland. In 1851 he was appointed by Governor Boutwell district attorney for the Suffolk District and remained in office until 1853. In 1860 he removed to Newton, where he continued to reside until his death, which occurred April 21, 1889. He married twice, his first wife being a daughter of Abraham Moore, already referred to as an attorney, first in Groton and afterwards in Boston. At his death he left a widow and one son, another son having died of wounds received in the war.

In Newton Mr. Park was appointed by Governor Long, in 1881, judge of the Newton Police Court, and remained on the bench until his death. The social atmosphere of Newton was especially congenial to him. Thrown into a circle of educated and scholarly men, he found a happy opportunity for the display of the rare literary and conversational powers which he possessed. In the church with which he was connected, in its Sunday-school and in various movements for reform, he found a welcome field for his naturally refined and philanthropic tastes. The various papers read by him in the Newton Tuesday Club, of which he was a member, show both the tendency of his mind and its strength and clearness to the last. In 1877 he read a paper on the "Morals of the Young," in 1878 one on "Prose Writers of Fiction," in 1879 "The Government and the Indians," in 1880 "The Poor and Pauperism," in 1881 "Marriage," in 1883 "Orators and Oratory," in 1884 "Political Parties" and "A Mission of Peace to the South," in 1886 "Communism, Socialism and Strikes" and "Parliament and Congress," and in 1888 "We, the People."

Judge Robert C. Pitman, a member of the club, in a fitting memorial, says of Mr. Park: "His career was as versatile as it was protracted. But few have

touched life at so many points. We were reminded by the honors paid at his funeral of his early and long-continued interest in military life. We know the traditions of his fascinating oratory when Webster and Everett and Choate and Phillips were in their prime; he served in both branches of the Legislature; at the bar he had a long and varied career upon the civil and criminal side, which was crowned at last with faithful years of judicial duties; always prompt to turn aside for any service in education, charities or reforms, and having a life-long interest in religion, its services and instructions."

JOHN SPAULDING was born in Townsend, August 8, 1817. He is descended from Edward Spaulding, who came to New England about 1630, and first settled in Braintree. Edward, the ancestor, was made a freeman in 1640, and was one of the original grantees and settlers of Chelmsford in May, 1655. By a wife, Margaret, who died in August, 1640, he had John about 1633, Edward about 1635 and Grace. By a second wife, Rachel, he had Benjamin in 1643; Joseph 1646; Dinah, 1649, and Andrew 1652. Of these children, Andrew, who was born November 19, 1652, and died May 5, 1713, married Hannah Jefes, of Billerica, April 30, 1674, and had Hannah, Andrew, Henry, John, Rachel, William, Joanna, Benoni and Mary. Of these, Andrew, who was born in Chelmsford, March 25, 1678, and died November 7, 1753, married Abigail Warren, February 5, 1701, and had Andrew, Jacob, Henry, Josiah, Ephraim, Isaac, Abigail, Joanna, James, David, Benjamin and Sarah. Of these, Isaac, who was born in Chelmsford, October 28, 1710, and died March 4, 1776, married Sarah Barrett, and removed to Townsend, where his farm is still in the family. His children were Jonathan, Lydia, Sarah, Benjamin, Abigail, Lucy and Esther. Of these, Benjamin was born in Townsend, August 14, 1743, and died May 27, 1832. He married Mary Heald December 5, 1765, and had Benjamin, Peter, Mary, David, Joel, Abel, Isaac, Sarah, Ephraim and Nancy. Of these, Benjamin, born in Townsend, April 17, 1767, died May 21, 1842. He married, first, Sibyl Wallace, March 19, 1789; second, Sibyl Sanders, August 1, 1797, and third, Mrs. Betsey Searle, May 2, 1822. His children were Sibyl, Benjamin, John, Polly, Levi, Peter, Jonas, Abigail, Susan, Samuel and Amos. Of these, John, born in Townsend, May 10, 1794, married Mrs. Eleanor Bennett, of Boston, in 1814; second, Eliza Lawrence Spalding, of Shirley, June 3, 1830, and third, Esther Pierce, of Townsend, May 22, 1834. His children were Eliza Ann, born October 1, 1814; John, August 8, 1817; Mary Heald, April 6, 1820; Sibyl, September 12, 1822; Caroline Matilda, October 18, 1824; Abel, September 21, 1831; Ellen Maria, November 13, 1842; Theodore Lyman, April 21, 1845; Lyman Beecher, February 25, 1847; Theodore Eddy, May 3, 1849, and Ellen Rebecca, February 23, 1854.

Of these, John, the subject of this sketch, received his early education in the public schools of his native town and at Phillips Academy. In 1842 he entered Yale College, but on account of ill health was obliged to leave his class in its senior year and thus failed to receive a degree in regular order. At a subsequent period, however, the degree of Master of Arts was conferred on him. The education which he finally secured was due chiefly to his own love of learning and his indomitable energy and perseverance. While working on his father's farm he was only able to attend school during eight or ten weeks in the winter, and the instruction thus received was supplemented by voluntary study during evenings and rainy days at other seasons of the year. At the age of seventeen he had prepared himself for teaching school, and for a short time pursued that occupation with eminent success. With strong health, great self-reliance and precocious will and energy, but with inadequate financial aid he succeeded in obtaining a liberal education. In 1850 he graduated at the Dane Law School, in Cambridge, and, after a period of study in the law-office of George Frederick Farley, of Groton, was admitted to the bar in 1851. By his own unaided efforts he entered on his professional career, and having paid his own way, he opened an office in Groton, owing no man a dollar and with a small sum securely invested in profitable railroad stock.

While in the office of Mr. Farley he was placed in charge of cases in the Magistrates' Court and thus acquired some experience in the trial of cases before he launched his own professional bark. In this way he secured a class of business which, after he began practice on his own account, naturally fell into his hands—a practice which gradually extended even beyond the borders of Middlesex County, and which, skillfully managed as it was, secured to him at a very early period a prominent and lucrative standing in his profession.

His settlement in Groton was made in response to the request of many prominent citizens, who were anxious to have a young, active lawyer in their town, and they not only provided him with an office as an inducement for him to remain with them, but their continued encouragement and aid were of essential service to him in getting a firm foothold at the bar. Mr. Spaulding remained in Groton about ten years. When the south part of that town became a prominent railroad centre he followed the popular wave and practiced in that section until 1872, when he removed to Boston. It was largely due to his efforts and influence that Groton Junction as it was called, and a part of the town of Shirley were incorporated, in 1871, as a new town under the name of Ayer.

While practicing in Middlesex County the District Courts were established, and when the First Northern Middlesex Court was established Mr. Spaulding declined the appointment of judge, but accepted the position of special justice, which he now holds. The necessary sacrifice of a large portion of his lucrative



John Spaulding



Joseph Wentworth

practice would scarcely, in his opinion, be justified by the honor which such a judicial position would bestow.

Judge Spaulding now resides in Boston Highlands, and is in the enjoyment of a well-earned and lucrative legal business, which is not likely to be soon impaired by any failure of his strong mental and physical powers. He married, in 1802, Charlotte A., daughter of Alpheus Bigelow, of Weston, who died June 24, 1889, leaving no children.

Judge Spaulding has, until now, well advanced in life, devoted himself assiduously to his professional pursuits, neither seeking nor accepting office, believing that in our country few higher positions can be attained than that of a well-read, sound, successful lawyer.

ARTHUR P. BONNEY, the son of Isaac and Abigail (Stetson) Bonney, of Plympton, Massachusetts, was born in that town July 9, 1828. He attended the common schools of his native town and afterwards those in Lowell. He also attended the Dracut Academy, and in the study of the languages had the advantages of a private tutor. He first studied medicine for a time, but finally entered as a student the law-office of Seth Ames & Thomas Hopkinson, then in full practice in Lowell. After his admission to the bar in 1848 he opened an office in Lowell and practiced alone until he entered the firm of his old instructors, which assumed the name of Hopkinson, Ames & Bonney. In 1849 Mr. Hopkinson was appointed a justice of the Common Pleas Court, and the firm continued under the name of Ames & Bonney until 1859, when Mr. Ames was appointed one of the justices of the Superior Court established in that year. Since that time Mr. Bonney has continued in a gradually enlarging business until his practice, now chiefly confined to corporations, has placed him in the front rank of Lowell's most prominent and wealthy citizens. In 1855 he was city solicitor, and in 1857, 1858 and 1861 he was a member of the State Senate. In 1858 the writer was with him at the Senate board, and remembers him, though the youngest, yet one of the ablest, members. From 1864 to 1880 he was president of the First National Bank of Lowell, and from 1880 to the present time has been president of the Merchants' National Bank. He has been also a director in the Lowell and Andover Railroad Corporation. He is a Republican in politics and a Unitarian in religion, and a prominent and active member of both organizations. He married Emma A., daughter of Dr. Royal Hall, of Lowell, and has one child, a daughter.

HON. TAPPAN WENTWORTH was born in Dover, New Hampshire, February 24, 1802, and died in Lowell, Massachusetts, June 12, 1875. The Wentworth family is one of the most prominent in the history of England, and Tappan Wentworth was a lineal descendant of Thomas Wentworth, the Earl of Strafford, whom the genius of Macaulay has made forever famous.

William Wentworth was the first immigrant of his name to America, and was one of the Rev. John Wheelwright's company at Exeter, in 1638.

After that he resided at Wells and then in Dover, in the church of which he was a ruling elder.

He was the father of four sons, from one of whom Governor John Wentworth was descended; from another, the Hon. John Wentworth, of Chicago, and from the other two, by a union in the line, the Hon. Tappan Wentworth.

Three of the Wentworths were Governors of New Hampshire. Of these, John Wentworth was commissioned Lieutenant-Governor in 1711; Benning Wentworth was appointed Governor in 1741, and held the office until 1767; John Wentworth, his nephew and successor, held the same dignity until the commencement of the Revolutionary War. In that memorable struggle for human rights he conscientiously adhered to the Royal cause.

The Wentworth Governors had granted the charter of Dartmouth College, and had endowed it by giving the lands upon which its edifices now stand, and had fostered it so long as they had the power.

William Wentworth, the first American founder of the family, was twice married; was the father of ten children, and died March 16, 1696. Benjamin Wentworth, his youngest son, born in Dover, married Sarah Allen, in 1697, by whom he had eleven children, and died in August, 1728. William Wentworth, eldest son of Benjamin, was born August 14, 1698, and was twice married. Of his twelve children, Evans was born December 25, 1750, married Dorothy, daughter of Ezekiel Wentworth, March 19, 1772, and died in August, 1826. Of his nine children, Isaac, father of Tappan, was born August 13, 1776; married Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Gowdey; was the father of eleven children, and died in 1827.

Tappan Wentworth received his elementary education at the common schools and the classical school at Dover.

During his early manhood he spent about three years at Portsmouth, employed in a grocery store, from whence he went to South Berwick, Maine, and served successively in the stores of Benjamin Mason and Alphonso Gerrish, as clerk.

But Tappan Wentworth possessed abilities, force and ambition that demanded a wider field than that within the limits of a country store. He manifested deep interest in politics. A spirited article written by him, advocating the re-election of William Burleigh member of Congress from the York District, attracted that gentleman's attention, and induced him to offer his tuition in the study of law to Tappan Wentworth. The offer was accepted, the course of legal preparation finished, and he was admitted to the bar of York County in 1826.

Seven years of successful practice in South Berwick and Great Falls followed his admission. In November, 1833, he removed to Lowell, with savings to the amount of about $7000 in his possession.

Mr. Wentworth's first public service was rendered as a member of the committee which drafted the first city charter of Lowell in 1836. He was the Whig lawyer on the committee, and Joseph W. Mansur the Democratic. He was elected to the Common Council the same year, re-elected in 1837, '39, '40, '41, and officiated as president the last four years. In 1848–49 he represented his fellow-citizens in the Senate of Massachusetts. In 1851 he was returned as representative to the lower house of the State Legislature, and also in 1859, 1860 and 1863. In 1865–66 he was again representative in the State Senate. He was an active Whig advocate—a statesman of the Webster school throughout the best days of the Whig organization—and on the "stump" displayed the qualities of a practical and an argumentative orator.

In the fall of 1852, Tappan Wentworth was elected as a Whig to the National House of Representatives, by a vote of 4341, as against 4240 cast for Henry Wilson, Coalitionist.

The *Worcester Ægis*, at the time of his election, said: "The election of this gentleman to Congress from the Eighth District over Henry Wilson, the master-spirit of coalition, has given great satisfaction to the Whigs in all parts of the State.

"To any who know Mr. Wentworth, it is needless to say that his election is an important contribution to the talent and ability of the next Congress—as a clear-headed and forcible speaker, he will have no superior in the Massachusetts delegation, while as a working member he will be eminently useful."

While in Congress he was a member of the House Committee on Commerce, and introduced several important measures. Among them was a resolution to see what legislation is necessary to regulate or prohibit the introduction into the United States by any foreign government or individual of any foreigners, either insane, blind or otherwise disabled. On this resolution he spoke at considerable length.

The matter was referred to the Committee on Commerce, which subsequently reported a bill that passed into law, and that covers the entire subject. In 1854 he delivered a powerful and eloquent speech, in opposition to the passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Bill.

The cordial relations which had so long existed between Mr. Wentworth and President Pierce, and also between himself and Attorney General Caleb Cushing, were of great advantage to him, although he was in the Whig opposition to their Democratic administration. Through them he quickly established friendly relations with the several members of the Cabinet, and also with the Democratic Speaker, who showed his appreciation of Mr. Wentworth's abilities when he appointed the different Standing Committees. These relations with the chiefs of the existing administration, which enabled him to serve his constituents more beneficially than he otherwise could have done, were used by his opponents to create distrust of his fidelity, and to defeat him when a candidate for re-election.

The public life of Mr. Wentworth was closely identified with the growth and prosperity of the city of Lowell, and he was already ready to assist in any public enterprise, and liberally supported all the city institutions.

He was projector and president of one of the State railways, and at the time of his death was president of the National Rubber Company, of Providence and Bristol, R. I.

His life-work, however, was his profession, and to that were given his talents, which were of a commanding character.

He always received the careful attention of both judge and jury. His legal record was brilliant and successful, and his place in the profession was in the front rank.

Judge Nathan Crosby, in his eulogy on Mr. Wentworth, said: "He was not long in selecting Dartmouth as his donee. He was a New Hampshire man, his kindred had laid the foundation of the State, and had chartered and founded the college."

His will bequeathed all his property, which he said would not take long to reach $500,000 to Dartmouth College in the following words: "All my real estate stocks in corporations and debts due me, I give, devise and bequeath to Dartmouth College, in fee simple, and forever, to be used for the purposes of said College, in such manner as the proper officers who may have the management and control of the general funds of the College, may from time to time determine."

The bequest was charged with limited legacies and annuities, and will bear in all coming time, one-half the expenses and reap one-half the benefits and glory of this college. "In all the relations of life," wrote an early friend familiar with him as husband, father, son and brother, "he most emphatically and nobly did his duty, and his record is written on high."

"When he once gave his friendship, remarked Mr. John McNeil, his brother-in-law, "it was for life, and to the end. Even if the object proved unworthy, he let go with more reluctance and regret than most men."

A large portion of his law library was bequeathed to the city of Lowell, for the use of the bar of Lowell, practicing in the Police Court. Mrs. Wentworth afterwards furnished in good taste and fitness a library-case for the books, surmounted with the Wentworth coat-of-arms, with the superscription "Wentworth library,' and also gave largely from her own library to fill its shelves.

After the death of Mr. Wentworth a largely attended meeting of the Middlesex bar passed some highly eulogistic resolutions, expressive of their appreciation of his character and abilities, and of their sense of his loss.

Tappan Wentworth was married, on the 20th of January, 1842, to Anne, daughter of Genl. Solomon



McNeil, of Hillsboro', N. H., a granddaughter of Gov. Pierce, and a niece of President Franklin Pierce. In all respects she was a help-meet for him. An only child, a son, Frederick Tappan Wentworth, was born March 7, 1843, and died April 17, 1853, of a sudden illness. His death was a sore affliction to his parents.

Mrs. Wentworth, surviving her noble husband, has gracefully and touchingly completed the great act of his life.

JOSIAH G. ABBOTT, now living in Boston, is descended from George Abbott, of Yorkshire, England, who came to New England about 1640, and settled at Andover, in 1643. The ancestor married, in 1647, Hannah, daughter of William and Annie Chandler, and died December 24, 1681. His widow married Rev. Francis Dane, the minister of Andover, and died June 11, 1711. William Abbott, son of the ancestor, born November 18, 1657, married, June 2, 1682, Elizabeth Gray, and had a son Paul, born March 25, 1697, who removed from Andover to Pomfret, Connecticut, about 1722. Paul had a son Nathan, born in Andover April 11, 1731, who married, in 1759, Jane Paul, and had a son Caleb, who married Lucy Lovejoy, and for a second wife, Deborah Baker. Caleb had a son Caleb, born February 10, 1779, who was a merchant in Chelmsford, and married Mercy, daughter of Josiah Fletcher. The children of the last Caleb were—Mercy Maria, born January 24, 1808, deceased August 21, 1825; Lucy Ann Lovejoy, born Sept. 16, 1809; Caleb Fletcher, born Sept. 8, 1811, who graduated at Harvard in 1831, and settled as a lawyer in 1835 in Toledo, Ohio; Josiah Gardner, the subject of this sketch, and Evelina Maria Antoinette, born Sept. 14, 1817.

Josiah Gardner was born in Chelmsford, November 1, 1815, and attended the Chelmsford Academy, at one time under the care of Ralph Waldo Emerson, principal. He recalls with special interest the impression which Mr. Emerson, then unknown, by his gentle seriousness and great purity, made on his youthful mind. He graduated at Harvard in 1832, in the class with Henry Whitney Bellows, Charles T. Brooks, George Ticknor Curtis, Estes Howe, Charles Mason, Albert Hobart Nelson, Samuel Osgood, George Frederick Simmons and many others who acquired position and fame. In such a class, though the youngest member, Mr. Abbott secured a creditable rank. After leaving college he read law with Nathaniel Wright and Amos Spaulding in Lowell, and at the Dane Law School in Cambridge. He was prepared for admission at the bar in September, 1835, but a serious illness delayed his admission until December of that year, when, barely twenty years of age he entered on his professional career as a partner with Mr. Spaulding, one of his instructors. After a business connection of two years with Mr. Spaulding he practiced alone until 1840, when he became connected with Samuel Appleton Brown.

On the 21st of May, 1855, the Common Pleas Court, so far as Suffolk County was concerned, was discontinued by law, and the Superior Court for the County of Suffolk was established. The judges commissioned for this court by Governor Gardner were, Albert Hobart Nelson, chief justice, and Judges Huntington, Nash and Abbott, the subject of this sketch, associates. On the resignation of Chief Justice Nelson, who died in 1858, Charles Allen was appointed by Governor Banks as his successor. Judge Abbott resigned in June, 1858. In 1859 both the Common Pleas Court and the Superior Court for the County of Suffolk were abolished, and the Superior Court for the Commonwealth was established. It was due to the manner in which he and his associates administered the Superior Court that the Court of Common Pleas was abolished and courts on the same basis as the Superior Court established for all the State. Judge Abbott, on his return to practice, still lived in Lowell, but had his office in Boston, and engaged, however, in a law business which extended into many of the counties of the State. In 1860 he declined a seat on the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court, and in 1861 removed to Boston, where he has since that time lived.

In 1837, at the age of twenty-two he was a member of the House of Representatives and in 1842 and 1843, member of the Senate. In the latter year he was chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, an unusual honor for one who had served so short a time, and was also editor of a tri-weekly paper in Lowell for the year 1840, the year of the hard cider campaign. He was also a member of the staff of Governor Marcus Morton. In 1853 he was a delegate from Lowell to the convention for the revision of the Constitution, and in 1875 and 1876 was a member of Congress. While in Congress he was a member of the commission to determine the election of President, and has been the Democratic candidate for Governor several times and repeatedly the Democratic candidate in the Legislature for United States Senator. He has been a delegate to the Democratic National Conventions of 1844, '64, '68, '72, '76, '80 and '84; a delegate at large, and chairman of the Massachusetts delegation at all but that of 1844. He has been at various times intimately connected with corporations and business enterprises, having been president of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company of Lowell, of the Atlantic Cotton-Mill of Lawrence, of the Hill Manufacturing Company and the Union Water-Power Company of Lewiston, Maine, and of the Boston and Lowell Railroad Company. He has also been a director of the North American Insurance Company of Boston, and vice-president of several savings institutions. Throughout his career, however, he has always made politics and financial and other occupations subservient to his professional vocation, and never permitted them to distract his mind from his legitimate professional studies and pursuits.

His business in the courts has brought him in contact with the ablest men of the Massachusetts bar, including Choate, Curtis, Bartlett and Whiting, of the Suffolk bar, and Farley, Butler and Sweetser, of the Middlesex bar, and in the contests with these giants in the law in which he has engaged he has shown himself their peer. With General Butler in his earlier years he was often associated as his senior, and in later times he has often been pitted against him in the legal arena. With Mr. Choate he was obliged to exert all his powers, and make use of all his learning. With Mr. Butler it was necessary to be armed at all points and be constantly on the alert against surprises while Mr. Farley at times displayed a wonderful keenness of logic which needed all his legal and forensic strength to meet and if possible overcome. No man at the bar in our Commonwealth has been more industrious in his profession or performed more unremitting labor. It is safe to say that during fifteen years of his career he was engaged in the trial of causes before the courts or referees or auditors or committees of the Legislature three hundred days out of the three hundred and sixty-five in the year. The writer has had the opportunity of observing his skill in the management of important causes, and has discovered in him a faculty, not common among lawyers of tersely and concisely selecting and treating the strong points in his case before a jury, making them the means of a counter-attack against the strong points of his opponent, and, like a skillful general, piercing the centre of his antagonist's line of battle while the movements against his wings were left unopposed.

Judge Abbott married, July 18, 1838, Caroline, daughter of Edward St. Loe Livermore, chief justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, and has had two daughter and seven sons. His two daughters were Caroline, who married George Perry, son of the late Dr. Marshal S. Perry, of Boston, and Sarah, who married William P. Fay. Of his sons, Edward Gardner was born September 29, 1840, and graduated at Harvard in 1860. At the breaking out of the war of 1861 he raised the first company of three years' volunteers for the Second Regiment of Massachusetts, and as brevet major was killed at the battle of Cedar Mountain. Henry Livermore, born January 21, 1842, also graduated at Harvard in 1860, at the age of eighteen years, and while major of the Twentieth Regiment of Massachusetts and brevet brigadier-general was killed in the Wilderness. Fletcher Morton, born February 18, 1843, was commissioned captain in the Second Regiment of Massachusetts and served on the staff of General William Dwight. Though in many battles, in which he exhibited conspicuous gallantry, he served three years in the war without a scratch. He afterwards studied medicine, but is not in practice. Samuel Appleton Browne was born March 6, 1846, and graduated at Harvard in 1866. He enlisted at the age of sixteen in the New England Guards Regiment, but was not called into service, and entered college. He is now engaged in the profession of law. Franklin Pierce, the fifth son, attended the Dane Law School at Cambridge, and is now practicing law. Grafton St. Loe graduated at Harvard in 1877 and is also in the law. Holker Welch Abbott, the seventh son, is an artist. Judge Abbott received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Williams College in 1862. He is now living in Boston, and at the age of seventy-four assiduously engaged in the labors of his profession, with mind and body unimpaired and with the promise of years of labor for his own honor and credit and for the community in which he is held in universal respect.

THEODORE HARRISON SWEETSER was born in Wardsboro', Vermont, in 1821, but attended the common schools of Lowell and Phillips Academy in his youth and entered Amherst College. He left college before graduation and taught school in Lowell and afterwards entered as a student the law-office of Tappan Wentworth, in that city. After his admission to the bar he was associated for a time with Mr. Wentworth in business and afterwards at different times with Benjamin Poole and William Sewall Gardner. He was in the Common Council of Lowell in 1851, city solicitor in 1853, '54, '59, '60 and '61, in the Legislature from Lowell in 1870, and the Democratic candidate for Governor and member of Congress. In 1879 he removed to Boston and there died May 8, 1882. His mother was a sister of Solomon Strong, one of the judges appointed to the bench of the Common Pleas Court when it was established, in 1821. Mr. Sweetser was recognized by the members of the bar as one of the ablest in their ranks, and his ability and reputation drew to him a large and lucrative business. He married a Miss Derby, who died before him, and their only daughter, the wife of Willis Farrington, lives in Lowell.

GEORGE MERRICK BROOKS, the son of Nathan and Mary (Merrick) Brooks, of Concord, was born in that town in 1824, and graduated at Harvard in 1844. He read law with Hopkinson & Ames, of Lowell, and at the Dane Law School in Cambridge, and was admitted to the bar in Lowell in 1847. He settled in his native town and married, in 1851, Abba Prescott, who died leaving no children. In 1865 he married Mary A. Dillingham, of Lowell, who is the mother of two children, both daughters, the older of whom is nineteen. Mr. Brooks has been selectman five years, was in the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1858, and in the Senate in 1859. In 1869, '70, '71, '72 he was a member of Congress, having been chosen at his first election to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of George S. Boutwell to take the position of Secretary of the Treasury under President Grant. Before the close of the second Congress, of which he was a member, he resigned to take the position of Judge of Probate for Middlesex County, to which he had been appointed by Governor



William A. Richardson.

Washburn. He has been president of the Middlesex Institution for Savings, a director in the Concord National Bank, and a trustee of the Concord Public Library. He is still Judge of Probate and held in the highest esteem throughout the county.

JOHN SHEPARD KEYES, son of John and Ann S. (Shepard) Keyes, of Concord, was born in that town Sept. 19, 1821, and attended, in his youth, the common schools of his native town, and Concord Academy, and fitted for college under the care of private instructors. He graduated at Harvard in 1841, and read law with his father and Edward Mellen, of Wayland, and in the Dane Law School, at Cambridge, and was admitted to the bar in March, 1844. He opened an office in Concord, and until 1853 was engaged in practice. In 1849 he was a member of the Massachusetts Senate, and in 1853 was appointed sheriff of Middlesex County, and served under his appointment until his office was made elective, when in 1856 he was chosen by the county, and served until 1860. In 1860 he attended, as a delegate, the Republican National Convention at Chicago, and in April, 1861, was appointed by President Lincoln United States marshal for Massachusetts, and served until August, 1866, when he resigned. He then retired to his farm in Concord, was water commissioner and road commissioner, and in 1874 was appointed by Governor Talbot, acting Governor, standing justice of the Central Middlesex District Court, and still holds that office. He delivered the oration at Concord on the Fourth of July in the centennial year 1876, and was president of the day on the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the settlement of the town, in 1885.

An interesting incident in the life of Mr. Keyes is one connected with his membership of the Senate, in 1849. In that year the Senate consisted of forty Whigs, and the House of Representatives had 260 members. Forty years after, in 1889, only two of the Senators were living, and only four of the House could be heard of as yet in active life. In that year these six, including Charles Devens and John S. Keyes, of the Senate, and George S. Boutwell, Nathaniel P. Banks, William Claflin and Henry L. Dawes, dined together, and the record of the men is sufficiently remarkable to be stated in this narrative. Three of the six had been Governors of Massachusetts, four Representatives in Congress, three United States marshals for Massachusetts, two members of the President's Cabinet, two United States Senators, two major-generals in the army, one president of the Massachusetts Senate, one Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, one Speaker of both the Massachusetts and United States House of Representatives, two judges. In 1849 three were Whigs and three Democrats, and in 1889 all Republicans.

Mr. Keyes married, Sept. 19, 1844, Martha Lawrence Prescott, of Concord, and has had six children, two of whom died in infancy. Two daughters are living, one of whom is married, and a son, Prescott Keyes, who graduated at Harvard in 1879, read law with Charles R. Train and at the Dane Law School, in Cambridge, and is now in practice in Suffolk and Middlesex.

EDWARD MELLEN was born in Westboro', in Worcester County, early in the century and graduated at Brown University. After admission to the bar he settled in Wayland, in Middlesex County, where he soon acquired a large practice. He was a hard student and became so well versed in the reports that on almost every point of law which had been decided in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts he could readily quote the case in which it was involved. He was leading counsel in many important cases, and it is said that at the December Middlesex term of the Court of Common Pleas in 1843 he tried twenty contested cases and secured verdicts in nineteen. In 1847 he, with Charles Edward Forbes, was appointed to the Common Pleas bench to fill vacancies occasioned by the resignation of Emory Washburn and Harrison Gray Otis Colby. In 1854 he was made chief justice on the death of his predecessor, Daniel Wells, and retained that position until the court was abolished, in 1859. During his career as judge he was most assiduous in the performance of his duties, shirking no work, always taking voluminous notes and making exhaustive charges to the jury. After he left the bench he settled in Worcester, where he continued in successful practice until his death, which occurred at Wayland in 1875.

WILLIAM ADAMS RICHARDSON, son of Daniel and Mary (Adams) Richardson, was born in Tyngsborough, November 2, 1821. His father, a native of Pelham, New Hampshire, was a brother of William M. Richardson, who, for twenty years, was the chief justice of that State and married Mary, daughter of William Adams, of Chelmsford, for whom the subject of this sketch was named. William Adams Richardson prepared for college at the Groton (now Lawrence) Academy, at Groton, of which institution he has been for nearly thirty years one of the trustees. He graduated at Harvard in 1843 and at the Dane Law School in 1846. He also read law for a time in the office at Lowell of his brother, Daniel S. Richardson, whose sketch has already been given, and was admitted to the bar in Boston July 8, 1846. On the next day after his admission he went into business with his brother, under the firm-name of D. S. & W. A. Richardson. This partnership continued until 1858, when he was appointed judge of Probate and Insolvency for Middlesex County. He then left, his brother removing his office to Boston, and not long after changing his residence to Cambridge.

In 1849 he was chosen to fill a vacancy in the Common Council of Lowell and being again a member of the Council in 1853 and 1854 was, during both of these years, president of that body. In November, 1846, he was appointed judge advocate of the second

division of Massachusetts Volunteer Militia with the rank of a major, and held that office several years. In 1850, the last year of the service of Governor Briggs, he was a member of the staff with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In March, 1855, he was appointed one of the commissioners to revise the Statutes of Massachusetts, who reported the revision which finally became the General Statutes of 1860. On the 27th of December, 1859, he was appointed with George Partridge Sanger, by a resolution of the Legislature of Massachusetts, a commissioner to edit and superintend the publication of the General Statutes and prepare an index to the same.

On the 7th of April, 1856, he was appointed judge of Probate for Middlesex County, holding office until July, 1858, when that office was abolished, and, as has been stated, he was appointed judge of Probate and Insolvency. In 1863 he was chosen by the Legislature of Massachusetts one of the overseers of Harvard College for the term of six years, and the law under which the overseers are chosen by the alumni was based on a plan devised by him. In 1869 he was chosen for another term of six years by the alumni, but before the expiration of his term he removed from the State.

On the 27th of March, 1867, he was appointed with Judge Sanger, already mentioned, as his associate in editing and publishing the General Statutes, an editor of the annual supplement to the "General Statutes," which was continued until the "General Statutes" were superseded by the "Public Statutes" in 1882.

On the 20th of March, 1869, he was appointed assistant secretary of the treasury, and held that office until March, 1873, when, on the retirement of George S. Boutwell, the secretary, he was appointed his successor. On the 23d of April, 1869, he was appointed one of the justices of the Superior Court of Massachusetts, but declined the appointment to continue in the office of assistant secretary of the treasury.

After the great fire in Boston had burned and destroyed the stereotype plates of the "General Statutes" and "Supplement," he was associated in 1872, with Judge Sanger under a resolution of the Legislature in preparing and editing a second edition of both. On the 17th of March, 1873, he was appointed, as has been stated, Secretary of the Treasury, and held that office until he was appointed in June, 1874, one of the judges of the Court of Claims at Washington, being promoted January 20, 1835, from the position of associate judge to that of chief justice, which he still holds. His associates on the bench are Charles C. Nott, Glenni W. Schofield, Lawrence Weldon and John Davis.

On the 7th of June, 1880, he was appointed by Congress to edit and publish a supplement to the Revised Statutes of the United States, with notes and references, which was issued in 1881, and contains the legislation from 1874 to that year. Since 1880 Mr. Richardson has been one of the professors of law in Georgetown University, and has received a degree of Doctor of Laws from Columbia University in 1873, Georgetown in 1881, Howard in 1882 and Dartmouth in 1886.

In April, 1890, Congress passed an act continuing the publication of the supplement to the Revised Statutes of the United States down to March, 1891, to be prepared and edited by Mr. Richardson.

At various times during the residence of Mr. Richardson in Lowell he was a director in the Appleton State and National Bank, president of the Wamesit State and National Bank, one of the corporators, trustees and finance committee of the Lowell Five Cent Savings Bank, and one of the directors of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company. He was also vice-president and president of the Middlesex Mechanics' Association.

Mr. Richardson married, October 29, 1849, Anna M. Marston, of Machiasport, Me., who died in Paris, France, March 26, 1876, leaving one child, Isabel Richardson, now the wife of Alexander F. Magruder, surgeon in the navy, now living in Washington.

The record of Mr. Richardson shows him to have been an active, industrious man, not only learned in the law, but possessing business habits and general traits of character which have deserved and won the confidence of the world.

SAMUEL APPLETON BROWNE, was born in Ipswich November 4, 1810, and read law with Nathan D. Appleton at Alfred, Me. He practiced law in Lowell after his admission to the bar in 1840, and was associated with Josiah G. Abbott until Mr. Abbott was appointed to the bench of the Superior Court for the County of Suffolk in 1855. He was a member of the Massachusetts Senate two years, and died January 27, 1867.

WILLIAM EUSTIS RUSSELL is the son of Charles Theodore and Sarah Elizabeth (Ballister) Russell, of Cambridge, whose sketch has already been given, and was born in that city. He graduated at Harvard in 1877, and, having studied law with his father, was admitted to the Suffolk bar, and is in business with his father, Charles Theodore Russell; his uncle, Thomas Hastings Russell; his brother, Charles Theodore, Jr.; and his cousin, Arthur H., the son of Thomas Hastings, and has his office in Boston. Though so young a man, he has been the mayor of his native city from 1885 to 1889, and in 1888 and 1889 was the candidate for Governor of Massachusetts of the Democratic party. The two campaigns in which he was engaged were, on the whole, the most remarkable gubernatorial campaigns ever made in Massachusetts. His speeches, which were numerous and able, gave him a national reputation, which promises a career of brilliancy and advancement.

WILLIAM ELLISON PARMENTER is the son of William Parmenter, of East Cambridge, who is re-



J. W. Hammond



Chas. E. Towne.

membered as a distinguished Democratic politician. He graduated at Harvard in 1836, and, after reading law, was admitted to the Suffolk bar. He always had his office in Boston until his appointment to the bench of the Municipal Court in that city, of which he is the chief justice. His residence is in Arlington.

JOHN WILKES HAMMOND[1] was born in that part of Rochester, in Plymouth County, Massachusetts which is now Mattapoisett, December 16, 1837, being the first-born of two children of John Wilkes Hammond and Maria L. (Southworth) Hammond. His ancestors had been residents of Plymouth County for more than two centuries. His father was a house carpenter,—an intelligent and respectable man,—who, dying when the subject of this sketch was five years old, left a widow and two children without property. The name of their son, who had been christened James Horace Hammond, was changed by act of the Legislature, after the death of his father, to John Wilkes Hammond.

His mother, an intelligent woman, and of great energy and perseverance, provided for her children by teaching school, keeping boarders, and such other means as her ingenuity suggested, giving them the benefit of good mental and moral training. John was apt to learn, but was not physically strong, and for his health, in the summer of 1855 he went upon a cod-fishing cruise, of several months, to the Grand Bank of Newfoundland, in a schooner from Plymouth.

Supplementing what he had learned in the public schools of Mattapoisett by an attendance of some months in the Barstow Academy of that village, he entered Tufts College in the autumn of 1857. Here, by school-keeping and other means, he worked his way through college, graduating at the head of his class in July, 1861.

Finding himself, at this time, about five hundred dollars in debt, he taught in the high schools of Stoughton and Tisbury, until September, 1862, when he enlisted as a private in Company I, Third Massachusetts nine-months' Infantry, and served with this regiment until it was mustered out in June, 1863.

During his service in the army he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner at the attack of the rebels on Plymouth, N. C.

After his return from the war he commenced the study of medicine, but finding it not to his taste, abandoned it, and taught for a time in the high schools of South Reading (now Wakefield) and Melrose,—studying law, the latter part of the time, in the office of Sweetser & Gardner, in Boston.

With this preparation, and an attendance of one term at the Harvard Law School, he was admitted to the bar, at the Superior Court, Cambridge, in February, 1866.

In March he commenced practice in Cambridge, where he has ever since resided.

On August 15th of the same year he married Clara Ellen, only child of Benjamin F. and Clara (Foster) Tweed. Of the issue of this union there are three children,—Frank Tweed, Clara Maria, and John Wilkes.

Mr. Hammond began practice with a high ideal of the legal profession, regarding it as a means of preventing rather than promoting litigation. Acting on this conviction, he uniformly advised clients to settle difficulties, if possible, without recourse to trial.

Though an entire stranger in Cambridge, and destitute of the aid of influential friends, he soon gained the confidence of the community, as was shown by his election to several municipal offices—as member of the School Committee and of the Common Council. In 1872 and 1873 he represented Cambridge in the General Court.

In the mean time his legal practice had rapidly increased, and in 1873 he was elected city solicitor,—an office which he held continuously, by annual election, until March 10, 1886. At this time, having been appointed by Governor Robinson associate justice of the Superior Court, he left a large and increasing legal practice, resigned the office of city solicitor and entered at once upon his duties as judge.

Members of the bar, who practiced in the courts with him, uniformly speak of him as having attained a high standing both as a counselor and an advocate.

As an advocate he showed excellent judgment in the presentation of the evidence before the jury, and was persistent in behalf of his client. His arguments were never long, but strictly confined to the points at issue, and were delivered with a straightforward earnestness that was very effective with juries. He was equally strong before the bench.

The experience which Mr. Hammond had in the courts, and especially that as city solicitor, were an admirable training for his duties as judge. The opinions which he had been called upon to give to the several departments of the city government, and which, in case of litigation, it became his duty to maintain in court, were largely of a judicial character. As a judge he fully maintained the reputation he had acquired as a lawyer.

CHARLES EDWARD POWERS,[2] son of Charles and Sarah Brooks Powers, was born in Townsend, May 9, 1834, [See biographical sketch of Charles Powers.] In his boyhood he attended the public schools, and had the advantages and full benefit of a thorough education, having graduated from the institution of New Hampton, N. H., and was afterwards private pupil of Prof. Knight, of New London, N. H., in the higher mathematics, for which he had great fondness. He entered Harvard University, at Cambridge, in 1853; graduated and took the degree of A. B. in 1856, after having passed a rigid examination, and was awarded

[1] Contributed.

[2] Contributed.

the grade of "*magna cum laude.*" After taking the degree it was his intention to study medicine and surgery, with the view of becoming a surgeon, and for that purpose he entered the medical school in Boston. He had, however, but commenced his new studies, when he learned of the very sudden death of his esteemed father, which event obliged him to leave the school and devote himself to his father's business, which he very successfully carried on for a time, and after settling up the estate he concluded to study law, and entered the Law School of Harvard University for that purpose, from which he graduated, and took the degree of LL.B. in 1858. In 1859 he formed a co-partnership with Hon. Linus Child and Linus Mason Child, under the firm-name of Child & Powers, "attorneys and counselers-at-law," and opened law offices in the city of Boston, where they have since remained, Mr. Child, Sr., having died some years ago.

Soon after commencing the active practice of the law the street railways of Boston were beginning to be built and put in operation. Mr. Powers was one of the few only, in those early days, who believed in their success, and he at once embarked in the enterprise, became a large owner, and was made a director and president in several of them. For many years, he and his firm were the acting counsel for many of them, and remain so to this day.

Soon after becoming a resident of Boston Mr. Powers became a very active Free Mason. He was made the Master of a lodge; for several years was the Eminent Commander of Boston Commandery of Knights Templar; and for several years was the Grand Master of the Select and Royal Masons of Massachusetts.

Mr. Powers has never been an aspirant for political office. Some years since, and immediately after the great fire in Boston, he was prevailed upon to accept the nomination for the City Council of Boston, and thereupon both political parties put him in nomination, and for two years he was unanimously elected. After serving the two years in the City Council, he was nominated and elected on the "Water Board" of the city, where he served until the water-works were put into the hands of commissioners. It may be said of Mr. Powers that he is regarded as an energetic, sagacious man, quick to apprehend, fertile in resource, and one who does thoroughly that to which he turns his attention.

Mr. Powers was married in 1858 to Miss H. E. Fessenden, daughter of Hon. Walter Fessenden, of Townsend, and has two daughters—Marion (Mrs. Lamar S. Lowry) and Florence Agnes (Mrs. Henry McLellan Harding). They have both received an European education, having been abroad six or seven years for that purpose; and while thus abroad, Mr. Powers visited them every year, and made extensive travels with them. In religion Mr. Powers is a Unitarian, having become a member of the College Chapel Church in 1856. He has always enjoyed the best of health, never having had a sick day in his life. To a large degree he inherited his father's noble physique and constitution, and we trust that he may continue to enjoy good health for very many years to come.

SAMUEL KING HAMILTON[1] comes from Maine, the good old State that has been nursing mother to so many sons of genius, who have by worthy deeds in other fields, reflected honor on the gracious parent who bore them.

Mr. Hamilton was the youngest son of Benjamin R. and Sarah (Carl) Hamilton, and was born July 27, 1837, at Carl's Corner, in Waterborough, York County, Maine. He was descended from a sturdy, strong-headed Scottish ancestry, which first took root in American soil at Berwick, Me., about 1666. The boyhood and youth of Mr. Hamilton were spent on the home farm, where he became used to the rugged, healthful life of the New England husbandman, and early learned "what trees make shingle," while a naturally strong mind developed with all the rapidity of which surrounding circumstances would permit. A district school furnished the rudiments of knowledge, but a hungry and restless mind soon compassed its curriculum, and reached out with still eager longing for something larger and better than it had known.

The parents recognized in the last of their six stalwart sons, as in others before him, the presence of a spirit too aspiring for its native acres, and wisely provided him an opportunity to pursue his studies at Limerick Academy, and later in the Saco High School, where, with enthusiastic diligence under accomplished instructors, the youth of Waterboro' made rapid strides in the educational course, and in February, 1856, had the courage to apply for the the position of teacher of a village school, and first wielded the emblem of magisterial authority in the Ford District of his native town, with conspicuous success.

Leaving the High School in Saco in 1856, with hopes of future usefulness crystallizing into earnest purpose to deserve success, and still following the beckoning hand of fair Science, young Hamilton entered, in September, 1856, the Chandler Scientific Department of Dartmouth College, and graduated with honor in the class of 1859. He had mostly paid his own way through by teaching school in winters and by other employment, and now with resolute courage and glowing hopes he pressed forward for the final equipment for his chosen profession of the law. Before graduating from college he had already entered as a student the busy office of Hon. Ira T. Drew, at Alfred, Maine, where, remaining several years, varied by teaching school at Wakefield, Massachusetts, and as principal of Alfred Academy, and assisting in a large general practice in York County, he so demonstrated

[1] By Chester W. Eaton.



S. F. Hamilton



Wm. H. Anderson

his capacity and ability in the legal profession, that in 1862, having been admitted to the York County bar, he was received by Mr. Drew as a partner under the firm-name of Drew & Hamilton. There was no kicking of heels for clients in that office, but the business of the partnership rapidly expanded, and the firm had a high reputation all over the country. In 1867 the partnership was dissolved, and Mr. Hamilton opened an office in Biddeford, where he established his residence and met with ample success. He was an alderman of the city two years, and in 1871 was chosen, as a Democrat, to represent Biddeford in the Maine Legislature, where he made his mark as a busy, influential member. In December, 1872, Mr. Hamilton moved to Wakefield, Massachusetts, entering into partnership with Chester W. Eaton, a college classmate, with law-offices at Boston and Wakefield. This partnership was dissolved in 1878, Mr. Hamilton continuing his office in Boston, where his soundness as an adviser and his ability as an advocate were becoming more and more recognized in the business world. He retained his residence in Wakefield, where he was highly valued as a citizen and a lawyer. Mr. Hamilton has been greatly interested in the prosperous development, and especially the educational concerns, of his adopted town. He has served nine years on the Board of School Committee, six years of which time he was chairman of the Board, as chairman of selectmen two years, and many years as chairman of trustees of Beebe Town Library, and has assisted in the promotion of various important enterprises in the town. In 1883, when the people of Wakefield were about erecting a handsome and commodious brick school-house they voted unanimously in open town-meeting that the same should be called the "Hamilton School Building," in recognition of Mr. Hamilton's valuable and public-spirited services in behalf of the Wakefield schools. Mr. Hamilton has been treasurer of the Pine Tree State Club, of Boston, since its organization, and was delegate to the National Democratic Convention in 1880, from the Fifth Congressional District of Massachusetts.

Though the business office of Mr. Hamilton has been located in Boston, his practice has extended largely over Middlesex County, and his form and voice are well known to court and jury in Boston, Cambridge, Lowell, Malden and Wakefield. His office practice is also large, and he has obtained a special distinction for legal knowlege and acumen in respect to the organization and management of corporations. Mr. Hamilton has been in demand as a platform speaker in many hot political campaigns, and by his abounding good nature and ready wit is popular even among his opponents. He still resides in Wakefield, and is one of the foremost in all local movements for public improvements.

Mr. Hamilton was married in Newfield, Maine, February 13, 1867, to Annie E., daughter of Joseph B. and Harriet N. Davis. They have no children.

WILLIAM H. ANDERSON'S[1] earliest American ancestor was James Anderson, one of the sixteen original proprietors of the town of Londonderry, N. H., a class of sturdy, uncompromising Presbyterians, who, seeking greater religious freedom, emigrated from Ireland to New England in the year 1719.

Their ancestors, many years before, had fled from the persecutions which the Presbyterian Church suffered in Scotland, and, crossing the narrow channel, had settled in the fertile fields of the North of Ireland.

James Anderson settled in that part of Londonderry now called Derry, and his oldest son received his father's "second division," or "amendment land," which comprised a large tract lying on Beaver Brook, in the southern part of the town. A portion of this tract has been handed down from father to son for five generations, to the subject of this sketch. Such instances are now quite rare even in New England, and it is not strange that, combining so many natural attractions and historic associations, Mr. Anderson has delighted to improve it and make it a place of his frequent resort.

On this farm Mr. Anderson was born Jan. 12, 1836. His father, Francis D. Anderson, was a well-known resident of the town, and was frequently placed by his fellow-townsmen in offices of trust and honor. His mother, Jane Davidson, of the adjoining town of Windham, N. H., although a life-long invalid, is well remembered for her superior qualities of mind and heart and her Christian fortitude and patience under great suffering.

Mr. Anderson, after passing his boyhood on his father's farm, pursued his preparatory course of liberal study at Kimball Union Academy, Meriden, N. H., and at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. He entered Yale College in 1855, at the age of nineteen years, and graduated in 1859. After graduation he went to Mississippi, and was a tutor in a private family in Natchez, in that State, and in New Orleans until the autumn of 1860, when ill health compelled him to return North.

He commenced the study of law in the office of Morse (Isaac S.) and Stevens (George) in Lowell, and continued in their office till his admission to the bar in December, 1862. The firm of Morse & Stevens being then dissolved, he became a partner with Mr. George Stevens on the 1st of January, 1863. This business relation continued until April, 1875, a period of nearly thirteen years, and only ceased because of the election of Mr. Stevens as district attorney for Middlesex County.

Messrs. Stevens and Anderson were the first tenants of the building known as Barristers' Hall, at the corner of Central and Merrimack Streets, after its change from religious to secular uses, and Mr. Anderson has now (1890) occupied the same office for more than twenty-five years.

[1] Contributed.

In 1868 and 1869 Mr. Anderson was a member of the Common Council of Lowell, and in the latter year he was president of that body. For several years he was a member of the School Committee. In 1871 and 1872 he was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

Since the latter date he has held no public office, but has devoted himself closely to the practice of his profession, having found by experience that the law is indeed a jealous mistress and that she cannot be too assiduously wooed.

Mr. Anderson possesses qualities which admirably adapt him to the practice of his profession. Cool and deliberate in judgment, thoughtful and dignified in manner, patient and thorough in investigation, he readily impresses upon his clients the conviction that their interests are safe in his hands. He enjoys an extensive practice and holds a high position at the bar of Middlesex County.

The elegant residence of Mr. Anderson, on the heights of Belvidere, overlooking the Merrimack, is not surpassed in attractiveness and beauty by that of any citizen of Lowell. The broad and well-shorn lawn in front, the wood-crowned heights of Centralville across the stream, the charming views both up and down the river combine to form a scene of no ordinary loveliness.

On Oct. 1, 1868, Mr. Anderson married Mary A., daughter of Joseph Hine, of Springfield, Mass. His only child, Francis W, was born Dec. 20, 1877.

MARCELLUS COGGAN.[1]—The subject of this sketch belongs distinctly to the class of self-made men. He was born in Bristol, Lincoln County, Maine, the second of four children of Leonard C. and Betsey M. Coggan. He obtained his early education in the district school of his native town, and later followed the sea in the coasting trade between Maine and the southern ports and the West Indies. Not satisfied to follow a seafaring life, when a young man he entered Lincoln Academy, New Castle, Me., and there prepared for Bowdoin College, which he entered in 1868, and through which he made his way by hard work, teaching in public schools and academies during the winters, and graduating with honor in 1872, at the age of twenty-five.

Immediately afterwards he was engaged as principal of Nichols Academy, in Dudley, Worcester County, Mass, and remained there until 1879. Nichols Academy is an old institution of learning, well-known in Worcester County, and at times in its history had enjoyed great prosperity, but when Mr. Coggan took charge it was undergoing a period of depression. With the management of the new principal it took on new life and energy, and entered upon a new period of prosperity, which it has since maintained. While in Dudley Mr. Coggan took an active part in town affairs, and was a member of the School Committee for four years.

During all this time, and ever since leaving college, Mr. Coggan had the legal profession in view, and read law steadily while engaged in teaching. In 1879 he gave up his position as principal, and removed his residence to Malden, entering at the same time the law-office of Child & Powers, in Boston. In 1881 he was admitted to the Suffolk bar, and his success in practice was immediate and steady. In 1886 he formed a partnership with William Schofield, at that time instructor in the Law of Torts at the Harvard Law School, and the firm have since done business under the name of Coggan & Schofield in Malden and Boston, and have risen steadily in business and in the estimation of the public.

Upon taking up his residence in Malden Mr. Coggan at once became active in public affairs, joining various local organizations. In 1880 he was elected a member of the School Committee, and was an active and efficient member of the board for three years. During that time questions of great importance to the educational interests of the city were agitated, and Mr. Coggan impressed himself upon the citizens as a man of decided opinions, and of the courage to maintain them. In 1884, by the persuasion of friends, he ran as an independent candidate for the office of mayor, against the regular nominee of the city convention, and was defeated; but his friends were so encouraged by the results of his canvass that he was induced to run again as an independent candidate in 1885, and was elected over the regular nominee, Hon. Joseph F. Wiggin.

Mr. Coggan assumed the office of mayor of Malden in January, 1886, and was the fourth in succession in that office since the incorporation of the city—a signal tribute to his character and ability, since he had been a resident of the city only since 1879. His administration as mayor was successful, and in 1886 he was re-elected, without opposition, by an almost unanimous vote, for the ensuing year. Perhaps the strongest feature of Mr. Coggan's administration was his enforcement of the prohibitory law. The city, in 1885, had voted "No License," and during the first year of Mr. Coggan's mayoralty this vote of the people was thoroughly enforced, in a manner which attracted wide attention, and with results which were very gratifying to the friends of temperance. In the second year of his office Mr. Coggan continued in all departments the vigorous policy which had marked his first year. He refused a nomination for a third term, and retired from office at the end of 1887. Since that time he has taken no active part in politics, but has devoted himself exclusively to his profession. In his political principles Mr. Coggan has been a consistent and life-long Republican.

In 1872 Mr. Coggan married Luella B. Robbins, daughter of C. C. Robbins and Lucinda Robbins, of Bristol, Me., and three children have been born to them of that marriage.

MR. ALFRED HEMENWAY, one of the leading law-

[1] Contributed.



Marcellus Coggan

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yers of the Massachusetts bar, was born in Hopkinton, Mass., August 17, 1839. He fitted for college in his native town and graduated at Yale University in the class of 1861. He studied law at the Harvard University Law School, and was admitted to the bar in Suffolk County July 13, 1863. He has since then resided and practiced in Boston, and has steadily risen in his profession, alike in the extent of his practice and in reputation as a lawyer. He has delivered law lectures at the Lasell Seminary, is one of the examiners for admission to the Suffolk bar, and has been president of the Yale Alumni Association in Boston. But he has mainly confined his attention to the immediate duties of his profession, in which he is a close student, and in which he is recognized as one of the most successful members. His familarity with the reports and the readiness with which he cites the cases bearing on any mooted point have especially won him reputation. Very few lawyers are better grounded in the principles of the law or so familiar with its authorities. He is much in court, tries cases with ability, is now largely engaged as senior counsel, and before a jury or the court has a ready speech, an agreeable manner, and an earnest, convincing and logical power of statement and argument. He is a member of the law-firm of Allen, Long & Hemenway, his partners being Stillman B. Allen, Esq. and ex-Governor John D. Long. Mr. Hemenway was tendered an appointment upon the bench of the Superior Court by Governor Ames, but he declined the honor.

It cannot be expected that in this narrative sketches would be given of all the prominent members of the Middlesex bar. Already the space assigned to this chapter has been exceeded, and the writer must exclude from his list the names of many lawyers who deserve a place in this record. There are General James Dana, of Charlestown, recently deceased, the son of Samuel Dana, already referred to; Marshal Preston, of Billerica; Constantine C. Estey, of Framingham; Theodore C. Hurd, clerk of the courts; B. B. Johnson, of Waltham, who has been mayor of that city, and is active and prominent in the prohibitory cause; Henry F. Durant, son of William Smith, who changed his name, and who, after a short practice in Lowell, became a successful member of the Suffolk bar; Richard G. Colby, city solicitor of Lowell in 1842; Isaac S. Morse, city solicitor of Lowell from 1850 to 1852, and afterwards district attorney; Alpheus A. Brown, city solicitor of Lowell in 1858 and 1862 and 1863; William B. Stevens, of Stoneham, district attorney for the Northern District; J. H. Tyler, register of Probate and Insolvency; Arthur W. Austin; Thomas Wright, of Lawrence, son of Nathaniel Wright, of Lowell; J. Q. A. Griffin, the brilliant lawyer and legislator, cut off in the full promise of an eminent career; Sherman Hoar, of Waltham, and Josiah Rutter, of Waltham—but all these must only be referred to by name, while many more, worthy of mention, must be omitted altogether. The chapter will close with a list, as complete as the writer has been able to make it, of the lawyers now practicing in the county.

The following were, in 1889, engaged in practice in the towns set against their names:

Acton—F. C. Nash, A. A. Wyman.

Arlington—John H. Handy, Wm. Parmenter, W. H. H. Tuttle.

Ashby—S. J. Bradlee.

Ashland—George T. Higley.

Ayer—Warren H. Atwood, C. A. Batchelder, George J. Burns, James Gerrish, Levi Wallace, C. F. Worcester.

Bedford—George R. Blinn, Elihu G. Loomis, George Skilton.

Belmont—Frederick Dodge.

Cambridge—Augustine J. Daly.

Cambridgeport—George C. Bent, John Cahill, H. C. Holt, Edwin H. Jose, J. E. Kelley, G. A. A. Pevey, Charles G. Pope, I. F. Sawyer, Henry H. Winslow.

East Cambridge—Felix Conlon, Freeman Hunt, Edward B. Malley, Charles J. McIntire, Lorenzo Marrett.

Concord—G. M. Brooks, George Heywood, Eben Rockwood Hoar, Samuel Hoar, John S. Keyes, Prescott Keys, George A. King, Charles Thompson, C. H. Walcott.

Everett—Dudley P. Bailey, C. C. Nichols, George A. Saltmarsh, G. E. Smith.

Framingham (South)—Walter Adams, John W. Allard, Constantine C. Esty, Charles S. Forbes, Ira B. Forbes, W. A. Kingsbury, Sidney A. Phillips.

Holliston—W. A. Kingsbury.

Hudson—James T. Joslin, Ralph E. Joslin.

Lexington—Robert P. Clapp, George H. Reed, J. Russell Reed, Augustus E. Scottt.

Littleton—George A. Sanderson.

Lowell.—Julian Abbott, James C. Abbott, W. H. Anderson, Wm. P. Barry, George W. Batchelder, C. R. Blaisdell, A. P. Blaisdell, Harvey A. Brown, C. E. Burnham, George A. Byam, James H. Carmichael, G. W. Clement, Ch. H. Conant, Wm. F. Courtney, Charles Cowley, Jeremiah Crowley, John Davis, Dan Donahue, Thos. F. Enright, Philip J. Farley, Peter A. Fay, Fred. A. Fisher, John F. Frye, F. T. Guillet, Jos. H. Guillet, Ch. S. Hadley, S. P. Hadley, John J. Harvey, J. T. Haskell, P. J. Hoar, J. J. Hogon, John L. Hunt, Louis H. Kileski, J. C. Kimball, Jona. Ladd, Alfred G. Lamson, G. F. Lawton, F. Lawton, Ch. S. Lilley, Fred P. Marble, John Marren, J. N. Marshall, Martin L. Hamblet, John T. Masterson, John W. McEvoy, Ed. D. McVey, Albert M. Moore, Jno. H. Morrison, Isaac S. Moore, Wm. F. Courtney, James Stuart Murphy, Bernard D. O'Connell, Myron Penn, J. J. Pickman, George W. Poore, Irving S. Porter, Nathan D. Pratt, Ed. B. Quinn, Francis W. Quay, John W. Reed, Dan M. Richardson, George F. Richardson, George R. Richardson, J. F. Savage, C. W. Savage, A. P. Sawyer, Luther E. Shepard, George H. Stevens, Solon W. Stevens, L. T. Trull, A. C. Varnum, George M. Ward, Herbert R. White, S. B. Wyman.

Malden—Charles E. Abbott, George D. Ayers, Harry H. Barrett, Harvey L. Boutwell, C. M. Bruce, Orren H. Carpenter, Marcellus Coggan, W. B. de Las Casas, E. E. Eaton, Charles R. Elder, George H. Fall, J. E. Farnham, P. J. McGuire, Edwin G. McInnes, J. H. Millett, J. W. Pettingill, M. F. Stevens, Arthur H. Wellman.

Marlboro'—Samuel N. Aldrich, W. N. Davenport, Heman S. Fay, Gale I. McDonald, Edward F. Johnson, J. W. McDonald, J. F. J. Otterson.

Maynard—Thomas Hillis, J. W. Reed.

Medford—Thomas S. Harlow, Benjamin F. Hayes, F. H. Kidder, W. P. Martin, C. F. Paige, B. E. Perry, C. G. Plunkett, D. A. Gleason (West), George J. Tufts (West).

Melrose—E. C. Morgan, W. H. Roberts.

Natick—P. H. Cooney, F. M. Forbush, James McManus, H. C. Mulligan, H. G. Sleeper, Charles Q. Tirrell, G. D. Tower, L. H. Wakefield.

Newton—J. C. Ivy, J. C. Kennedy, George A. P. Codwire (Lower Falls).

Reading—Solon Bancroft, Chauncey P. Judd, E. T. Swift.

Somerville—Selwyn Z. Bowman, Brown & Alger, John Haskell Butler, John E. Casey, Herbert A. Chapin, D. F. Crane, Joseph Cummings, Samuel C. Darling Michael F. Farrell, Oren S. Knapp, Charles S. Lincoln, Thomas F. Maguire, A. A. Perry, Charles G. Pope, Isaac Story, Francis Tufts, L. R. Wentworth.

Stoneham—B. F. Briggs, A. V. Lynde, A. S. Lynde, William B. Stevens.

Tewksbury—Charles R Blaisdell.

Wakefield—Dean Dudley, Chester W. Eaton, Freeman Evans, S. K. Hamilton, Winfield C. Jordan, Wm. E. Rogers, George H. Towle, Edward A. Upton.

Waltham—Allen J. Mayberry, Thomas Curley, T. B. Eaton, D. French, John L. Harvey, Sherman Hoar, B B. Johnson, A. J. Lathrop, Dudley Roberts, R. M. Start, Charles F. Stone, F. M. Stone, T. H. Armstrong.

Watertown—I. V. Bemis, F. E. Crawford, J. J. Sullivan.

Wayland—R. T. Lombard.

Weston—Andrew Fiske, Charles H. Fiske.

Wilmington—Chester W. Clark.

Winchester—A B. Coffin, S. J. Elder, S. H. Folsom, George S. Littlefield, Eugene Tappan, A. C. Vinton, J. T. Wilson.

Woburn—Charles D. Adams, M. T. Allen, B. E. Bond, Parker L. Converse, Francis P. Curran, I. W. & E. F. Johnson, John G. Maguire, Wm. N. Titus.

CITIES AND TOWNS.

CHAPTER I.

CAMBRIDGE.

INTRODUCTION.

BY JOHN HOLMES.

We have been urged on the score of long residence in the county, to write something for this book.

Under so vague a commission, many topics suggest themselves, and we fall back on our native town of Cambridge, where the qualification above mentioned is most available.

We have a few words to say about Revolutionary recollections connected with our town, but rely chiefly on our topographic memory to give pleasure in noting the changes wrought by time. First, however, a loyal word for our county.

It is a fair territory. It has its mounts of vision, whence one beholds spread out beneath him the plenty, prosperity and peaceful content which, viewed thus largely, belong to the domain of poetry. We have our two, (sufficiently) broad rivers, which pay their daily tribute to Ocean and receive back a briny acknowledgment of their loyalty; others are accessories only to larger streams. We have silvery lakes in which secluded Nature views herself with satisfaction. We have, here and there, pleasant suggestions, at least, of forest.

Without prejudice to sister counties, we think we have all the gradations from wild nature, to a comely civilization, in fair proximity to perfection. The history before us, tells of our progress, from the one point to the other.

Middlesex is rich in Revolutionary incident. Cambridge was a part of the route by which both detachments of the British troops went to Concord on the 19th of April, 1775. The first party of 800 was conveyed from Boston to Lechmere's Point (now East Cambridge) in boats, and passing over the marshes to what then, and also in our boyhood, was called Milk Row, in Cambridge, went by that avenue from the Charlestown, to the West Cambridge (now Arlington) road.

The reinforcement under Lord Percy, coming over Brighton Bridge, must have proceeded straight from Harvard Square up North Avenue. About 1846 a venerable inhabitant of our town told us that on the 19th of April, being then a boy apprentice to a tailor, he saw from a building just north of our present post-office (which we remember) Lord Percy's detachment pass by.

It is well enough to fix the spot whence the young 'prentice gazed unconsciously at the beginning of a Revolution. Such places seem like telegraphic points between the past and the present for the imagination.

Somewhere about 1850 a venerable colored man appeared at our doors asking some transient hospitality. His extreme age suggested inquiry. It appeared that he was living in Lexington in 1775, and, as it seemed, belonged to a Captain Parker of that town. By his own account he lived on very easy terms in the household. Being asked if he remembered what is called the Battle of Lexington, he replied that he saw it, and knew all about it. Here, then, was an eye-witness of a memorable event. Unsophisticated as he appeared, he was the very man to give some simple incident of the day whose picturesque effect he might not himself appreciate.

When refreshed he was put on the witness stand. "Now then tell us about the battle." "Well, you see I had Cap'n Parker's horse to take care on that day. Well I come out there and the dust was a flyin' and the guns a firin' and the blood a runnin'. You see, I had taken care of Cap'n Parker's horse." This was the amount of what could be got from him about the Battle of Lexington. He was then asked if he remembered anything about Bunker's Hill. "Yes, I was there. I remember all about it." "Well, how was that?" "Well, the British Gen'l he come out and drawed his sword and the 'Merican Gen'l he come out and drawed *his* sword, an' then they all went at it and fit till the blood run knee deep." So much for our antiquarian discovery.

In our boy days many small story-and-a-half buildings (so-called) on the present North Avenue reminded one of the Revolutionary epoch. They had witnessed the passage of Lord Percy's nine hundred, and had probably added their part, to the number of his assailants.

These memories of the beginning of the war are

continued in Cambridge by the occupation of the college buildings by our troops, and by Washington's occupation of the present Longfellow house as headquarters.

We now turn to Harvard College at its foundation.

Governor Winthrop came to Salem, which was already settled, and thence to Boston, in 1630, bringing the charter of the Colony with him. To quote from a note to his journal: "7th mo., 14th day, 1638, John Harvard, Master of Arts in Emanuel College, Cambridge, deceased, and by will gave the half of his estate, amounting to about 700 pounds, for the erecting of the college." The General Court had in 1636 "agreed to give 400 pounds toward a school or college. . . ." From Winthrop we find that on the 22d of August, 1642, "Nine bachelors commenced at Cambridge; they were young men of good hope and performed their acts so as gave good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts."

"The general court had settled a government or superintendency over the college, viz.; all the magistrates and elders over the six nearest churches and the president, or the greatest part of them. Most of them were now present at this first commencement, and dined with the college, with the scholars' ordinary commons, which was done of purpose for the students' encouragement, etc., and it gave good content to all."

This was such an occasion as one endeavors to reproduce to his fancy by the dim light of the time. The simple procession (for we are sure there must have been one) marched silently, with no incident of pomp, save possibly the square cap; and whether even the president wore that, is a question beyond us to answer. The squirrel crossed its track, and when arrived wild woodland sounds intruded on the Latin disputations. Doubtless a group of cows from the "Great Pasture" gathered not very far from the present new gateway, and watched, ruminating, the unaccustomed gathering. For all the little world around Cambridge that could quit work, came to that commencement and admired the new college, magnificent to eyes now so accustomed to homely surroundings. The college yard, now so called, must, we think, have been in a very rough state in 1642. The trees or their stumps must have occupied a considerable portion of it. The ground where University Hall now stands must have been a bog or a swamp.

While our college was being thus peacefully inaugurated, civil war was beginning in England, where the Puritan soon proved the affinity between religious, and civil, liberty. But for political precaution we should probably have had our Cromwell and Ireton and Desborough Streets in Boston.

We should like to know how and how far our first commencement was made a holiday. Probably the services of the day were a sufficient excitement to the sober, industrious settlers. Possibly a little "strong waters" circulated in a serious manner; that article had so many sanitary aspects that coincided with a festive inclination. It was good to keep out the cold in winter. It coalesced beneficially with the heat in summer. It was good in a general way as an antidote to climatic influences and a hopeful sort of application in almost all exigencies. Although our fathers had not learned to judge it with the severity of our times, they were cautious in its use. They had disused the practice of drinking toasts because of its tendency to excess. Whatever the mode of enjoyment after the services were over, it was quiet and decorous, and all broke up in good season for their return by daylight over such paths as might then be. Our cows were driven home from the Great Pasture at sundown, and all the village was probably asleep by nine.

Our fathers confined themselves so much to Scripture knowledge and discussion that one would hardly have expected them to open the gates of classical learning to their children. One would suppose that the ungodly miscellany of the heathen mythology would have been as obnoxious to them as the cross in the colors. Perhaps they curtailed that portion of literature. But Latin was the *Lingua Franca* of theology; Greek was the language of the New Testament and Hebrew of the Old. Their first object was to raise up a body of learned ministers who should defend and preserve their theological opinions to the latest generation. To do this a knowledge of the language was deemed necessary.

We who view the college and country now well appreciate the interest of that first commencement. The university of to-day, with its 1200 students and its 150 or so of instructors, casts a kindly look back on its *alter ego* of 1642. The tide of youth has now flowed through it for two and a half centuries, running free and strong and ever increasing in volume.

It is a pleasant feature of the college that grim Time within its precincts assumes his nearest to a cheerful and beneficent aspect. He dispenses very much with his scythe, and is content to show his hour-glass to the young men to remind them of the disintegrating tendency of the hour and the minute.

One turns from the tumultuous succession of objects and sounds in the outside world to rest his eyes on the calm of the college precincts, where the commerce is all in ideas and all the working day is "High Change."

The "scholars," as they used to be styled, have always made an amicable society among themselves, the personal relations of the individual being mostly confined to his class, in which every good fellow, whatever his circumstances, was cordially regarded by all.

The college and the town grew up from infancy together, and have always maintained pleasant relations with each other.

This book is designed to give a minute view of

each town, as well as a history of the collective county. We think a topographic sketch of our town as it was seventy years since would be interesting, to the elder inhabitants at least, who do not enjoy so large a retrospective privilege as ourselves. Cambridge, with its numerous in-dwellers from all parts of the country, who contract associations with the town, is somewhat cosmopolitan, and has many more than its citizens to be interested in its history. The Cambridge of our childhood seventy years since must have very much resembled itself of seventy years earlier. It had been, like other inland places, a farming town until its growth in the neighborhood of the college precluded that occupation there. We of that neighborhood spoke of going to Harvard Square as going "down in town;" those more remote, as going "down to the village." In the now Harvard Square stood "Willard's Hotel," the same building in which now (May, 1890) the passenger-room of the railroad is. "Willard's" was the resort of the moderns—*i. e.*, the less "advanced" people—men whose memories were of General Bonaparte, of the Embargo and the last war. Porter's tavern was the presumable resort of the ancients, whose remembrance might reach back to Bunker Hill, or possibly to the massacre at Fort William Henry.

This building was of two stories, gambrel roofed and of hospitable aspect, with a more modern hall for dancing attached, the great place for public gayeties in our boyhood. This building is still standing, devoted to new purposes. On the left of Willard's, and on the corner of Dunster Street, was our principal grocer; on the right another grocer's shop, with the post-office in the rear; then a passage way, and then our only effective dry-goods shop, at the corner of Brighton Street. All these buildings are still standing. At the easterly corner of Dunster Street, facing on Main, was a house of some antiquity, where our first regular apothecary's shop made its appearance. Thence to Holyoke Street was vacancy. On the easterly corner of Holyoke, facing on Harvard Street, stood our book-store, with a printing-office on the second floor, and wooden stairs on the outside on Holyoke Street—a thin, long, three-story building; next, east of that, a very old red house, with a traditional flavor about it of Bradish, a famous pirate of our colonial times. We have some notion that Captain Kidd was mentioned as a fellow-lodger. If evidence is asked for, we can add that there have been rumors of an iron pot of coin discovered in the cellar. This all will allow to be corroborative. But tradition alone, being *vox populi*, is sufficient for our purpose. This incident imparts a fine aroma of maritime adventure to Harvard Street.

Next to the red house was a small bake-house, and at the westerly corner of Linden Street a three-story wooden house. Passing Linden Street, the whole square next, we think, may have been occupied by the quite stately Borland house, which stands far back from Harvard Street. Passing Plympton Street, there was a piece of land running from a point one or two hundred feet down Plympton Street, round to and a little distance down Bow Street. It contained pear and mulberry trees only.

Opposite this land, on the present Harvard Street (which in our boyhood was called from there the Middle Road), stood the old parsonage, and next this, easterly, the modern Dana house, built in our boyhood. There was no building in sight beyond this on Harvard Street, and on Main Street from Bow Street there was no dwelling visible but the Judge Dana house between the present Dana and Ellery Streets. Beyond this there was one house on the left; none on the right before reaching the present Inman Street.

The open ground extending from Church Street to Waterhouse Street was called, except the part occupied by roads, the Common. Agriculture lingered in the neighborhood of the college. Jarvis Field was still occupied as farm land. We have seen Indian corn growing where the Scientific School, and Gymnasium now stand.

There were no street lamps save, for a few years, four, on the walk in front of the college buildings. People walked at night by faith—that is, such confidence as they might have in their knowledge of the ups and downs that lay in their invisible path. There were no names of streets; people in giving a direction, approximated as well as they could: "Down by the 'meetinus,'" "Down by the Hayscales," "Down by the Mash" (marsh), "Up by Miss Jarvis's."

The present Kirkland Street was built up about 1821. There was then standing there, a little below Oxford Street, a dilapidated, untenantable "Foxcroft" house. The present Cambridge Street, then "Craigie's Road," had one house, visible from the Delta, on it. The road presented then quite a forest vista to those looking down it. At the end of the Delta was what was called the Swamp. This extended some little distance till it met the woods on the left side of the road.

On Brattle Street, from Ash Street, there was but one house, the Vassal house, on the southerly side, as far as Elmwood Avenue, and considerably beyond; on the northerly side there were six or seven. Mount Auburn Street from the present police station, to Elmwood Avenue was a solitude.

We had a true old Puritan "meeting-house," which did credit to our artificers of 1756. We recollect those who were men in our childhood with much respect as excellent workmen and citizens. Since the introduction of machinery the skill required, of the carpenter at least, is very much diminished. Within our "meetinus," as it was usually called, all was creditable to the workmen employed and to the liberal zeal of the parish. The pulpit was quite elaborate and in good taste. The pews had their panels and mouldings (if that is the right term). The spire was perhaps a

little wanting in bulk, but as an emblem of man dwindling as he approaches the celestial regions it was good. The pews were left to the proprietor to paint, or not, as he pleased. The "Boys' Gallery" which perhaps was somewhat akin to a penal colony, was unpainted.

The Massachusetts colonists early established a trade with the West Indies, exchanging their fish and lumber for sugar and molasses. Their abundant wood enabled them to turn the latter article into rum. This became a very cheap commodity; if we remember rightly a quart of *new* rum could be bought for six cents in our young days. We all know the evils that rum brought with it and the gradual awakening of the country to appreciation of them.

In our town, rum (considering that as the representative liquor) gave rise to a set of philosophers, who preferred desultory labor, with frequent intervals for reflection and contemplation. They were generally good-natured and pleasantly disposed, and perhaps somewhat relieved the picture of steady industry in town and college. They had a strong social bent, considering society as the most obvious and easy means of enlarging the mind.

One incident will show their genial and hospitable turn. A young man, a neighbor of ours, on a summer evening met another young man at one of their gatherings, who professed himself a stranger in town. After a long and hilarious session our neighbor asked him if he would not come and lodge with him that night. He accepted the offer gratefully and they set out. When they came into the Common our neighbor stopped, took his coat and hat off and threw them down. "Hello! what are you up to?" said his friend. "Why this is where I sleep," said our neighbor. The very broad philanthropy of the act strikes one. This man was a stranger; it was enough, he shared his bed with him.

Our friend undoubtedly frequented a three-cent place of entertainment. At Willard's a "drink" was six cents, at the stores three; at Willard's, too, "soda water" was sold, then something phenomenal, which as boys we only heard of.

We might tell of the wages paid in our boyhood, as, for instance, ten or twelve dollars a month (with board) to first-rate young men from the country, for care of barn and wood-house, with occasional farm work. A dollar a week to young women of the same quality, of our Spanish silver currency of four-pences (or fo'pences) 6¼ cents, nine-pences 12½, pistareens 20 and dollars, besides our own bank-notes and cents, and it may be some silver. We might speak of the hereditary household economies, of the salt-fish, sternly utilitarian, the brown bread, the Indian pudding (which we respect, but do not love) and other articles suggesting the necessary frugality of earlier times. For prices, we think we recollect Java coffee at fourteen cents the pound, beef and mutton at twelve and a half (*i. e.* nine-pence); but let us remind the householder that money was but a third as plenty as to-day, or less. Meanwhile the fare in the four-horse stage-coach that went twice a day to Boston was twenty-five cents.

We ought to mention the dame school, where very little children, sat on wooden blocks and larger ones on benches, where virtue was rewarded by a tinsel bow pinned (temporarily) on shoulder; and her froward sister naughtiness, with head down, a tear in the eye and a finger in the mouth, was obliged to stand a certain time with a black one attached in the same way. It was here that we read in Miss Hannah Adams' History of the Duc d'Anville's unfortunate naval expedition, and how the admiral of the fleet "fell on his sword," and saw as we read, from time to time, the mast of the college sloop looking over the opposite house; thus associating the Duke and the College Sloop in our memory.

We have said nothing of our navigation. It consisted entirely of the above-mentioned college sloop.

She was a good, honest, innocent craft, and lies pleasantly at anchor in our memory.

We have said nothing of our nearest neighbor, Cambridgeport, whom we ought to mention as having furnished a very good private school for our and her own boys, which has left many friendly memories.

CHAPTER II.

CAMBRIDGE—(Continued).

THE INDIANS OF CAMBRIDGE AND VICINITY.

BY REV. GEORGE M. BODGE.

AN account of the Indians of Cambridge must necessarily involve a partial history of the Massachusetts tribe, since the Indians of all this region were known generally under that name; and because the arbitrary limits of patents, grants and plantations were all unknown to them, and they had no idea of town, county or colony lines. Moreover, the Indians seldom had any permanent dwelling-place, and were accustomed to move at different seasons and in different years into various parts of the country. We begin then with a brief account of the Massachusetts tribe or division of the New England Indians. For the present purpose we need not go back further than 1604–5, when Sieur Samuel de Champlain, with his captain, Sieur de Monts, sailed along the coast from the St. Croix River as far as Eastham harbor, upon Cape Cod. It was Champlain who named Mont Désert, because, unlike most of the islands and headlands along the coast, it was "destitute of trees." He located "Norumbegue" as our Penobscot River, and upon this the Indians who swarmed along the shores told him lived their great "King," Bessabez (the English called this "King" Bashaba). The Indians hereabouts he called the "Etechemins," (and the name

included the Indians of the Kennebec at the same time). These Indians conducted him to the falls of "Norumbegue," and there "Bessabez" came to visit him, the place of their meeting being doubtless the site of the present city of Bangor. The interest of this voyage to us now is the record of the numerous crowds of Indians all along the shores. Champlain describes the natives of the Maine coasts as "swarthy, dressed in beaver-skins, etc.," of large stature and, in general, intelligent and friendly, until after Weymouth's sojourn in their vicinity and his capture of some of their people, after which they were suspicious and timid. It was in June, 1605, that they passed beyond the Kennebec and along the lower part of Maine to Massachusetts. Champlain calls the inhabitants the Almouchiquois. Everywhere the shores seemed full of natives hunting, fishing and paddling out in canoes to trade with the strangers. From his descriptions and maps the course of his voyage may be traced quite accurately, although the names he gave have mostly passed away. His ship anchored inside "Richmond Island," as it was afterwards called, and the Indians came down upon the shore on the mainland and built a huge bonfire and danced and shouted to attract their attention. Champlain gives a very minute account of this locality, from Black Point to beyond the river which he wrote Choüacoet, as he understood the Indian name, but which the English called Saco. They mingled freely with the natives and traded with them. The Indians are described as prosperous and well-favored, with many plantations upon which they were engaged in cultivating the soil. He says they had not before noticed any tilling or cultivating by the Indians. Their method, as he marked and described it here, applies, doubtless, to that of the Massachusetts Indians.

In place of ploughs the Indians used a sort of wooden spade. They dropped three or four kernels of corn in a place, and then piled about a quantity of loose earth mixed with the shells of the "Signoc," or what we call the "Horsefoot-crab," of which there were immense numbers along the shores. These hills were about three feet apart. In the "hill" with the corn they also dropped a few beans. They planted squashes and pumpkins also among the "hills," and this method has been but little changed since their day. They planted in May and gathered in September. Coasting southward along the lands which he describes, his vessel at last enters Boston harbor, and is anchored, probably, nearly opposite Charlestown Navy Yard, and near the East Boston shore. From this anchorage they observed many fires all along the surrounding shores, and many of the Indians coming down to the shores to see them. Some of their crew were sent on shore with presents and with the Penobscot Indian, Panounias, and his wife; but these Indians could not understand the natives, who were of the same tongue as those at Saco. They did not therefore find out the name of their chief. All around the shores there was "a great deal of land cleared up and planted with Indian corn." He says: "The country is very pleasant and agreeable, and there is no lack of fine trees. The Indians here had the 'dug-out' wooden boats instead of the birch-bark canoes; they had not seen any of these before, and he says, they were constructed by the slow process of burning out the trunk of a tree from one side with hot stones. They used stone hatchets and axes to cut down the trees; and their weapons were pikes, clubs, bows and arrows. Continuing southward, crowds of Indians came to the shores at all points, showing that at the time the country was populous and, as it seemed, the natives were prosperous and at peace. It was midsummer, 1605, when Champlain visited Massachusetts. He did not at this time explore the rivers of the Bay, but mentions the Charles, which he named the "Du Guast," in honor of Pierre du Guast, commander of the expedition, whose title was "Sieur de Monts." The English named it for their King. Champlain supposed this river flowed from the West, from the country of the Iroquois. Such, in brief, was the general condition of the Indians along the coast in 1605. We pass now to a more particular account of their condition, as the English settlers found them in 1620, and onward. It will be remembered that Champlain called all the Indians, from the Kennebec to the South, as far as he went, by the general name, "Almouchiquois."

The earliest definite accounts we have of the Indians, who lived upon the peninsula between the Mystic and Charles Rivers are somewhat meagre and unsatisfactory. They belonged to, and seem to have been the central portion of the formerly large and powerful tribe of the Massachusetts. Some of their old men told our earliest settlers that the dominion of their great Sachem had once extended as far as the Wampanoags and Narragansetts on the south, to the Connecticut River on the west, and to the Pennacooks on the north. Nothing, however, as to the limits, is certain. There is a tradition, apparently supported by evidences which will appear further on, that upon the peninsula between the Mystic and Charles was situated the rendezvous of this formerly great tribe. It was here that they used to gather from the south, bringing their products of the land and water; from the north, with the barter of beaver and other furs, and from the interior, where the people were called, by those living on the coast, Nipmucks, or "fresh-water" Indians. All the Bay, from Nahant to Cohasset, seems to have been a sort of capital, with many considerable sub-tribes and sagamores, subject to this great Sachem of the Massachusetts, whose chief seat is said, by one tradition, to have been within the limits of Dorchester, upon a hill near the place now called Squantum.

But the strength and glory of this great tribe had departed long before the English came in contact with them, and even before that terrible plague of

1615–17, which swept away by far the greater part of the coast Indians, from the Kennebec to Rhode Island. Of that devastating scourge we have many corroborating accounts, among which one of the most vivid is given by Mr. Thomas Morton, of "Merry Mount" fame, in that curious book of his, entitled "New English Canaan." It will be seen that, like all accounts of that period, it is mixed with strange and crude superstitions. He relates the destruction of the crew of a French ship, by the Wampanoags, and tells that one of the Frenchmen, who was spared, rebuked them for their wickedness, and told them that God would punish and destroy them; whereupon the Indians answered that "they were so many that God could not kill them." "In a short time after," says Morton,—

"The hand of God fell heavily upon them with such a mortall stroake that they died on heaps, as they lay in their houses, and the living that were able to shift for themselves, would runne away and let them dy, and let their carkases ly above the ground without burial. For in a place where many inhabited there hath been but one left alive, to tell what became of the rest; the living being (as it seems) not able to bury the dead. They were left for crowes, kites, and vermin to pray upon. And the bones and skulls upon the severall places of their habitations made such a spectacle after my comming into these parts, that as I travailed in that forrest nere the Massachussets, it seemed to me a new-found Golgotha."

There is, also, in Captain John Smith's account of New England (written in England in 1630), a passage giving a similar story of the great plague, and adding the particulars that the pestilence carried off "all the Massachusetts, some five or six hundred in number, leaving only thirty living, of whom their enemies killed all but two." Captain Smith says he cannot vouch for the truth of this, but that "it is most certaine that there was an exceeding great plague amongst them, for where I have seene two or three hundred, within three years after remained scarce thirty." His first visit was in 1614, his second in 1617. We learn, also, from the writings of Sir Ferdinando Gorges (whose agent, Richard Vines, with a comrade, spent the winter of 1615–16, probably, at Winter Harbor, and lodged in the wigwams with the natives who died by scores of the plague, while these two were unaffected by it), that previous to this plague the Indian tribes along the coast had been greatly decimated by some powerful tribes who had fallen upon them, plundering and destroying, from Casco Bay to Plymouth and the country beyond. These fierce invaders came along the coast from the east, and were known to the Massachusetts as Tarratines, and were said to have as their great Sachem that mystical personage whom the Eastward Indians called the "Bashaba," whose chief seat was upon the Penobscot River, whom Champlain called Bessabez, as above noted; and the Indians who met the first explorers of the coast of Maine declared that this "Bashaba" was the great king of the whole country, as far as they knew. There are some evidences that the Mohawks had been appealed to by the tribes of Massachusetts, and had helped them to beat back the Tarratines, but, in their turn, had fallen upon their allies and injured them more even than the enemies had done. After that came the great plague, and again, after that had passed, it is probable that the Tarratines or Mohawks, or both, invaded the remnants of the tribes, who, perhaps, for safety, allied themselves with the Wampanoags, as, at the coming of the Pilgrims in 1620, their Sachem, Massasoit, seems to have been the acknowledged head of the tribes as far north as the Merrimack.

The territory embracing the parts to the north and west of Boston was, during the years preceding the coming of the Pilgrims, owned by the Sachem Nanepashemet, to whom also the local tribes were in subjection, while the inland tribes, the Nipmucks—probably their kindred—were in friendly alliance. While each chief of a tribe seems to have been independent in the control and discipline of his own people, there was always an authority referred to by most of the Sachems.

Massasoit seems to have owned no such authority himself, nor did any of his people refer to any higher than his. The same is true of Philip, his son, after the death of his father and brother. Miantonomah and his son Canonchet, Sachems of the Narragansetts, acknowledged no higher rulers. Passaconaway, of the Pennacooks, seems to have been of like rank; and the indications are that Nanepashemet, in his day, had held a like position before pestilence and war had wasted his people.

It is said that, before the war with the Tarratines, Nanepashemet had lived at Lynn, and after that retired to the peninsula formed by the Mystic and Charles Rivers, and there fortified a hill against the approach of his enemies. The Pilgrim, Bradford, in his journal, says that the Eastern Indians came at harvest time to plunder the Massachusetts of their corn. Mr. Hubbard, of Ipswich, writing fifty years later, said that the Tarratines made war upon these Western Indians "upon the account of some treachery of the latter."

The first authentic reference we have to the Massachusetts, as a tribe, is found in the early annals of the Pilgrims, in a work published in England in 1622 by G. Mourt, and popularly known since as "Mourt's Relation." G. Mourt was probably George Morton, one of the Plymouth Company, and an associate of Bradford and Winslow, who doubtless furnished the items of his "Relation" from their journals.

Part IV. of his work gives an account of a journey of a party of the Pilgrims from Plymouth to the home of the Massachusetts, "and what happened there." The account begins:

"It seemed good to the Company in generall that, though the Massachusets had often threatened us (as we were informed), yet, we should go amongst them, partly to see the country, partly to make peace with them and partly to procure their trucke. For these ends the Governour chose ten men, fit for the purpose, and sent Tisquantum and two other Salvages to bring us to speech with the people and interpret for us. We set out about midnight; the tyde then serving for us; we supposing it

to be neerer then it is, thought to be there next morning betimes; but it proved well neere twentie Leagues from New Plimouth.

"Wee came to the bottome of the Bay, but being late wee anchored and lay in the Shallop, not having seene any of the people, &c"

The account tells that on the next day they went on shore and sent Tisquantum (Squanto) to find the Indians, who were at a distance up in the country. The place where they landed, and where they found a quantity of lobsters which had been caught by the natives, was near a "cliffe," and was probably the rocky point in Quincy Bay known as "the Chapel," at Squantum Head.

They found the Sachem of the tribe here dwelling to be Obbatinewat, who owned allegiance to Massasoit, and treated them kindly. He told them he did not dare to remain in any stated place, for fear of the Tarratines, and he said, too, that the Squaw-Sachem, dwelling across the Bay beyond the river (the Charles), was his enemy. He referred to the Squaw-Sachem as the "Queene of the Massachusetts," or gave the Pilgrims that idea. Obbatinewat next day consented to accompany them to visit this "Queen."

They crossed the Bay, with its "at lest fiftie islands," and at night came to the place where the Squaw-Sachem lived; but the Indians, going on shore, found no one, and so they returned and all remained on board the shallop all night. On the next day they went ashore, leaving two men to care for the shallop (this was on October 1, 1621), and "marched in Armes" three miles up into the country, where they found corn-fields where some corn had just been gathered, and a house, probably a common wigwam, had been pulled down. Going on a mile or more, they came to a hill, on the top of which was a house, altogether different from any other Indian houses which they had noticed. This was built upon a scaffold raised upon poles some six feet from the ground. This house would seem to have been a sort of observatory. Beyond this hill, "in a bottome," they found a fort, covering a circle, some forty to fifty feet in diameter, and enclosed with poles thirty or forty "foote" long, as "thick as they could be set one by another." A trench was dug on each side of this palisade, "breast high." At one point there was an entrance to this fortress across a bridge. In the midst of this fortification there was the frame of a house, and here Nanepashemet, their former king, was buried. The location of this fort is supposed to have been to the southeast of Mystic Pond, in West Medford; and near the supposed site, in 1862, a skeleton was exhumed, which was thought by some to be that of the old Indian "King," as there was found with it a pipe with a copper mouthpiece. About a mile farther on, upon the top of a hill, the Pilgrims found another such fort, and they were told that here Nanepashemet had been killed, and no one had lived here since his death. It is probable that he was killed in the raid of the Tarratines in 1619, when the pestilence had left him defenceless, and too old and weak to escape by flight.

The English remained upon this hill and sent their Indian guides forward to find the people and reassure them, so that they might have a talk and trade with them. They found the Indian women not far away, and having pacified them, they brought the English to them, within a mile of the fort on the hill. These women had fled before them, but carrying a large amount of corn, some of which they now prepared for the entertainment of the English. It was long before any of their men could be induced to appear; and at last only one, and he shaking with fear. The English traded with them what they could, using them kindly and dealing fairly, promising to return again before long with more means of trade and asking the Indians to save all their furs for them, which they promised. Nearly all the women followed them down to their boats for the sake of trading, selling the fur clothes which they wore, and replacing them with boughs of trees lashed about them. And so they parted with them amicably; though their Indian guides urged them to plunder the women and take their furs without paying for them.

They missed their chief purpose, which was to gain an interview with the Squaw-Sachem, or Queen of the Massachusetts. The Indian women reported her a long distance away, so that they could not go to her. The journey here described seems to have been through the present limits of Charlestown, Somerville and Medford, to the southeast side of Mystic Pond, the party probably following along the high land by the old trail, well known, of course, to their guides.

The picture shows how weak and helpless the once powerful tribe of the Massachusetts had become. It is probable that the main body of the tribe was with the "Queen," but in all there could have been only a few hundred who were inhabiting the country between the two rivers, and as far back as Concord, where the eminent historian of that town, Mr. Shattuck, thinks the "Queen" had her residence at this time. The contrast here shown with the condition of the Indians in 1605 declares the terrible havoc of the plague and their wars. Little more is known of this tribe after this, until the settlements were begun in Massachusetts Bay. In April, 1629, in their directions to those who came over to settle the plantation in the bay, the authorities of the "New England Company," say:

"If any of the Salvages pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in our pattent, we pray you endeavor to purchase their tytle that we may avoyde the least scruple of intrusion."

According to this direction, the settlers sought to obtain the lands of the Indians by fair purchase, though the prices paid would seem to us now incredibly small, some trinket or article of clothing, or arms and ammunition being paid for a tract of land. But we must remember that the people had a whole continent of free land before them; and on their part, the Indians had no idea of land values or titles, and only a few of their wisest began to think of the re-

sult of this constant giving up of their land. Their attachment to any particular locality was tribal rather than personal; and when the English sought to obtain a title by purchase, it was found that the ownership of the land was in a vague sort of way vested in the Sachem or sagamore of the tribe. The first settlers in Boston and vicinity were careful to secure titles to their lands from the highest authority of the Massachusetts tribe. At the time of their coming that authority was the Squaw-Sachem, widow of Nanepashemet, who, some time after his death, married the chief Pow-wow, or "Medicine-Man" of the tribe, whose name was Webcowits or Wibbacowits. This marriage, however, did not transfer any of her hereditary rights or titles to him; and he seems not to have been recognized as a ruler, or anything more than a Pow-wow, as before the alliance. It was probably by the precaution of the English that he was joined in the deeds given by the Squaw-Sachem. Just when the earliest of these deeds were given is uncertain, but not certainly until after 1629–30. It is probable that at the beginning of the settlements upon the peninsula between the Mystic and Charles Rivers, and the surrounding territory, the settlers, as soon as might be, obtained deeds from the Squaw-Sachem. In order that there might be no question about the titles gained from the Indians, the General Court, March 13, 1638–39, empowered Major Edward Gibbons to agree with the Indians for the land within the bounds of Watertown, Cambridge and Boston. Subsequent deeds and records show that the conveyance was made by the Squaw-Sachem to Watertown and Cambridge, although no deed or copy of deed has been preserved, so far as is known. The first deed, relating to any of these lands given by the Squaw-Sachem, was dated April 18, 1639.

Deed of Squaw-Sachem and Webcowet to the inhabitants of Charlestowne.

"Wee, Webcowet & Squaw Sachem, do sell unto the inhabitants of Charlestowne, all the land within the lines granted them by the Court excepting the farmes & the ground on the West of the two Great Ponds called Misticke Ponds from the South side of Mr. Nowell's lott, neere the upper end of the ponds, unto the little runnet that cometh from Capt. Cooke's mill, which the Squaw reserveth for their own use for her life, for the Indians to plant and hunt upon; and the weare above the ponds they also reserve for the Indians to fish at while the Squaw (Sachem liveth, and after the death of Squaw Sachem shee doth leave al her lands from Mr. Mayhues house to neere Salem to the present Governor John Winthrop, Senr., Mr. Increase Nowell, Mr. John Wilson & Mr. Edward Gibons, to dispose of, and all Indians to depart, and for satisfaction from Charlestown, Wee acknowledge to have received in full sattisfaction, twenty and one coates, nineteen fathoms of Wampum & three bushels of Corne. In witness whereof, wee have hereunto set our hands the day & yeare above named.

"the Marke of SQUA SACHEM,
the Marke of WEBCOWET."

In the Middlesex Court Files, in the case of "Charlestowne *vs.* Glaison," relative to the possession of some of these lands, dated April 1, 1662, there are several very interesting papers, among them the original of the above deed, and a deposition of Edward Johnson concerning this conveyance of Squaw-Sachem. It is here given on account of its casual references to the Indian Queen, etc.:

"Edward Johnson, aged 60 years, witnesseth:

"That abt one or two and twenty years agoe the deponent being at the wigwam of Squa Sachem, there was present Mr. Increase Nowell, Major Edward Gibbons, Leift. Sprague and Edward Converss, and some others of Charlestowne, at weh time, according to the interpretation of her and her husband's meaning by the above named Major Edward Gibbons, they did grant and sell unto Charlestowne, all their land within the limitts of Charlestowne except that on the West side of the ponds called Misticke, where their Wigwam then stood, weh they reserved for term of her life, & after her decease they did then declare it should come and remaine to Jno Winthrop Esqr, Mr. Increase Nowell, Mr. Jno Wilson & the above named Major Edward Gibbons, & the persons and contract this deponant, at his returne Home, did enter into his day-booke from remembrance yt of this is ye whole truth rembered, so sayth

"Sworne in Court 4 (2) 1660 EDWARD JOHNSON.
as attest THOMAS DANFORTH, Recordr.
"Vera Copia
THOMAS DANFORTH, R."

It was evidently considered the safest course for the inhabitants to secure the reversion of all the Indian lands reserved, in order that after the Squaw-Sachem's death they might not be troubled with any heirs or other claimants, and might also be rid of the Indians. And for these and other reasons Major Edward Gibbons (who was well acquainted with the Indians and their language, and possessed apparently special influence over the Squaw-Sachem, as well as power in the colony) again became active in the matter, and this time the Squaw-Sachem executes a deed of gift to Jotham Gibbons, the young son of Major Gibbons, conveying the reversion of all her lands hitherto reserved. The following is the deed:

"Be it knowne unto all men by these presents that wee, Webcowites and the Squa Sachem of Misticke, wife of the said Webcowites, calling to minde and well considering the many kindnesses and benefitts we have received from the hands of Captaine Edward Gibones, of Boston, in New England, in parte of requitall whereof and for our tender love and good respect that wee doe bear to Jotham Gibones Sonne and heire apparent of the said Captain Gibones, doe hereby, of our own motion and accord, give and grant unto the said Jotham Gibones the reversion of all that parcell of land which lyes against the pondes at Misticke aforesaid, together with the said pondes, all which wee reserved from Charlestowne and Cambridge, late called Newtowne, and all hereditaments and appurtenances thereunto belonging after the death of me, the said Squa Sachem. To have and to hold the said Reversion of the said parcell of lands and pondes and all and singulare the premises with the appurtenances unto the said Jotham Gibones, his heires and assignes forever. In witnesse whereof wee have hereunto sett our hands and seales the thirteenth day of the Eleventh moneth in the year so declared by Christians One thousand six hundred thirty and nyne, and in the fifteenth yeare of the Raigne of King Charles of England, and willing that these be recorded before our much honored ffriends, the Governor of the Massachusetts Bay in New England and the rest of the Magistrates there for perpetuall remembrance of this thing.

"Signed, sealed and delivered
in the presence of
"ROBERT LUCAR, The Squa Sachem's marke.
EDMOND QUINSEY,
ROBERT GILLAM. Webcowites' marke."

This original document is preserved in the court files of Middlesex County. An imperfect copy also is in the Massachusetts Archives, volume 30, page 1.

The transactions with the Squaw-Sachem went on up to near 1660. The English seem to have treated her with marked consideration, and to have faithfully performed their promises to her in their payments of corn, "coates," etc. Many items appear in Cambridge Records relating to these transactions.

It would appear that after the death of Nanepashemet, the Squaw-Sachem exercised little control over any of the Massachusetts Indians south of the Charles River. These seem to have become subject to Massasoit. There were several noted Sachems among them, like Chickatawbut, who claimed to be rightful owner of the lands about Boston, and from whom the Boston settlers bought them; Kutshamakin, who lived upon the Neponset River, and sold what is now Milton to the English; Wampatuck, son of Chickatawbut, etc. To the north, Masconomo, Sagamore of Agawam (Ipswich). These repudiated the authority of the Squaw-Sachem, and, indeed, all authority was merged into English rule, when the Sachems, in 1643, formally submitted to the General Court and put themselves under the protection of the English.

It is said that Nanepashemet left five children, and four of their names are given in the "History of the Lynn," by Mr. Lewis, viz.: 1. Montowampate, Sachem of Saugus, called by the English "Sagamore James."

2. A daughter, called by the English "Abigail."

3. Wonohaquaham, Sachem of Winnesimet, known to the settlers as "Sagamore John."

4. Winnepurkitt, or "George Rumneymarsh," but after he succeeded his brother "James" as Sachem of Saugus, called "Sagamore George." It was Winnepurkitt who, according the story in Morton's "New Canaan," married the daughter of Passaconaway, the great Sachem of the Pennacooks. Upon Morton's story is founded the legend of Whittier's poem, "The Bridal of Pennacook."

Squaw-Sachem died sometime before 1662, as in April of that year suit was begun by the town of Charlestown to recover the lands granted to Jotham Gibbons in reversion, from F. Gleison, who was then in possession, Maj. Gibbons and his son having died several years before. The small-pox scourge of 1633, almost utterly destroyed the people of Nanepashemet's sons at Rumneymarsh, Saugus, Nahant and Marblehead.

The glowing accounts of the first explorers of the coast of North America were greatly disappointing to those who came into the country to settle in 1620 and soon after. We have seen that the pestilence and war had been especially destructive to the great Massachusetts tribe. The death of their chief Sachem had broken the tribe into factions, which neither the Squaw-Sachem nor any one of the lesser Sachems of the tribe seems to have had the disposition or power to re-unite. But the pestilence and war and poverty and constant fear had broken their spirits, and they had no feeling of hostility or resistance when the English came, but rather found them a protection from their hereditary enemies. The Massachusetts Indians had nothing but their lands which the English wanted, and these, by command of the government, they easily obtained in a legal way. The Indians were glad to be allowed to remain in the vicinity of their old homes and near the English, and to be tolerated even through half-contemptuous pity and ill-concealed distrust.

The people of the town of Cambridge seem to have maintained unbroken terms of friendship with the Indians, and to have tacitly allowed them many privileges which elsewhere had been refused. They made them useful also in many ways, employing them, both men and women, upon their farms, though they did not generally consider them reliable, capable or industrious. There is no doubt that their hereditary tendency to vagrancy still clung to them. The people of the Squaw-Sachem, as we have seen, after the settlement of Charlestown and Cambridge, etc., gathered to the lands reserved for them at the Mystic Ponds. There was another company of Indians on the south side of Charles River at Nonantum, within the bounds of what was then Cambridge (now Newton.) These Indians were under the Sachemship of Kutshamakin, who claimed to be "Sachem of Massachusetts." Waban was the chief man of this Nonantum colony, though not a Sachem. His wife was Tasunsquam daughter of Tahattawan, Sachem of Concord, which relation doubtless gave him some authority; but he was a man of intelligence and ability, and it was largely due to these qualities in him that, under the earnest Christian zeal of John Eliot, of Roxbury and the equally earnest and wise direction of Major Daniel Gookin, of Cambridge, this small village at Nonantum reached the highest point of Christian civilization ever attained by any American Indians. The history of this little colony on Nonantum is, however, synonymous nearly with the history of the Christian Indians, which is not properly a matter for this chapter, but as that movement had its actual formal beginning here in the wigwam of Waban at Nonantum, it may be proper to note a few points. We may see at a glance, what I think has never been particularly referred to in a published account, that the forlorn condition of the Massachusetts Indians, their helplessness, abject poverty and broken spirit, put them in a condition to receive any word of life from the English, which might in any way give them courage or restore a way of hope. And then again, opposition to the efforts of Mr. Eliot to convert the Indians, was based upon the same reason of their Sachems and rulers, which they gave for not formally submitting to English laws: either process destroyed the authority of the hereditary ruler of the tribe. The Massachusetts Indians in the vicinity of Boston and Cambridge, had come almost imperceptibly under the control and direction of the colonial laws. The result was that hardly more than the name of authority was left to the Sachems, and little objection was made to the christianizing endeavors of Mr. Eliot and Major Gookin.

Rev. Mr. Eliot, who came over in 1631, and was settled over the church in Roxbury, early appreciated the opportunity and realized its importance. He began soon to fit himself for the work, by gaining a

thorough knowledge of the Indian language; and also prepared the public, especially of England, for assisting the work, by publishing tracts in London, giving account of the great field for missionary enterprise, in which the French Catholics had been so successful. In both his personal preparation and in the public mind he was successful. His tracts published in London stirred up the whole kingdom with a missionary fervor, and from the churches and from benevolent people contributions poured into the fund of the "Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England," until about £12,000 had been collected and invested in real estate in England, the income of which was to be expended in missionary work among the Indians of New England, to pay the wages of school-teachers and missionaries. But the General Court of Massachusetts were not behind in zeal, and in 1646 (before the society in London had been organized) passed an act for the same end as above.

Upon the 28th of October, 1646, Mr. Eliot, in company with Major Gookin and two others, went to Nonantum, and there, in the large wigwam of Waban, for the first time preached (in their own language) to an Indian congregation, mainly called together by the endeavors of Waban, the chief man, though not Sachem, of Nonantum. Mr. Eliot continued preaching through a part of the winter and the following spring. Many of the prominent ministers and laymen often attended these meetings, and sympathized and assisted as actively as possible in his work. Among the foremost of these were Rev. Thomas Shepard, Major Gookin and Mr. Dunster, of Cambridge. It was early realized that these Indians must be reduced to ways of civilized life as well as taught Christian doctrine. It was soon seen that they must be taught something of the industrial arts. A large tract at Nonantum was set apart for the occupancy of the Indians, and it was sought to gather all within the neighboring towns to this place. Those who came were encouraged to cultivate farms and build better houses. They were furnished with farming and carpenter's tools, etc. They surrounded their town with ditches and stone walls, planted orchards and laid out regular roads and streets, enclosing their fields with fences. The young men were taught trades; many learned farming by working upon the farms of the English.

At Nonantum (where all Indian history for Cambridge and other towns near by centres at this period) the first civil laws for regulating an Indian community were established. The success of the colony at Nonantum had encouraged Mr. Eliot to widen his efforts, and itinerant teachers were fitted among the natives and sent to the various tribes to open the way for Mr. Eliot; and six communities of "Christian Indians" had been established by the efforts of Mr. Eliot and Major Daniel Gookin, who had been made superintendent of the general work in New England. These communities were located in 1674 in what are now the towns of Canton, Grafton, Marlborough, Tewksbury, Littleton and Hopkinton. Some five or six others, called the "New Praying Towns," were started. But we must follow the fortunes of the Nonantum village.

In 1650, at the earnest wish of the friends of the Christian Indians, led by Mr. Eliot, a township of six thousand acres, on the Charles River, at Natick, was granted for the use of said Christian Indians for a town. This Indian town was regularly laid out in 1651, and thither that year Waban and the Nonantum Indians removed, and thereafter became identified with that flourishing community.

In Bacon's "History of Natick" this town is described as consisting of "three long streets, two on the north side and one on the south side of the river, with a bridge eighty feet long, and eight feet high, and stone foundations, with the whole being built by the Indians themselves. To each house on these streets was attached a piece of land. The houses were in the Indian style." But one of the houses was built in English style, large and commodious. This was used on week-days as a school-house, and as a church on Sundays.

Waban was chosen ruler of the town and proved a wise, prudent and useful leader. He was active in gathering the Indian church at Natick. He died in fullness of years, having survived the terrible disappointments and shared the persecutions imposed upon the Christian Indians by the bitter prejudices of the people at large during the war with Philip and his allies, 1675–77. When, to satisfy the popular rage, their village was broken up, and all were seized and carried down the harbor and imprisoned upon Deer Island through the winter and spring, Waban, then seventy-five years old, went with them and shared all their privations, and lived to return again with them to their village, though, as Major Gookin relates, he was near dying at their return to Cambridge, where they were received and kindly treated by many who had formerly known them. Waban himself and some others of those who were very sick were received into Major Gookin's own house and cared for by himself and wife and friends till they recovered. There was no place where the Indians had more friends, or more powerful friends, than in Cambridge. Captain Thomas Prentice was the first of the military leaders to conduct the friendly Indians as soldiers into the war, and commended them earnestly for what they accomplished. The leading men of the Colony, the Governor and Council and the magistrates, and nearly all the military leaders believed in the Christian Indians, and urged their employment in the war; but the bitter jealousy and prejudice of the people prevailed for the time, and the Indians, so willing and proud to serve, and so much more capable of carrying on the peculiar tactics of Indian warfare than the slow and cumbersome ranks of the colonial militia, were thus shut out, persecuted, insulted, and many driven into hostility by the popular frenzy against all

Indians. When the General Court finally decided, by the advice of all the highest military leaders, that an Indian company should be raised and put into the field, and carried out the order, with Capt. Samuel Hunting as the captain, our arms first began to prevail and the hostile Indians to lose heart. An attempt, also at Cambridge, was made to impart a liberal education to some choice Indian youths; Mr. Eliot proposed and the London Society were pleased to try the experiment. Many youths were started upon the course, but few survived the training to enter the colleges. Most of them died from confinement or changed habit of diet, or got disheartened by their unequal competition with Englishmen. There were two very promising youths from Martha's Vineyard, named Joel and Caleb. Joel, the most hopeful of these, when within a few months of taking his degree, went home for a brief visit, and on the return passage the vessel was wrecked off Nantucket Island and Joel was drowned. Upon the Triennial Catalogue of Harvard College, in the year 1665, appears the name of the only one of these Indians ever graduated—"Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck, Indus." Caleb, not long after he took his degree, died at Charlestown of consumption. The history of the Indians of Cambridge closes really with the end of the Nonantum Colony and its merging in Natick. The latter continued as an Indian town from 1651–1762. Thomas Waban, son of the first Waban, was fairly well educated and was town clerk for many years. Thomas Waban, Jr., was his son, and both joined in a deed to Samuel Umpatowin in 1719. The church was formed in 1660, and was broken up in 1716. In 1749 the Indian population of the town was 166. In 1797 it was twenty, and in 1826 none were left.

Besides Rev. Mr. Eliot and Major Gookin, the principal men engaged in this effort to Christianize the Indians lived in Cambridge, so that the town may well deserve its distinction as the seat of America's first and greatest University. The General Court appointed one of the English Magistrates to join with the chief ruler of the Indians in keeping a higher court among them; and this court had the power of the usual County Court. The first magistrate appointed was Daniel Gookin, in 1656; and for about three years of his absence, soon after, Major Humphrey Atherton was appointed; but he dying at the end of that time, Major Gookin was again appointed, and served until the abrogation of the Colonial Charter, in 1686. The record of a court held by him among the Indians at Wabquissit in 1674, illustrates his course of proceeding.

Mr. Eliot preached a sermon, and "then I began a court among the Indians. And first, I approved their teacher, Sampson, and their constable, Black James, giving each of them a charge to be diligent and faithful in their places. Also I exhorted the people to yield obedience to the gospel of Christ, and to those set in order there. Then published a warrant, or order, that I had prepared, empowering the constable to suppress drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, especially pow-wowing and idolatry; and, after warning given, to apprehend all delinquents, and bring them before authority to answer for their misdemeanor; the smaller faults to bring before Wattasacompanum, ruler of the Nipmuck country; for idolatry and pow-wowing, to bring them before me."

It may be of interest to add, that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians has held its organization to the present, having been active, more or less, in dispensing the funds among the remnants of the New England tribes; and nearly always, I think, the directors have been chiefly residents of Cambridge, and worthy successors of Eliot and Gookin.

CHAPTER III.

CAMBRIDGE—(*Continued*).

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BY REV. ALEXANDER MCKENZIE, D.D.

THE founding of Cambridge was a part of the great religious and political movement of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was a Puritan movement, having its rise in England, but accomplishing its chief work in this western continent. Our own eminent historian has written: "Civilized New England is the child of English Puritanism. The spirit of Puritanism was no creation of the sixteenth century. It is as old as the truth and manliness of England." Another of our historical writers has given it as his judgment that if it had not been for Puritanism political liberty would probably have disappeared from the world; and that the time of Cromwell's triumph was the critical moment of history.

It is not necessary to trace the course of events which the name Puritan suggests. The connection of our own history with it can be briefly told. The authority of the Church of Rome had been renounced, but there came in its place the authority of the Church of England. Ecclesiastical government was vested in the King and the nobility. They ruled, and the people were expected to submit. The statutes were many and explicit, and there were enough martyrdoms to prove their force. "The truth and manliness of England" could not render an unbroken assent and an unfailing obedience. Many refused to be content with the transfer of authority and the advantage which had come with it. They wanted a larger reformation. From the nature of their demand they were called Puritans. Their demands were broad and were steadily enlarged. Liberty, reform, purity, religion mark the progress of their thought and the increase of their purpose. For the most part, they proposed to remain in the national church, there to

work for its improvement. To what they deemed wrong they would not consent, but they would not separate themselves from the church which they loved and in which they had all the rights to which any were entitled. Against them was turned the force of State and Church. The Court of High Commission was set up for their harm and the cruelty of the English Inquisition directed against as good and loyal men as England ever knew. Clergymen were deposed, imprisoned, killed. Against Englishmen such methods have never prevailed. Violence failed of its end when it encountered such men. When James came to the throne the Puritans hoped for better things. They appealed to him for a truer Sabbath, a shorter liturgy, better music in the churches, and for ministers who should combine ability, fidelity and integrity. The King granted them an interview at Hampton Court and replied to them in terms which left no hope. "If this be all your party have to say, I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of this land, or else worse." That was in 1604. In 1605 Thomas Shepard was born.

There was nothing good to be looked for in England. Was there any hope beyond its shores? Some thought so and crossed to the Low Countries. Some concealed themselves and waited. Some had already left the National Church. As early as 1567, perhaps, there was "the Privye Church in London." About 1580 there was a permanent Congregational Church of Englishmen. The new churches had their own teachers and conducted their own affairs. The Congregational Church at Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire, with Clyfton, Robinson, Brewster, and Bradford, removed to Amsterdam and Leyden, and finally crossed the wide sea and found a sanctuary and a home, and made an illustrious record of faith and devotion.

Yet, in 1620, only a few of the Puritans were Pilgrims. But their principles were gaining power. The contests with James during his troubled reign increased the force of the people as against the authority of the King. His methods were not suited to win approbation. "I hear our new King hath hanged one man before he was tried. 'Tis strangely done." Four years before James disappeared the Court of High Commission renewed its severity and made it more certain that liberty must consent to exile. Buckingham sought to beguile men whom he could not suppress, and hindered their action by the hopes he aroused. By degrees they came to see that all this meant nothing; more and more, there was talk of making a New England. John White, rector of Trinity Church in Dorchester, on the Channel, proposed to the ship-owners to found a settlement on these shores, that the sailors who came here might have a home when they were not at sea, so that their spiritual interests might be cared for when they were far from the churches. Not very much came of the project, which perhaps meant more than was avowed. Soon men of means were planning a colony here. They obtained the charter under which Massachusetts lived for fifty-five years, and other ships sailed "into the West as the sun went down." Naumkeag was settled and became Salem. The charter said nothing of religious liberty. It is probable that the colonists thought they could secure this by sailing three thousand miles, and that the government thought it could be prevented, however far away. Four weeks from the arrival at Naumkeag the colonists formed themselves into a church, assenting to a covenant and ordaining a minister. It does not appear that they at first intended to leave the Church of England. But they had come "to practise the positive part of church reformation, and propagate the Gospel in America," and this was the form which their wisdom approved and their position demanded. If they had not formally anticipated this, they were, at least, prepared for it. Here was another Congregational Church upon our coast.

The Puritan spirit continued to assert itself in England. In 1629, Aug. 26th, John Winthrop and eleven others entered into an agreement at Cambridge, "beneath the shadows, and, perhaps, within the very walls of that venerable University, to which New England was destined to owe so many of her brightest luminaries and noblest benefactors"—"Upon due consideration of the state of the Plantation now in hand for New England, . . . it is fully and faithfully agreed amongst us, and every one of us doth hereby freely and sincerely promise and bind himself, on the word of a Christian, and in the presence of God, who is the searcher of all hearts, that we will so really endeavor the prosecution of this work, as, by God's assistance, we will be ready in our persons, with such of our several families as are to go with us, and such provisions as we are able conveniently to furnish ourselves withal, to embark for the said Plantation by the first of March next, at such port or ports of this land as shall be agreed upon by the Company, to the end to pass the seas (and in God's protection), to inhabit and continue in New England." There were certain provisions which prudence dictated, but which proved no impediment, and in 1630 they came in the "Arbella" to Salem, bringing their charter, and with it the government of the colony. Before the close of that year seventeen vessels had crossed from the Old World to the New, and a thousand persons had come in them. The new colonists found much distress at Salem, from sickness and scarcity of food. After less than a week for rest and inquiry, Winthrop set out with a party to find a place of settlement which would be open to them and more promising. Mishawum, or Charlestown, was fixed upon as the capital town, and on the 30th of July, 1630, a church was organized with a covenant, and on the 27th of August the Reverend John Wilson was chosen teaching-elder and solemnly set apart for his sacred office. Mr. Wilson had been for several years a minister in the Church of England, but had been suspended and si-

lenced for non-conformity, and was ready to identify himself with those who were seeking a larger liberty. There was difficulty in securing a good supply of water at Charlestown, and many of the church moved across the river. Among these were the Governor, the minister, and other leading men. In this way the Church became the First Church in Boston, of which "some have been heard to say, they believed it to be the most glorious church in the world."

It is well to ask who these men were who were thus making a permanent political and ecclesiastical establishment on this continental Western Reserve. There can be no better witness than our own historian, Palfrey. He quotes the words of "the prejudiced Chalmers": "The principal planters of Massachusetts were English country gentlemen of no inconsiderable fortunes; of enlarged understandings, improved by liberal education; of extensive ambition, concealed under the appearance of religious humility." For himself he writes in a more genial temper: "The Puritanism of the first forty years of the seventeenth century was not tainted with degrading or ungraceful associations of any sort. The rank, the wealth, the chivalry, the genius, the learning, the accomplishments, the social refinements and elegance of the time were largely represented in its ranks." "The leading emigrants to Massachusetts were of the brotherhood of men who, by force of social consideration as well as of intelligence and resolute patriotism, moulded the public opinion and action of England in the first half of the seventeenth century." "In politics the Puritan was the liberal of his day." "They will live in history," said another eminent citizen, "as they have lived, the very embodiment, of a noble devotion to the principles which induced them to establish a colony, to be 'so religiously, peaceably and civilly governed' as thereby to incite the very heathen to embrace the principles of Christianity."

Such were the men who began the ecclesiastical history of the Massachusetts Colony to which Newtown belonged. The circumstances under which they came here have been already alluded to, yet it is just to let one of their own number speak. John Winthrop had been chosen Governor before he left England. He was then forty-two years old, a scholar, a statesman, of good rank and generous property. "Commanding universal respect and confidence from an early age, he had moved in the circles where the highest matters of English policy were discussed by men who had been associates of Whitgift, Bacon, Essex and Cecil." He has left a statement of "Reasons to be considered for justifieinge the undertakers of the intended Plantation in New England, and for incouraginge such whose hartes God shall move to ioyne them in it." These reasons need not be given here in full; yet they should be read, that we may know what purposes and thoughts moved those into whose labors we have entered. A few points may be cited here.

"1. It will be a service to the Church of great consequence to carry the gospel into those parts of the world.

"2. All other churches of Europe are brought to desolation, and our sinnes, for which the Lord beginnes allreaddy to frowne upon us and to cutte us short, doe threaten evil times to be coming upon us, and whoe knowes but that God hath provided this place to be a refuge for many whom he means to save out of the generall callamity? . . .

"3. This land growes weary of her inhabitants. . . .

"4. The whole earth is the Lord's garden, and he hath given it to the sonnes of men; . . . why then shouid we stand striving here for places of habitation, etc.? . . . and in the mean time suffer a whole continent as fruitful and convenient for the use of man to lie waste without any improvement?

"6. The Fountains of Learning and Religion are soe corrupted as (besides the unsupportable charge of their education) most children are perverted, corrupted and utterlie overthrowne by the multitude of evill examples, etc., etc.

"9. It appears to be a worke of God for the good of his Church, in that he hath disposed the hartes of soe many of his wise and faithful servants, both ministers and others, not only to approve of the enterprise, but to interest themselves in it, some in their persons and estates, others by their serious advise and helpe otherwise, and all by their praiers for the wealfare of it."

Having considered this general statement of the motives and sentiments of the leading minds which were first here, we are prepared to take up our local history. But we must return to England to find the beginning of our church life. The early history of Cambridge, much more than the later, centres in a few men, whose personal character and teaching gave form to the thought and action of the churches. This was especially true at the beginning and warrants, indeed requires, a presentation of the men who were the leaders. Cambridge was peculiar in having had a double beginning, under the guidance of men of special eminence.

The first man to be named was Thomas Hooker, who was born in Leicestershire, England, in 1586. He was a graduate and fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Of his youthful promise Cotton Mather makes this record: "He was born of parents that were neither unable nor unwilling to bestow upon him a liberal education; whereunto the early, lively sparkles of wit observed in him did very much encourage them. His natural temper was cheerful and courteous; but it was accompanied with such a sensible grandeur of mind as caused his friends, without the help of astrology, to prognosticate that he was born to be considerable." He began to preach while he was connected with the university. He pursued his ministry at Chelmsford and had great success in it. An incident which has been preserved

illustrates his fervor. He preached from time to time in his own county, and one of the chief burgesses of the town of Leicester, who was for some reason greatly opposed to him, set a company of fiddlers to play in the church-yard to counteract and break up the preaching. But the preacher's voice was strong and clear, and was easily heard above the noise of the hostile strings. The burgess found himself listening to the preacher and went to the church-door that he might hear better, and was won by the earnest minister and made a friend of the faith which he had striven to oppose. Results of this kind were of small account to those who were ruling the church in their own interests. Mr. Hooker was a firm adherent to the doctrines of the Church of England, but to some of its ceremonies he could not conform. He was too conspicuous to be tolerated in his dissent, when obscure men were sent to the prison and beyond. In 1630 Mr. Hooker was silenced for nonconformity by a spiritual court in session at Chelmsford. It is a testimony to the man that forty-seven ministers of the Church of England sent to the Bishop of London a petition in his behalf, in which they bore witness "that they knew Mr. Hooker to be orthodox in his doctrine, honest in his life and conversation, peaceable in his disposition, and in no wise turbulent or factious." It was of no avail. The decree had been signed and sealed. But he continued to labor for the religious welfare of the community in private ways. Even this he could not pursue. He had been ordered to appear before the Court of High Commission, and put under a bond of fifty pounds. His friends advised him to forfeit the bond and avoid the perilous trial. They paid the bond and he crossed over to Holland, where for three years he carried on his ministry. For a part of the time he was associated at Rotterdam with the Rev. William Ames, who was abroad for the same reasons which had exiled Hooker. Mr. Ames is reported to have said that "he had never met a man who was equal to Mr. Hooker as a preacher or a learned disputant." But he was not willing to remain in a strange and foreign land. At that time the Puritan emigration was going forward, and among those who had gone out seeking after a country of their own were many who knew Mr. Hooker and appreciated his greatness. Some had been under his ministry. There was a strong desire that he should go with them across the sea and be their teacher in the New World. He regarded this as a divine call. It was enforced by the impossibility of remaining in England. He had returned, but the officers of the law were at once in pursuit of him. He decided to accede to the request which had been made. He kept out of the public view as much as he could until July, 1633, when he sailed from the Downs. Even then he was constrained to hide himself until the ship was well out at sea. After a voyage of six weeks the ship reached Boston Harbor. There were two other passengers who were to be honorably prominent here—John Cotton, who at once was chosen teacher of the First Church in Boston; and Samuel Stone, who was to be Mr. Hooker's associate through all his ministry in New England. The voyage must have been interesting. The men enjoyed their liberty and improved it. There was a sermon every day, and usually three. To Mr. Cotton a child was born, who, after his baptism in Boston, was named Seaborn. The name has a quaint look in the Latin Quinquennial of Harvard College, with the class of 1651,—Marigena Cotton. It is the second name in the list, which indicates the rank of the father. It is said that there was no playfulness among the Puritans, but it is at least in tradition that the people, said regarding the ministers who came in the "Griffin," that three great necessities would now be supplied, for they had Cotton for their clothing, Hooker for their fishing, and Stone for their building.

The ministers were warmly welcomed, and with good reason. They were an accession of strength. The colonists at that time were "men of eminent capacity and sterling character, fit to be concerned in the founding of a State." Dr. Palfrey has finely said: "In all its generations of wealth and refinement, Boston has never seen an assembly more illustrious, for generous qualities or for manly culture, than when the magistrates of the young colony welcomed Cotton and his fellow-voyagers at Winthrop's table."

Samuel Stone was born at Hertford, in England, and was educated at Emmanuel College. He was for a time a minister at Towcester, in Northamptonshire, where his ability and industry were conspicuous. But he could not yield a full conformity to the ceremonies of the Established Church, and it seemed to be good to him, as to so many others, to seek a more open country. His connection with Mr. Hooker was a fortunate one for them both. Those who had invited Mr. Hooker to be their minister preceded him. They began to make their settlement at Mount Wollaston, in what is now the town of Quincy, where Captain Wollaston had come, with some thirty or forty persons, a few years before. But in Governor Winthrop's journal, under the date of August 14, 1632, we have this entry: "The Braintree company, which had begun to sit down at Mount Wollaston by order of court, removed to Newtown. These were Mr. Hooker's company." It is supposed that they were called the Braintree Company because they came from Braintree, a town about forty miles from London. What Newtown was at that time will be learned from another part of this history. But the coming of these settlers was a notable addition to its numbers and character. The settlement had begun in 1631. There was a project for a town which should be the seat of government for the colony. In the judgment of the Governor and assistants and others "it was a fit place for a beautiful town." The project was not carried out, but the new

town was a place of importance and had the promise of growth. The town was carefully laid out and made a good appearance. A visitor early described it as "one of the neatest and best compacted towns in New England, having many fair structures, with many handsome contrived streets. The inhabitants most of them are very rich and well stored with cattle of all sorts." There were very few persons here, but there were men of force and enterprise among them, and they were destined to permanence and renown. How many came from the Braintree Company cannot be told. But there was a notable growth, so that in 1632 there were nearly a hundred families in the town. But there was no church here and no minister, and there is no record of public religious services. But Prince's Annals for 1632 tell that in "this year is built the first house for public worship at Newtown (after called Cambridge), with a bell upon it." The records of the town do not mention this house, but there is an agreement in December, 1632, "that every person under subscribed shall meet every first Monday in every month, within the meeting-house, in the afternoon, within half an hour after the ringing of the bell." The meeting-house was on the west side of Water, (now Dunster) Street, near its intersection with Spring, now Mt. Auburn Street. The site is marked by a stone in the foundation of the modern building now upon the ground. It must have been small and plain. There is no description of it, but the church erected about the same time in Boston had mud-walls and a thatched roof. An order had been passed that in Newtown no man should "build his chimney of wood, nor cover his roof with thatch." It is probable that the house here was of logs. Many years after its erection a vote was passed in town-meeting that the church should be repaired "with a four square roofe, and covered with shingles." It was a startling change to those who were accustomed to the cathedrals and stately churches of England, to come into these dark and narrow walls. It was a part of the price they paid for the liberty they sought, and they were not the men to complain of the terms. They were equal to the demands of their place and their work.

Upon their arrival "Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone went presently to Newtown, where they were to be entertained." We can imagine the gladness of the coming. On the 11th of October, 1633, Winthrop makes the brief record. "A fast at Newtown, where Mr. Hooker was chosen pastor and Mr. Stone teacher in such a manner as before at Boston." The church was the eighth gathered in the Massachusetts Bay colony, but the precise date of its organization has not been preserved.

Only a few months later than this the people of the town were planning for a removal. At the General Court, in May, 1634, "Those of Newtown complained of straitness for want of land, especially meadow, and desired leave of the Court to look out either for enlargement or removal, which was granted." At the session in September, 1634, this question of the removal of Newtown occupied nearly all the time. In the previous July, "Six of Newtown went in the 'Blessing' (being bound to the Dutch plantation) to discover Connecticut River, intending to remove their town thither." The report was favorable, and the town asked permission to move. "It was alleged by Mr. Hooker as a fundamental error, that towns were set so near each to other." Much objection was made, and enlargement was offered by Boston and Watertown, and the removal was not effected. It was but a temporary arrangement. In May, 1636, Governor Winthrop has to enter in his journal, "Mr. Hooker, pastor of the Church at Newtown, and the rest of his congregation, went to Connecticut; his wife was carried in a horse-litter, and they drove 160 cattle, and fed of their milk by the way." Trumbull's account of the journey is worth copying. "About the beginning of June, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone, and about a hundred men, women and children, took their departure from Cambridge, and traveled more than a hundred miles, through hideous and trackless wilderness, to Hartford. They had no guide but their compass, made their way over mountains, through swamps, thickets, and rivers, which were not passable but with great difficulty. They had no cover but the heavens, nor any lodgings but those which simple nature afforded them. They drove with them a hundred and sixty head of cattle, and by the way subsisted upon the milk of their cows. Mrs. Hooker was borne through the wilderness upon a litter. The people generally carried their packs, arms and some utensils. They were nearly a fortnight on their journey. This adventure was the more remarkable, as many of this company were persons of figure, who had lived in England in honor, affluence and delicacy, and entire strangers to fatigue and danger." Thus did Newtown found Hartford.

Although Mr. Hooker was here but a short time, still his work, and through him the influence of the Church, were extended. His influence in ecclesiastical affairs reached beyond the limits of his own township. There was need of wise leadership. The principles of church life were clear, but the methods were not so plain. The conditions were new and there was no definite agreement upon modes of administration, "until Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker came over, which was in the year 1633, who did clear up the order and method of Church government, according as they apprehended was most consonant to the Word of God." Their maturity and experience were of the highest value to the new churches and communities. Hooker worked with the other ministers for the common good of the colony. He was one of the preachers at the Thursday Lectures. He was a counselor and friend of men in public station. He was appointed by the General Court "to dispute" with Roger Williams in his controversy with the authorities. When Endicott cut the cross from the English

flag, Mr. Hooker yielded to public and private importunity and wrote his opinion "Touching the Crosse in the Banners." He wrote calmly and plainly: "Not that I am a friend to the crosse as an idoll, or to any idollatry in it; or that any carnal fear takes me asyde and makes me unwilling to give way to the evidence of the truth, because of the sad consequences that may be suspected to flowe from it. I blesse the Lord, my conscience accuseth me of no such thing; but that as yet I am not able to see the sinfullness of this banner in a civil use." It is plain that the influence of this minister was much wider than his parish bounds, and that the influence was for order and peace, and for the establishment of the stable principles of life. His influence did not end with his removal to Connecticut. But at this point of his removal the ecclesiastical history of Cambridge begins again. We may, for the present, take leave of Hooker with the elegiac lines written by Cotton in his honor:—

"To see three things was holy Austin's wish,—
Rome in her flower, Christ Jesus in the flesh,
And Paul in the pulpit; lately men might see
Two first, and more, in Hooker's ministry.

"Zion in beauty is a fairer sight
Than Rome in flower, with all her glory dight;
Yet Zion's beauty did most clearly shine
In Hooker's rule and doctrine, both divine."

The history which we are tracing begins again with the Puritan movement in England. Again it is one man with whom, at first, we have to do.

Mention has already been incidentally made of Towcester. It is a small town in Northamptonshire. The old brick houses are, for the most part, on one street, which has a very red appearance as the visitor looks upon it. He is struck with the unusual number of inns—The Talbot, Albion, Plough, Dolphin, Wheat Sheaf, Nelson's Arms—and is unable to account for their presence, or to find for them any visible means of support. They are easily accounted for by the fact that the town was once on the stage road between Chester and London. Then, doubtless, there was a stir of travel and business. This is of the past. Quiet prevails in the houses and in the bearing of the people. There is a fine stone church, a part of which dates from the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. The massive tower goes back to Edward IV. Around the church are the graves of many generations, and near by is the pleasant vicarage, where the Rev. James Mountain resides. Across the lane is a cabinet-maker's establishment, which, in the old time, was a home for monks. In the wall around the yard are niches which once must have held sacred images. Here the good men had their daily walk and meditation. At a later day the house was used for the parish schools. Something of modern life is seen in the town in a fine building devoted to municipal purposes. A Congregational and a Baptist Church, and perhaps others, mark the presence of dissent, though they are much less impressive than the house of the establishment. There are two or three hamlets outside the main town, and nearly three thousand people now inhabit the pleasant quietness.

With this English town Cambridge has a natural and interesting connection. For it was in Towcester the man was born whose name was to be historic among us. The old church-book in Towcester has one brief record before which a Cambridge man pauses in reverence. In the long list of baptisms reaching through centuries, he reads: "Thomas sonne to William Shepard, 9 November." He was borne on the fifth of November, 1605, 'called the Powder Treason Day,' at that very houre of the day when the Parliament should have been blown up, . . . which occasioned my father to give me the name *Thomas*, because he sayed I would hardly *believe* that ever any such wickedness should be attempted by men against so religious and good Parlament." William Shepard was a prosperous grocer, "a wise, prudent man, the peacemaker of the place." As there was in Towcester no preaching which satisfied him, he removed to Banbury that he and his household might be "under a stirring ministry." The mother died when Thomas was four years old. His childhood had little brightness or promise in it. He was sent, when very young, to his grandparents at Fossecut, "a most blind town and corner," where he was "put to keep geese, and other such country work," while his own interests were neglected. Then he was sent to his uncle at Apthorp, "a little blind town," where he learned "to sing and sport, as children did in those parts, and to dance at their Whitson-Ales." When he returned home he was harshly used by his stepmother, and his father sent him to a free school in Towcester, kept by a Welshman, who was very cruel to him, so that he was discouraged in his lessons, and often wished he was a keeper of hogs and beasts instead of a schoolboy. He was ten years old when his father died, and his brother took the place of both father and mother to him. He had been in a hard school; but he had received strong religious impressions and had taken an earnest hold upon life. At fourteen, though "very raw and young," he was admitted a pensioner at Emmanuel College. Here he faced new perils. He became proud of his attainments, neglected his religious duties, and strayed into bad company and evil ways. Shame and remorse came to him, and the searching preaching of the master of the college persuaded him to make for himself a serious and manly life. "I saw the Lord gave me a hart to receive Xt., with a naked hand even a naked Xt., and so hee gave me peace." He left college with a high reputation for scholarship and with the customary honors of the university, and with new purposes and desires.

Before we go further we ought more distinctly to note the influence of Emmanuel College upon our ecclesiastical life. It was the college of Thomas Hooker, Samuel Stone, Thomas Shepard, John Har-

vard. At Cambridge the Puritan influence was especially strong, and at Emmanuel the strongest. It was the heart of the greatest movement of modern times. Emmanuel was founded in 1584. Walter Mildmay, chancellor and counselor of Elizabeth, purchased the ground, on which a university of the Black Friars, the Preaching Friars, had stood, and on this rose the college which he founded and endowed. He was a leader among the Puritans, and he sought in his way to advance and extend their principles. The story goes that the Queen met him soon after the college was opened, and greeted him with, "So, Sir Walter, I hear you have erected a Puritan foundation." "No, madam, far be it from me to countenance anything contrary to your established laws; but I have set an acorn, which, when it becomes an oak, God alone knows what will be the fruit thereof." Fifty years later, when Harvard was a student, Fuller wrote: "Sure I am at this day it hath overshadowed all the university." Even then its shadow, rather its brightness, had fallen on a land three thousand miles away. It was a stubborn, wilful college. The traditions required that churches and chapels should be built on a line running east and west. Mildmay set his chapel on a line running north and south. The breaking from tradition was the assertion of liberty. On the lofty pediment are the arms of the college—a lion rampant, holding a chaplet, which drew out this tribute in Greek:

> "Thy emblems fair, and lion bold,
> Well pleased Emmanuel's House, I see;
> If such a rank thy lions hold,
> What mighty things thy men must be!"

This was the place, this was the life, into which the boy Thomas Shepard entered, whose air he breathed, whose teachings he received, whose masters he revered, whose scholars he knew, from which he came forth a man. He took his Bachelor's degree in 1623 and became Master of Arts in 1627. His life was beginning; what should he do next? He had been used to Puritan training from his youth up; but, not without scruple, he received deacon's orders in the Established Church. He was given an appointment as a lecturer. This was a Puritan office, designed to furnish preachers where there was no proper ministry. The appointment was for three years. It was a needy place to which he was sent, but his labors were successful, and there he won to himself his steadfast friend, Roger Harlakenden, whose mortal part was afterwards laid in our old burying-ground where Shepard was to join him.

It is almost telling Hooker's story over again to relate that the young minister was not allowed to do his work in peace. He was charged with being "a non-conformable man, when for the most of that time I was not resolved either way." He finished his three years and remained a few months longer, at the request and charge of the people, when he was summoned before Laud, the Bishop of London—"our great enemy," Winthrop calls him. The Bishop was more angry than was becoming to his sacred office, and his sentence was more explicit than pastoral: "I charge you that you neither preach, read, marry, bury, or exercise any ministerial functions in any part of my diocese; for if you do, and I hear of it, I'll be upon your track and follow you wherever you go, in any part of this kingdom, and so everlastingly disenable you." Laud was building better than he knew. The story need not be followed out in its details. The young man spent a few months with the Harlakendens, becoming more fixed in his Puritan ideas. "Then the Bishop fired me out of this place." He accepted an invitation to Yorkshire, where he was chaplain to the family of Sir Richard Darley. There he was kindly treated, very kindly, inasmuch as the knight's kinswoman, Margaret Tauteville became Margaret Shepard. But the old hostility found him out and he came to Northumberland. He removed again and was silenced again. Then he "preached up and down the country, and at last privately in Mr. Fenwick's house." While he was thus being loosed from Church and country, divers friends in New England asked him to come over to them, and many in Old England desired him to go and promised to accompany him. He resolved to accede to their request. His "little booke," with his own account of his life, remains as an invaluable memorial of the man. In this he gives the reasons for his consent to leave the country. "I saw no call to any other place in Old England." "I saw the Lord departed from England when Mr. Hooker and Mr. Cotton were gone, and I saw the harts of most of the godly set and bent that way, and I did think I should feel my miseries if I stayed behind." "My dear wife did much long to see me settled there in peace and so put me on to it." "Tho' my ends were mixt and I looked much to my own quiet, yet the Lord let me see the glory of those liberties in N. England, and made me purpose, if ever I come over, to live among God's people as one come out from the dead, to his praise." "I did hope my going over might make them to follow me." "My liberty in private was dayly threatened."

He sailed with his wife and child late in the year 1634. They encountered a violent storm and were nearly lost. They reached the land, where his child soon died and was privately buried. He began to question if he had gone too far in separating from the "Assemblies in England." He spent the winter in Norfolk, busy with his pen now that his lips were closed. In the spring he went up to London, where with difficulty he evaded the officers of the law, and in August, 1635, he sailed the second time, with his wife and another son, his brother, Harlakenden, and other precious friends. It was in the ship "Defence," "very rotten and unfit for such a voyage." Through many storms and many fears they were brought in safety; and on the 3d of October, 1635, they

reached Boston, where they were welcomed by many friends. On the second day after their arrival Shepard and his family came to Newtown, where he found Hooker and Stone, whom he had known in England. Hooker had been his teacher and counselor. Stone had succeeded to his lectureship, and had taken it to Towcester, where he had done much for his townspeople. It must have been helpful to Shepard to find these men ready to receive him and introduce him to his new work. The new-comers enjoyed for a few months the society of the veterans of 1632 and 1633, who were about to seek the wilds of Connecticut. Very serious and interesting their intercourse must have been. The arrival was well timed, for Shepard could take up the work of Hooker, the new settlers could purchase the houses which were to be deserted, and the new church could stand in the place of the old. The account of the transfer is given in the "little booke:" "Myself and those that came with me found many houses empty and many persons willing to sell, and here our company bought off their houses to dwell in until we should see another place fit to remove into, but having been here some time diverse of our brethren did desire to sit stille and not to remove farther, partly because of the fellowship of the churches, partly because they thought their lives were short and removals to near plantations full of troubles, partly because they found sufficient for themselves and their company. Hereupon there was a purpose to enter into church fellowship, which we did the yeare after, about the end of the winter."

The minister's house was in what is now the college yard, on the site now occupied by Boylston Hall. There Hooker lived and Shepard after him. The place of the meeting-house has been already mentioned. A few of the old families remained when their neighbors had gone, and became a part of the new community; for the affairs of the town passed into new hands and there was a new church. On the 1st day of February, 1636, the church was organized. The record of that day must be copied from the journal of Governor Winthrop, who was undoubtedly more than an eye witness:

"Mr. Shepard, a godly minister, came lately out of England, and divers other good christians, intending to raise a church body, came and acquainted the magistrates therewith, who gave their approbation. They also sent to all the neighboring churches for their elders to give their assistance at a certain day at Newtown, when they should constitute their body. Accordingly at this day there met a great assembly, where the proceeding was as followeth:

"Mr. Shepard and two others, who were after to be chosen to office, sat together in the elder's seat; then the elder of them began with prayer; after this Mr. Shepard prayed with deep confession of sin, etc., and exercised out of Eph. v., that he might make it to himself a holy, etc., and also opened the cause of their meeting; then the elder desired to know of the churches assembled what number were needful to make a church, and how they ought to proceed in this action. Whereupon some of the ancient ministers conferring shortly together gave answer: That the scripture did not set down any certain rule for the number; three (they thought) were too few, because by Matt. xviii. an appeal was allowed from three, but that seven might be a fit number; and for their proceeding they advised that such as would join should make confession of their faith and declare what work of grace the Lord had wrought in them, which accordingly they did. Mr. Shepard first, then four others, then the elder and one who was to be deacon (who had also prayed) and another member; then the covenant was read and they all gave a solemn assent to it. Then the elder desired of the churches that if they did appoint them to be a church, they would give them the right hand of fellowship. Whereupon Mr. Cotton (after a short speech with some others near him), in the name of the churches, gave his hand to the elder with a short speech of their assent, and desired the peace of the Lord's presence to be with them. Then Mr. Shepard made an exhortation to the rest of his body about the nature of their covenant, and to stand firm to it, and commended them to the Lord in a most heavenly prayer. Then the elder told the assembly that they were intended to choose Mr. Shepard for their pastor (by the name of the brother who had exercised), and desired the churches that if they had anything to except against him, they would impart it to them before the day of ordination. Then he gave the churches thanks for their assistance, and so left them to the Lord."

In this simple, reverent, democratic method the church entered upon a career which has already lasted for more than two hundred and fifty years. It was the union of men and women who were of one faith and of one character and purpose, and who were living together, and in fellowship with their neighbors, who were of a like mind. The covenant to which they agreed has not been preserved. We can readily believe that it was essentially the same as that of the First Church in Boston, which was probably written by Governor Winthrop:

"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in obedience to his holy will and divine ordinance.

"We, whose names are hereunder written, being by his most wise and good providence brought together into this part of America, in the Bay of Massachusetts; and desirous to unite ourselves into one congregation, or church under the Lord Jesus Christ, our head, in such sort as becometh all those whom he hath redeemed and sanctified to himself, do here solemnly and religiously (as in his most holy presence) promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the rule of the gospel, and in all sincere conformity to his holy ordinances, and in mutual love and respect each to other, so near as God shall give us grace."

Concerning this covenant and its adoption on the other side of the river, the present distinguished representative of the name of the first Governor has said : "That old covenant is one under which any man might well be willing to live and to die. . . . Beyond all doubt, that day, that service, that covenant, settle the question that Congregationalism was to be the prevailing order, and for a long time the only order in early New England. Nor, let me add, have I ever doubted for a moment that Congregationalism was the best and the only mode of planting and propagating Christianity in this part of the country in those old Puritan times."

This ancient covenant, with the necessary change in the opening sentence of the covenant proper, is still in use in the First Church in Cambridge.

The fathers did not think it necessary to make a statement of doctrine which should be original and peculiarly their own. They agreed substantially with other reformed churches. They had separated from the Church of England chiefly upon matters of worship, discipline and government, and found it desirable to make a certain confession for their churches. Accordingly in 1648 they formed and published "The Cambridge Platform of Church Discipline, gathered out of the Word of God, and agreed upon by the elders and messengers of the churches assembled in Synod." The name of this platform indicates the place of its formation. The Westminster Assembly had just made its historic statement of faith, and to this the Cambridge Synod unanimously expressed its assent. In the Preface it is said, "This Synod, having perused and considered, with much gladness of heart, and thankfulness to God, the Confession of Faith published of late by the reverend assembly in England, do judge it to be very holy, orthodox and judicious in all matters of faith; and do therefore freely and fully consent thereunto, for the substance thereof. Only in those things which have respect to church government and discipline, we refer ourselves to the platform of church discipline agreed upon by this present assembly; and do therefore think it meet, that this Confession of Faith should be commended to the churches of Christ amongst us, and to the honored Court, as worthy of their due consideration and acceptance."

We have, therefore, the constitution under which the church here began its work. The documents are of the highest interest, not only for their use here, but as a part of the history of the times, and a memorial of the thought and life of earnest men who were working out a great purpose.

The date of Mr. Shepard's ordination is not known. At the organization of the church notice was given that it was proposed to make him their pastor, and his ordination must have soon followed. The Shepard company numbered some sixty persons, as nearly as can now be determined, and with them were some who had remained when the Hooper company went away. The new church included among its members men of influence, whose names were prominent in other relations. There was Roger Harlakenden, of that house which protected and supported the young Shepard and his family in the days of their persecution, who came with them to this country. "He was a very godly man, and of good use both in commonwealth and in church;" and Richard Champney, ruling elder, descended from Sir Henry Champney, one of the thirty brave warriors who fought in 1066 under William the Conqueror; and Samuel Green, who came in 1632, for fifty years a printer, whose greatest work was the Indian Bible; and Matthew Day, the first known steward of the college; and Thomas Cheeseholme, the second steward of the college; and Edward Winship, for many years honored by election to public office; and Nathaniel Eaton, of whom we do not boast, though he was the first head of the embryo college; and the first of the Sparhawks, the house which in different generations gave the church four deacons, and served the community in other offices of trust; and Edward Collins, the deacon, father of famous sons; and Henry Dunster, the first president of the college, "as true a friend," says Mr. Quincy, "and as faithful a servant as this college ever possessed;" and Thomas Danforth, Daniel Gookin, Herbert Pelham, Elijah Corlet. These selected names suggest a goodly list for the day of beginnings. We should add John Bridge, who owned land here in 1632, who was early made a deacon in the church, and was selectman and representative, whom Thomas Shepard named when he was giving his reasons for coming hither. "Diverse people in Old England of my dear friends desired me to goe to N. E., there to live together, and some went before and writ to me of providing a place for a company of us, one of which was John Bridge, and I saw diverse families of Xtian freends, who were resolved thither to goe with me." The statue of this stout-hearted Puritan stands on Cambridge common, in front of the church which bears the name of Shepard.

In any account of the early religious life of Cambridge special mention should be made of Margaret Shepard. She was evidently a woman of strong character, and her influence over her husband was constant and helpful. She was unwilling to stay at Buttercrambe, where he found her, and she came with him into the difficulties which were besetting him. Her faith and hope reached out to the land beyond the sea. She longed to see him established here in peace, and urged him to yield to the persuasions of his friends. His description of her and his manner of alluding to her are worth noting by those who imagine there was nothing tender in the Puritan character. "The Lord taught me much of His goodness and greatness, and when He had fitted a wife for me He then gave me her, who was a most sweet, humble woman, full of Christ, and a very discerning Xtian;

a wife who was most incomparably loving to me, and every way amiable and holy and endowed with a very sweet spirit of prayer." The ocean voyage was very hard for her, with her young child. To his son he writes that his mother "did loose her life by being carefull to preserve thine, for in the ship thou wert so feeble and froward, both in the day and night, that hereby she lost her strength and at last her life. The ship, in a storm, tumbling suddenly on the one side, my wife, having the child in her arms, was almost pitched with her head and child in her armes agaynst a post in the ship; and, being ready to fall, shee felt herself pluckt back by shee knew not what, whereby shee and the child were agayne preserved; and I cannot ascribe this to any other but the angels of God, who are ministering spirits for the heirs of life." When he has mentioned the formation of the church he adds: "A fortnight after my deare wife Margaret dyed, being first received into Church fellowship, which, as she much longed for the Lord did so sweeten it unto her, that she was hereby exceedingly cheered and comforted with the sense of God's love, which continued until her last gaspe."

The full plan of the New England fathers contemplated five church officers—the pastor and teacher, who were called elders, the ruling elder, deacon and deaconess. It does not appear that Cambridge had a deaconess, at least under that name. These officers were to be chosen and ordained by the church in which they were to serve. The pastor's special work was to "attend to exhortation, and therein to administer a word of wisdom." He was to apply the precepts of the Scriptures to the conduct of men. The teacher was to "attend to doctrine, and therein to administer a word of wisdom." The one, therefore, had what we should term the practical, and the other the doctrinal part of the present clerical office. Both were to administer the sacraments of the Church. Both, also, were "to execute the censures." The earliest church here had both pastor and teacher, Hooker and Stone, but in the church which took its place the two officers seemed to have been combined from the beginning. The ruling elder was to attend to the discipline of the church and to take the lead in all matters of business. "To feed the flock of God with a word of admonition, and, as they shall be sent for, to visit and pray over their sick brethren." The office was not of long continuance. In fifty years from the settlement of the country it had fallen into comparative disuse, although it was continued here until near the close of the century. The deacon was to be a man proved and found blameless. His was "to receive the offerings of the church and to keep the treasury of the church, and therewith to serve the tables which the church is to provide for—as the Lord's table, the table of the ministers, and of such as are in necessity, to whom they are to distribute in simplicity." Some churches had one deacon, some two, some three. The number of elders varied in different churches.

The ruling elders in Cambridge, so far as there is any record, were Edmund Frost, who was made a freeman in 1636, and died in 1672; Richard Champney, a freeman in 1636, died 1669; James Clark, a freeman in 1647, ordained ruling elder in 1682, died 1699; James Stone, a freeman in 1665, ordained 1682, died 1683.

The deacons who served in the seventeenth century were Thomas Marriot, John Bridge, Nathaniel Sparhawk, Edward Collins, Gregory Stone, Thomas Cheeseholme, John Cooper, Walter Hasting, Nathaniel Sparhawk.

We have seen something of the appointments of the church in men and in principles; it may be interesting to look at some of the methods of their ecclesiastical life. "The public worship," says an early writer, "is in as fair a meeting-house as they can provide; therein, in most cases, they have been at great charges." If we could go within the simple building which first served for a sanctuary, we should find a rough room, divided by a central passage, and furnished with benches. On one side of the house the males would sit, and the females on the other. Very likely some of the men would have carnal weapons, for prudential reasons. The pulpit would be a stand or desk within a railing, and, in its plainness, in keeping with its environment. On the Lord's Day the bell would call the people, although, for some reason, we find that a drum was used at one time. In the town records for 1646 is an entry of "fifty shillings, paid unto Thomas Langhorne for his service to the town in beating the drum these two years past." It was common to have an hour-glass in the church, by which to measure the time of the services. When the people became able to arrange the meeting-house according to their idea of the fitness of things, the ruling elders had a seat below the pulpit, and the deacons a seat a little lower down, where they faced the congregation. The pulpit was then an elaborate structure, under a sounding-board. The boys had a place by themselves in one of the galleries, with a tithingman for their particular benefit. In 1666 "Thomas Fox is ordered to look to the youth in time of public worship." In 1669 there was complaint that sundry persons were spending their time unprofitably outside the meeting-house, and the constable was ordered to see "that they do attend upon the public worship of God."

In many cases the meeting-house was finished and furnished by degrees. At first benches were put in; then a man would obtain a deed of a space on the floor, some six feet square, and erect a pit, or pew, upon it. He was to keep his pew in repair and "maintain all the glass against it." When there was no such private arrangement the people had seats assigned to them according to rank or property or age. This was called "dignifying" the house. Here is an order for 1658: "That the elders, deacons and selectmen for the time being shall be a constant and settled power

for regulating the sitting of persons in the meeting-house from time to time as need shall require." We have the appointment for 1662; it runs this way: "The Committee for ordering the seating of people in the meeting-house, being met at the ordinary, appointed—

"Bro. R. Jackson's wife to sit there where Sister Kempster was wont to sit.

"Mrs. Upham with her mother.

"Ester Sparhawke in the place where Mrs. Upham is removed from. . . .

"Joanna Winship in the place where Ester Sparhawke was wont to sit. . . .

"Ens. Samuel Greene to sit at the table. . . .

"Goode Gates at the end of the Deacons' seats."

The congregation usually walked to the meeting-house or rode on horseback. For the convenience of those who rode, in 1665 "the Townsmen do order the Constables to make a convenient horse-block at the meeting-house and causeway to the door."

In the New England customs the congregation met as early as nine o'clock on Sabbath morning and about two in the afternoon. The services consisted of prayer, singing, reading and expounding the Scriptures, for it was generally considered improper to read them without exposition—"dumb reading," they called it. There was also a sermon by the pastor or teacher. As they accounted a man a minister only to his own congregation, when one was in the pulpit of another clergyman it was common for the ruling elders of the place to give him authority to speak in some such form as this: "If this present brother hath any word of exhortation for the people at this time, in the name of God let him say on." To "say on" was to "prophesy." An hour was regarded the proper length for a sermon, although upon occasions the preacher might "take another glass." The sermon was usually preached without a manuscript in the early days. The prayer was, of course, extemporaneous. Children were baptized in the meeting-house, generally on the next Sabbath after their birth. The pastor or teacher stood in the deacons' seats, as that was an "eminent place," and, with an address to the church and the parents and two prayers, administered the ordinance. "No sureties were required." The Lord's Supper was administered once in each month at the morning service. The form was very much like that which now prevails in Congregational Churches. Persons were received to membership in the church in public, but with more of examination and profession than is common now. There is now in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society a small manuscript volume in Mr. Shepard's writing, entitled, "The Confessions of Diverse Propounded to be Received and were Entertained as Members." There are fifty confessions, some of them very brief and some quite extended. Cases of discipline were more openly dealt with than is common now. This was in accordance with the spirit of the times. Every Sabbath afternoon there was a contribution. One of the deacons stood up in his place and said, "Brethren of the congregation, now there is time left for contribution; wherefore as God hath prospered you, so freely offer." "On some extraordinary occasions," says an old writer, "as building and repairing of churches or meeting-houses or other necessities, the ministers press a liberal contribution, with effectual exhortation out of Scripture." Then the people passed up to the deacons' seat with their offerings. "The magistrates and chief gentlemen went first, then the elders, then all the congregation of men and most of them that are not of the church, all single persons, widows, and women in absence of their husbands." Money and papers were dropped into a box. If the offering were "any other chattel," it was set down before the deacons. The writer first quoted says, "I have seen a fair gilt cup, with a cover, offered them by one, which is still used at the Communion." It was customary for visitors in the congregation to make an offering, which was called "the strangers' money," and was often stipulated for by the clergyman as a perquisite of his office. At first the minister's salary was paid from the voluntary contribution made on the Sabbath, but this soon gave way to the system of taxation. In 1657 there is a vote in the town records, appointing the deacons or other townsmen "to make a levy of two hundred and forty pounds for the maintenance this year and full payment of the debts of our reverend pastor." In 1665 the selectmen "ordered that all persons that do contribute to the ministry of this place do, upon the first second day of May next, appear before the deacons and selectmen, to clear the payment of their dues for time past, or send in writing a receipt thereof under the hand of our pastor or deacons, and that for the future every one do annually attend the order at the same time; the place of meeting to be at the meeting-house, and the time by eight of the clock in the morning." In the list of salaries given to different ministers during the first twenty years of the Massachusetts Colony, Mr. Shepard's salary is stated at seventy pounds. This was among the largest salaries of the time. Two are given at ninety pounds, and they decrease gradually to thirty pounds.

At almost every point we can see where the fathers were swinging away from the customs of the church with which they had formerly been connected. Thus, marriage was not a sacrament, but a civil contract, entered into by the parties before a magistrate. This marrying by a magistrate was for the Pilgrims "according to the laudable example of the Low Countries in which they had lived." To perform this ceremony was nowhere found in the New Testament to be laid on the ministers as a part of their office. Winthrop mentions a great marriage to be solemnized in Boston, when the bridegroom invited his minister to preach on the occasion. "The magistrates sent to him to forbear. We were not willing to bring in the

custom of ministers performing the solemnity of marriage, which sermons at such times might induce; but if any minister were present, and would bestow a word of exhortation, etc., it was permitted."

In a similar way funerals were stripped of the ceremonies which had attended them abroad. The dead were no longer buried with imposing rites beneath the floor of the church or in consecrated ground, but were laid in some convenient enclosure without even a prayer. Lechford, writing in 1641, says: "At burials nothing is read, nor any funeral sermon made, but all the neighborhood, or a good company of them, come together by tolling of the bell, and carry the dead solemnly to his grave, and then stand by him while he is buried. The ministers are most commonly present." No burial was allowed on the Sabbath, except by leave obtained from a justice. It was long the custom at the burial of a woman for the women to walk first in the procession; the men when the funeral was that of a man. Funerals were somewhat expensive, although not in the same way as at present. This was especially the case when a person of note had died. Wine, cider, gloves were provided. In one case, at Ipswich, at the funeral of a minister, in 1768, the bearers were furnished with gold rings, one of which was given to "a candidate who was preaching for them," and the attending ministers received eighteen pairs of white leather gloves. At length an act was passed to retrench extraordinary expenses at funerals.

They kept none of the former holy days except the Lord's Day, associating the observance of the other days with superstition and oppression. But they instituted days of public fasting and thanksgiving. In addition to the Sabbath services there was a weekly lecture. They gave great heed to the training of the young in religion and good learning. Cambridge was early divided into districts, which were assigned to certain persons who were to see to the catechizing and educating of the youth. In "New England's First Fruits," published in London in 1643, we read: "And by the side of the Colledge a faire Grammar School, for the training up of young schollars, and fitting of them for Academical Learning, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the Colledge; of this schoole Master Corlet is the Mr., who has very well approved himselfe for his abilities, dexterity and painfulnesse in teaching and education of the youth under him." Mr. Corlet taught for nearly fifty years and acquired a high reputation. Cotton Mather speaks of him as "that memorable old schoolmaster in Cambridge, from whose education our colledge and country have received so many of its worthy men, that he is himself worthy to have his name celebrated."

"'Tis Corlet's pains, and Cheever's, we must own,
That thou, New England, are not Scythia grown."

In 1648 is an order that a part of the Common shall be sold "for the gratifying of Mr. Corlet for his pains in keeping a school in the town." In 1644 the General Court granted, on the petition of Cambridge and Charlestown, one thousand acres of land to be forever appropriated to a grammar school, and also made a grant of two hundred acres to Mr. Corlet. In 1662 his scholars were so few that the town made him an allowance of ten pounds. The town afterwards voted him an annual grant of twenty pounds.

The instruction in the family and school was simple compared with that which is now given. There were no spelling-books, no English grammars—little of what is now considered essential. Children learned to read from the Bible, taking in moral and religious instruction with the letters and words. An out-of-door life gave the youth object-lessons and teaching in practical mechanics.

Printing in this part of America began here. The first printer was Stephen Day, who brought out "The Freeman's Oath," in 1639. An Almanac by William Pierce, Mariner, came in the same year, and the next year a Psalm-book. The singing in the churches was without instrumental accompaniment. This was thought to be forbidden by the words of Amos, "I will not hear the melody of thy viols." It was compared to the idolatrous performance which Nebuchadnezzar delighted in—"the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery and dulcimer, and all kinds of music." Through the first century there were not more than ten different tunes, it is said, and few congregations could sing more than five. In the singing it was customary for the ruling elder, or deacon, or some other proper person, to read the hymn line by line and give out the tune. The amount read at each time was increased in some cases, and finally the whole hymn was read at once by the minister. The version of the Psalms in use here was probably that made by Sternhold and Hopkins, which was printed at the end of the Bible. This was not satisfactory, and a number of prominent divines were appointed to make a new version. Thomas Shepard gave the committee instruction in a stanza which makes us reconciled to the omission of his name,—

"You Roxb'ry poets, keep clear of the crime
Of missing to give us very good rhyme—
And you of Dorchester, your verses lengthen,
But with the text's own words you will them strengthen."

The book came out in 1640, and was well received. It was revised by Mr. Dunster and received the addition of "Spiritual Songs." It passed through seventy editions, and was used extensively in Great Britain, especially in Scotland. It was in use in some American churches till after the Revolution. It was entitled "The Bay Psalm Book," and afterwards "The New England Version of the Psalms." One verse from the Twenty-third Psalm will give some idea of the character of the work:—

"The Lord to mee a Shepheard is,
Want therefore shall not I.

Hee in the folds of tender-grasso,
Doth cause mee downe to lie:
To waters calme He gently leads,
Restores my soule doth Hee:
He doth in paths of righteousnes
For His name's sake lead mee."

It has seemed well to glance at the customs of the fathers, that we may see something of the life which was once going on here. Many of their usages seem strange to us, but if we had been born into them they would have suited us as well as they did others. The men and their ways must be estimated with reference to their time and place and work. It should be kept in mind that the ruling spirits here were men, gentlemen, scholars. Newtown had her share of the choice wheat which came from the sifting of a nation. These men knew literature. Shakespeare died in 1616, and possibly some of these men knew him. Bacon died in 1626. Milton was born in 1608. Our fathers stood close to them. Sir Henry Vane was chosen Governor of Massachusetts in March of the same year in which the present First Church in Cambridge was organized.

"Vane, young in years but in sage counsel old,
Than whom a better Senator ne'er held
The helm of Rome-- * * *
* On thy firm hand Religion leans
In peace, and reckons thee her eldest son."

It was a goodly company which was here, in an open country. Liberty, intelligence, piety were revered and enjoyed. We are reclaiming some of their methods, for their principles were excellent even when their administration was at fault. There was life here. The woods and streams offered recreation to the boys when their tasks were done. The girls had quiet enjoyment in their homes. Morality was abroad. "One may live there from year to year, and not see a drunkard, hear an oath, or meet a beggar." In this practical age it should stand for much, that in their great endeavor they were successful.

But it is time that we resumed the history of events connected with the church. The early annals are not complete, but we have enough to enable us to trace the course of events from the beginning. There are no full records of the church before 1696. But there is a church book, which was opened in 1637 or 1638, in which are matters of interest, although the book was largely devoted to financial matters. Shepard's autobiography reveals some things which were personal to him, but also of interest to the church. The records of the town are closely related to the history of the church. There are biographies and histories which treat of men and events with which the church here was intimately connected. There is material for a much fuller history than can be given in these pages. The reader who desires more will find much satisfaction in the "History of Cambridge," by Rev. Lucius R. Paige, D.D. To his work any one must make constant reference who attempts to write of Cambridge. A book of "Lectures on the History of the First Church in Cambridge" was published in 1873, and some portions of the lectures are reproduced here. The list of freemen in the Colony is of great service in determining who were members of the church, so long as only church members could be full citizens. Mr. Mitchel prepared an interesting catalogue, which he entitled "The Church of Christ at Cambridge, in N. E.; or, the Names of all the members thereof that are in Full Communion; together with their children who were either baptized in this Church, or (coming from other churches) were in their minority at their present joyning; taken and registered in the 11 month, 1658." The catalogue was continued through Mitchel's ministry. Beginning with 1696, we have a full list of members. There are two subordinate lists, which also begin in 1696,—"Persons who owned the Covenant and were baptized;" "Persons who owned the Covenant in order to their children being baptized." Of the meaning of these titles there will be occasion to speak hereafter.

As a part of the ecclesiastical history of Cambridge, should be reckoned the founding of Harvard College. In 1636, the same year in which the present First Church in Cambridge was organized, in the autumn of the year, the General Court made an appropriation "equal to a year's rate of the whole colony," for the establishment of a college. "The Court agree to give Four Hundred Pounds towards a *School or College*, whereof Two Hundred Pounds shall be paid the next year, and Two Hundred Pounds when the work is finished, and the next Court to appoint where and what building." In 1637 the General Court appointed twelve prominent men "to take order for a College at Newtown." The name of the town was soon afterward changed to Cambridge, because so many who were interested in the new college had been educated at the University of Cambridge. In 1638 John Harvard, a non-conforming clergyman, a minister at Charlestown, bequeathed half his property and his library, of some three hundred volumes, to the new college, upon which his name was placed. "The value of this bequest was more than double the entire sum originally voted by the Court." In that year the first college class was formed. On the new college gate is the inscription which relates the purpose of the men who thus established the institution, as it was written in 1642: "After God had carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civil government, one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the Churches when our present ministers shall lie in the dust." Thomas Shepard was one of the twelve men to whom the establishment of the college was intrusted. The reasons given for erecting the college here were that this was "a place very pleasant and accommodate," and "under the ortho-

dox and soul-flourishing ministry of Mr. Thomas Shepheard." It has been said that that Massachusetts Assembly was "the first body in which the people, by their representatives, ever gave their own money to found a place of education." Thus upon the shore of the unplanted sea, three thousand miles from the schools in which they had been nurtured, on the borders of an untraversed wilderness, among perils and privations, in the greatness of their hearts these exiles, builders, prophets, founded their school of learning and religion. They gave it a worthy name. Of John Harvard, Thomas Shepard wrote, "This man was a scholar and pious in his life, and enlarged toward the country and the good of it in life and death." This was a college of the people. John Harvard was the son of a prosperous butcher. His mother was the daughter of a Stratford alderman. She was three times married, and there came into the hands of her eldest son money from the butcher, cooper and grocer, and money from his brother, a cloth-worker. It was a college for the people, and devoted to their advantage. Its method and spirit were to make men, that a nation might be made. The influence of the Colonial clergy was naturally pronounced in the college, as it was in the community. In 1642 the Board of Overseers was established, and the teaching elders of Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury and Dorchester were made members of it. The ministers gave as they were able, and the people aided their generous design. The list of donations is as pathetic as it is creditable. Out of the homes came the benefactions,—a great silver salt and a small trencher salt, a silver tankard and a pewter flagon, a silver goblet and a silver bowl, a fruit-dish and a sugar-spoon, thirty ewe sheep and nine shillings' worth of cotton cloth. Friends abroad sent their gifts and blessing to a cause which they held in honor.

There is no need that the history of the college should be told here. But it should be marked that its establishment was a part of the religious life of the Colony and that from the beginning it was closely connected with the Cambridge church. We find Mr. Shepard at one time addressing a memorial to the commissioners of the United Colonies, asking a general contribution for the maintenance of poor scholars, to the end "that the Commonwealth may be furnished with knowing and understanding men, and the churches with an able ministry." He begs that it may be recommended to every family throughout the plantation, able and willing to give, to contribute a fourth part of a bushel of corn, or something equivalent to this, as "a blessed means of comfortable provision for the diet of such students as stand in need of support." The plan was approved and adopted. This was the first provision made in New England for the benefit of indigent scholars. What he asked others to do he did himself. What was done in other churches was done in his church.

The administration of Nathaniel Eaton, the first principal of the college, was very unpromising and must have given the church much trouble. His faults were notorious, and he was dismissed from his office and excommunicated from the church. He entered the Church of England and became the violent enemy of those who had trusted him and been deceived. Mr. Shepard's relation to this man, and his conscientiousness and charity, are revealed in the record in his little book: "The sin of Mr. Eaton was at first not so clearly discerned by me; yet after more full information I saw his sin great, and my ignorance and want of wisdom and watchfulness over him very great, for which I desire to mourn all my life and for the breach of his family."

It must have been to Mr. Shepard and the church a great relief and an especial joy when, in 1640, the Reverend Henry Dunster was made president of the college. Of him Mr. Shepard writes: "The Lord about a year after graciously made up the breach by one Mr. Dunstar, a man pious, painfull and fit to teach and very fit to lay the foundations of the domesticall affairs of the college; whom God hath much honored and blessed."

Mr. Shepard seems to have been at this time in an unusually happy frame of mind. "Thus the Lord hath been very good unto me, in planting the place I lived in with such a mercy to myselfe, such a blessing to my children and the country, such an opportunity of doing good to many by doing good to students, as the school is."

Thus the church and the college began to move on together, with one general design. It has been noticed that Margaret Shepard died very soon after reaching Newtown. In 1637 Thomas Shepard married Joanna, the daughter of Thomas Hooker, his predecessor here. His record is as follows: "Oct., 1637. The yeare after these wars in the country, God having taken away my first wife, the Lord gave me a second, the eldest daughter of Mr. Hooker, a blessed store; and the Lord hath made her a great blessing to me to carry on matters in the family with much care and wisdom and to seeke the Lord God of her father." She is described as a woman of remarkable loveliness and wisdom. But after less than nine years of married life she, too, was taken away.

Those were exciting days in which things were starting in this new world. The events may not seem to us very large, but they were of vast importance in that time of beginnings. When the church here was organized trouble had already started in the Colony in connection with that resolute and restless woman whose name is "dismally conspicuous in the early history of New England." Mrs. Ann Hutchinson had been attracted from England by her desire to continue to enjoy the preaching of Mr. Cotton. Her husband, who had left a good estate in Lincolnshire, is described as "a man of very mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife." She was des-

tined to encounter men who would not be so submissive. They came in the fall of 1634, and she soon showed herself a kind neighbor, especially to the sick, and won the esteem of the people, over whom her attentions and abilities gave her influence. She became connected with the Boston Church and before long avowed doctrines at variance with those commonly held here. Her house in Boston was where the Old Corner Book Store now stands.

In October, 1636, Governor Winthrop gives this account of her: "One Mrs. Hutchinson, a member of the church in Boston, a woman of ready wit and bold spirit, brought over with her two dangerous errors: 1st, that the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person. 2d, that no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification. From these two grew many branches, as 1st, our union with the Holy Ghost, so as a Christian remains dead to every spiritual action, and hath no gifts nor graces other than such as are in hypocrites, nor any other sanctification but the Holy Ghost himself." A person was to find the evidence that he was a Christian in an immediate revelation made to his own soul. To receive this doctrine was to be under a "covenant of grace." To depend upon other evidence, such as conduct and promise, was to be under "covenant of works." There were thus two parties. The party which Mrs. Hutchinson headed was called by two borrowed names—Familists and Antinomians. We need no testimony to tell us what the people of Cambridge were talking about in those days. We can readily reproduce the ecclesiastical life, as it was manifested in sermons and discussions, in the meeting-house and on the street. But we have Thomas Shepard's record: "No sooner were we thus set down and entered into church fellowship, but the Lord exercised us and the whole country with the opinions of Familists, begun by Mrs. Hutchinson, raised up to a great height of Mr. Vane, too suddenly chosen Governor and maintained too obscurely by Mr. Cotton, and propagated too boldly by the members of Boston and some in other churches." Mrs. Hutchinson's views spread rapidly. She gathered weekly assemblies of women before whom she expounded her opinions and denounced the ministers who were opposed to her. Ignorant men and women were put forward as preachers, with the boast that they could excel the "black coats" who had been trained at the "Ninniversity." The associations of common life became infected by the disputes. Even the marching of troops which had been raised to assist Connecticut against the Indians was opposed on "the ground the officers and soldiers were too much under a covenant of works." It is difficult to comprehend this, until we remember that religious opinions were intimately and vitally connected with public and private affairs. Even English congregations in Holland had gone to pieces by falling upon similar contentions. The Colony here was in serious peril. The towns and churches in the country were, for the most part, opposed to the troublesome woman. Boston was her stronghold, though even there she was stoutly resisted by Winthrop, Wilson and others. Vane, the boy Governor, entered into the strife "with all possible zest." The majority of the General Court were against Mrs. Hutchinson, and ordered that its session of 1637 should be held at Newtown. Here, on the 17th of May, the court met, in an excitement which threatened civil war. Mr. Wilson, the minister, in his zeal, got upon the bough of a tree, and there made a speech, advising the people to look to their charter, etc., etc. There was an election of Governor, and Winthrop was chosen. Vane soon afterwards returned to England, and one element of the strife was removed. After discussion there was the prospect of a peaceful settlement of the difficulties, and the ministers, with the consent of the magistrates, called an ecclesiastical synod. It was the first synod held in America, and it met with the church in Newtown. It was a grave and reverend assembly which was thus convened in the humble meeting-house near the river. Mr. Shepard opened the first session with a "heavenly prayer." Mr. Hooker, of Hartford, and Mr. Bulkeley, of Concord, were the moderators. The sessions continued for several weeks. Eighty-two opinions were condemned with great unanimity. Among these were the peculiar views of Mrs. Hutchinson and her adherents Certain questions of church discipline which had arisen were decided, and with freedom of speech matters were carried on peaceably and "concluded comfortably in love." Mr. Shepard made a record of the chief business in this wise: "These errours, thorow the grace and power of Christ, were discovered, the defenders of them convinced and ashamed, the truth established, and the consciences of the saynts settled; there being a most wonderful presence of Christ's spirit in that assembly held at Cambridge, 1637, about August, and continued a month together in publike agitations; for the issue of the synod was this: 1. The Pekoat Indians were fully discomfited, for as the opinions arose, wars did arise, and when these began to be crusht by the ministry of the Elders and by opposing Mr. Vane and casting him and others from being magistrates, the enemies began to be crusht and were perfectly subdued by the end of the synod.

"2. The magistrates took counsel and exiled Mr. Wheelwright, Mrs. Hutchinson and diverse Ilanders whom the Lord did strangely discover, giving most of them over to all manner of filthy opinions, until many that held with them before were ashamed of them; and so the Lord within one year, wrought a great change among us."

Mrs. Hutchinson was tried before the General Court for railing at the ministers and continuing her lectures in defiance of the Synod. A sentence of banishment was passed, but as it was winter she was committed to a private house in Roxbury. Her conversation there was so offensive that the church in Boston cited her to

appear and answer to the charge of holding gross errors. She retracted some of her opinions and was admonished for holding others. She was placed under instruction, and not only retracted all the peculiar opinions imputed to her, but went so far as to say that she had never held them. A question of veracity was raised and decided against her, and she was excommunicated for having "impudently persisted in untruth." This was the end of her power and party here. She was ordered to leave the jurisdiction. With some of her friends she went first to Rhode Island. In her banishment her heart turned to Vane and she wrote him of her experience. In 1638, or near that time, we find Roger Williams writing of these exiles: "I find their longings great after Mr. Vane, although they think he cannot returne this year; the eyes of some are so earnestly fixed upon him that Mrs. Hutchinson proposeth if he come not to New, she must to Old England." Her afterlife was troubled and troublesome. She became a widow, and finally moved to a place within or near the Dutch border, where the whole family, except a daughter of eight years, was murdered by the Indians. But after her departure from Massachusetts a long period of tranquillity was enjoyed here. Mr. Shepard gratefully acknowledges that by God's great care and goodness this town had been "kept spotless from the contagion of the opinions." This was undoubtedly due in large measure to Mr. Shepard's influence, and it is given by him as one of the reasons which led the General Court to decide to place the new college here.

There were many matters to be settled by study and experience in the new enterprise which had been undertaken in the New World. The founders were not quite separate from those who had been left. In the year in which Shepard began his ministry here, some of the Puritan ministers in England, hearing that the churches on this side had adopted a new and questionable mode of discipline, sent a letter of inquiry upon the matter. The questions were concerning a form of prayer and a liturgy; the proper subjects of infants' baptism and admission to the Lord's table; the removal of members from one church to another; the relation of a minister to his own church and to other churches, and similar things. There was a careful discussion, in which Shepard bore his part, and he joined with Mr. Allen, of Dedham, in the publication of a work explaining and defining the usages here. This solved various perplexing matters and gave satisfaction to the English brethren. Upon the principles which it expounded the churches conducted their affairs, until it became desirable to have a more formal constitution. In 1646 the General Court took up the matter of calling a Synod. It was seen at once that it would not do for the government even to seem to impose any laws or methods upon the churches. They had done with all that. But it was recommended that a Synod should be called. This was done, and the Synod met in Cambridge in the autumn of 1646, and after necessary adjournments was finally convened in 1648. It was a noble gathering. There were men in it who had won fame in the mother-land and were illustrious here. An old writer has truly said, "They were Timothys in their houses; Chrysostoms in their pulpits; Augustines in their disputations." Of the Cambridge platform mention has been made in another connection. Its promotion was a notable event in the ecclesiastical life, and its name is a household word.

Our national connection with the Indians is far from satisfactory. It is pleasant to relieve the picture by brighter shades from the earliest times. The settlers had it as a distinct purpose to be of service to the heathen whom they found here. Preaching was sustained among them by legal permission. Their rights were protected by a special court. The people sought to be just in their dealings with them. The college turned its attention to their education. A brick building was erected for their accommodation by the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and was known as the Indian College. Several entered as students, but only one attained to academic honors. There was an effort to train up a native ministry, but this proved ineffectual. John Eliot has gained an immortal name by his efforts for their benefit. In his labors he had the counsel and assistance of Thomas Shepard. Eliot's first permanent missionary station was established at Nonantum, in Cambridge, in 1646. To the congregation gathered there Shepard gave his care and work. He wrote tracts which were translated into the Indian tongue. A long letter written by him to a friend in England is entitled, "The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel Breaking Forth Upon the Indians in New England." He called it "An Indian Sermon."

Daniel Gookin, a member of the Cambridge Church, was an earnest co-worker with Eliot and Shepard. He removed here from Virginia in 1644, and attained military and political station. He was made superintendent of all the Indians who had submitted to the government of Massachusetts; was one of the licensers of the printing-press, and in 1681 was appointed major-general of the Colony. He was a man of integrity and force. His monument is in the old church-yard. His son was the fourth pastor of the Cambridge Church.

Eliot's translation of the Indian Bible was printed here by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson. This was the first Bible printed in America. It was followed by numerous works in the Indian language. The Reverend Dr. Albro has said, "Thus Cambridge has the honor of furnishing the first Protestant tract in a heathen language, as well as the first heathen mission and the first Protestant translation of the Bible."

Several events of less importance may properly find

a place at this point in the narrative. It is interesting to find the name of the minister and the affairs of the church in the public records. The General Court which met here in 1636 made a grant of fifty pounds to Mr. Thomas Shepard. In the town records of 1638 is a grant to him of two and two-thirds acres of land on the road to Charlestown. In 1647 there is a grant of six acres of meadow land. In 1650 there is an entry stating that three hundred acres of land beyond Watertown Hill had been formerly given to Mr. Shephard and also two hundred acres more near Mr. Samuel Shepard's farm. In 1640 Mr. Shepard was brought into great embarrassment through the depressed financial condition of the colonists. It was a time of extremity. There was no money. Mr. Shepard's salary was then seventy pounds, payable in corn, which in this year was made legal tender for new debts. The emergency was so pressing that a removal to Connecticut was discussed. Mr. Hooker urged this removal upon his son-in-law in a lay letter which has been preserved.[1] He wrote, "I cannot see in reason but if you can sell and the Lord afford any comfortable Chapman, but you should remove. For why should a man stay until the house fall on his head? . . . If I were in your places, I should let those that must and will transport themselves as they see fit, in a way of providence and prudence. I would reserve a special company, but not many, and I would remove hither." The matter was of painful interest. To Mr. Shepard it was of deep personal concern. It threw him upon his habit of almost morbid self-examination and self-depreciation. In his "Meditations and Experiences," under date of Feb. 14, 1640–41, he writes, "When there was a *Church meeting* to be resolved *about our going away*, [viz., to *Matabeseck*], I called on myself as poor, and as unable to resolve myself, or to guide others or myself in any action, as a Beast." In October, 1640, the Court proposed to make to Cambridge a grant of Shawshine for a village. In 1643–44 the grant was made. Lands at Shawshine were assigned to some persons, which gave others more room, and the church and elders stayed in their place.

In 1648, at a general town-meeting, it was voted that there should be a farm laid out of a thousand acres, and improved for the good of the church, and that part of the church that shall here continue. In 1655 Shawshine was incorporated as Billerica. The thought of removal seems in this adjustment to have passed away. The census of 1647 gives as the number of ratable persons in the town, one hundred and thirty-five, with ninety houses.

Among the entries in the old church-book are some which are characteristic of the simplicity of the times. "Item, Mr. Harlakingdon gave the church a legacye of 20*l.* wch we received a young cow for it of Mr. Pelham in the beginning of the year 1640. We gave the summers milk of the cow to brother Towne and brother John French; the first calfe dyed. The winteringe cost to John Stone, 25^{s}. wch sum the second calfe was sold for. The second summers milke wee gave to sister Manninge and brother John French. The 3d summers milke was yelded Elder Frost and alsoe all the winteringe of it. The beginning of the year 1643 we yelded it Elder Frost for his owne; at that time it was worth but 5^{l}." This fall in the value of the church cow was due to a general decline. In 1640 Winthrop says that "cattle and all commodities grew very cheap." In Roger Harlakenden's will, in 1638, is a bequest of forty pounds to Mr. Shepard, "and to our elders that wch is in their hands, and to the pore brethren of our congregation twentye pounds to be ordered by Mr. Shepard."

There is a list of the weekly contribution which in nine months came to nearly fifty pounds. There are records like these:

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis for eleven quarts of red wine for the use of the Lords' tabell upon the 9th day the tenth month at 15^{d} a quart	0	13	9
And for bread for the Lords' table at that time 8^{d}. For a messenger to go for the wine 12^{d}	0	1	8
Pd for a lether pillow to put in the cushion to the desk 5^{s}; it wayed 5^{lbs}	0	5	0
Payd for sendinge a messenger (goodman Crackbone) to Charlestowne and Roxbury to atayne helpe for preachinge in our pastor's weakness	0	2	0
Payd to goodman Line for 5 quarts and ½ pint of wine	0	6	6
Payd by brother Towne for his half year's allowance	1	5	0
And payd him for 5 times goinge with messages to the church .	0	3	4
Given to our brother Hall the 11th of the 4th month toward the rearing of his house that was blown down	1	0	0
For the refreshing of my brother Sill in time of fayntnes, sent him 4 pints of sack, 2^{s} 4^{d}	0	2	4
Payd to my brother Cane for goinge to Salem for a message to Mr. Philips when he was about to come to us	5	0	0
Payd the hyman that brought Mr. Philips and for his goods, bringing from Salem when he removed to us	0	0	0

There are several other entries relating to Mr. Philips. He was the Rev. John Phillips. It is clear from this record, that it was proposed to make him the associate of Mr. Shepard, as the teacher of the church. He came here from Salem in 1639, and in 1640 "took office" in Dedham. It is not known why this change was made in his plans. At Dedham it was regarded as a special providence that he had not settled elsewhere, but could come with his gifts and his fame to be the minister there. The house which he built "anent Charlestowne lane, with the land adjoining and wood lot," was sold by the town to Thomas Danforth, the Deputy for fifty pounds, and the property long remained in the Danforth family.

A few more extracts may be made from the old accounts:

	£	s.	d.
[1639.] To Elder Frost we sent the 15 of the 5th month in beefe, cheese, candle and money to buy corne, in all 20^{li}	1	0	0
Payd my brother Towne his half year's allowance 30^{li}	1	10	0
Payd him for paynes taken more than ordinary in making cleane the meetinge house in the time of its repayreinge 12^{s}	0	12	0
Payd for 9 times going to call the church together at 8^{d} a time 6^{s}	0	6	0
[1643.] Payd our brother Manninge for a belrope	0	1	6
[1644.] Payd Mr. Palgrave for physic for our sister Albone . .	0	2	6

[1] Paige's "History of Cambridge," p. 46.

For 4 years' rent for our sister Albone (beside 5 months' time allowed her for about 7^{s} charges in repayer w^{ch} she did) I say 4 years 4 0 0
[1645.] Payd for a goat for goody Albone to goodman Prentiss . 0 11 0

Elsewhere we find these records: 1646, Nov. 5. The Townsmen ordered "that there shall be fifty shillings paid unto Tho. Langhorne, for his service to the town in beating the drum, this two years last past."

In 1642 "It is ordered that, according to an order of Court, made the last General Court for the townsmen to see to the educating children, that John Bridge shall take care of all the families of that side the highway his own house stands to by Bro. Winship's," and so on dividing the town into six parts.

In the course of time the meeting-house came to need attention. It deserved it, for its constant and its occasional service. There the church had its beginning. There, it appears, the first Harvard commencement was held in 1642. There the Cambridge Platform was framed in 1648. Other events of great importance to the community found a place within its lowly walls.

In February, 1649, at a meeting of the whole town, "it was voted and agreed by a general consent, that the meeting-house shall be repaired with a 4-square roof and covered with shingles, and the charge thereof levied upon the inhabitants of the town by equal rate. "Either because it was found cheaper to build a new house, or a new house was desired, or another site was preferred, three weeks later: "It was voted and agreed that the five men chosen by the town to repair the meeting-house shall desist from the same and agree with workmen for the building of a new house about forty foote square, and covered as was formerly agreed for the other." It was also agreed that the new house should stand on "Watch-house Hill. This was very near the place where Dane Hall now stands, and near the parsonage.

But it was not to be given to Thomas Shepard to fill the new sanctuary with the sound of the "silver trumpet, from whence the people of God had often heard the joyful sound of the gospel." His constitution had never been vigorous, and his labors and trials must have impaired his health. He describes himself as "very weak and unfit to be tossed up and down and to bear persecution." Besides his public sorrows, there were afflictions in his own house which grieved his sensitive heart. One child had died in England; two children died here. His wife died soon after his coming. His second wife died in less than nine years after their marriage. Yet his life was not altogether sad. He married for the third time. The third wife, Margaret Boradell, or Borrowdale, the sister of "John Borrowdale, of London, Gentleman," became the wife of his successor. Four sons remained to him when he died, three of whom served in his own profession. The fourth died in his youth.

In August, 1649, when returning from a meeting of ministers at Rowley, "he fell into a quinsie, with a symptomatical fever," and on the 25th day of the month he passed away from earth. A writer of his own time mentions the death of Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Phillips, of Watertown, and that of "the holy, heavenly, soul-affecting, soul-ravishing minister, Mr. Thomas Shepard, pastor of the church at Cambridge, whose departure was very heavily taken by all the people of Christ round about him; and now New England, that had such heaps upon heaps of the riches of Christ's tender, compassionate mercies, being turned from his dandling knees, began to read their approaching rod, in the bend of his brow and frowns of his former favorable countenance towards them."

On the day of his death, with perfect memory and clear understanding, Mr. Shepard made his will, with a brief statement of his faith, and gave small bequests to his sons and a few friends, and left the rest of his estate to his wife. The inventory of his possessions amounted to £810. Some of his last words have been preserved. To several young ministers who visited him not long before the end, he said, "Your work is great, and calls for great seriousness. As to myself I can say three things: that the study of every sermon cost me tears; that before I preached a sermon I got good by it myself; and that I always went up into the pulpit as if I were to give up my account to my master." He was solicitous regarding the one who should take his place, and when he found that the man of his choice had commended himself to his people, he was content to depart. So he died, in the forty-fourth year of a large life. His mortal part was laid in the village grave-yard. But nothing now marks the spot. His work is his memorial.

"His name and office sweetly did agree;
Shepard by name, and in his ministry."

It is evident that Mr. Shepard was greatly esteemed and with good reason. He was a thoughtful, laborious man. He was a scholar. His words are good reading to-day. Some one has made the calculation that in Jonathan Edwards' famous "Treatise concerning the Religious Affections," of the two hundred and thirty-two quotations, more than one-half are from Shepard. He took time to prepare himself for his public work. It is said that he always finished his preparation for the pulpit by two o'clock on Saturday afternoon, accounting "that God would curse that man's labors who goes lumbering up and down in the world all the week, and then upon Saturday goes into his study, when, as God knows, that time were little enough to pray in and weep in and get his heart into a frame fit for the approaching Sabbath." Some of the terms in which he was named have been given. He was "that gracious, sweet, heavenly-minded, and soul-ravishing minister, in whose soul the Lord shed abroad his love so abundantly that thousands of souls have cause to bless God for him." "A man of a thousand, and endowed with abundance of true, loving knowledge for himself and pe

others; yet his natural parts were weak, but spent to the full."

> "Shepheard's sweet sermons from thy blessing came"—
> "Oh Christ why dost thou Shepheard take away,
> In erring times, when sheepe most oft do stray?"

We are permitted to see the influence of Mr. Shepard upon certain individuals, and from them to infer his influence on others. This belongs in the annals of the early church as a part of the church life.

Edward Johnson came hither for the second time in 1636, a zealous Puritan. He arrived when the Antinomian conversation was at its height, and was nearly beside himself through the commotion. Leaving Charlestown, "turning his face to the sun, he steered his course toward the next town; and after some small travel, he came to a large plain. No sooner was he entered therein, but hearing the sound of a drum, he was directed toward it by a broad beaten way. Following this road, he demanded of the next man he met what the signal of the drum meant. The reply was made that they had as yet no bell to call men to meeting, and therefore made use of a drum. 'Who is it,' quoth he, 'lectures at this town?' The other replies, 'I see you are a stranger new come over, seeing you know not the man; it is one Mr. Shepard.' 'Verily,' quoth the other, 'you have hit the right. I am new come over, indeed, and have been told since I came, that most of your ministers are legal preachers; and, if I mistake not, they told me this man preached a finer covenant of works than the others. But, however, I shall make what haste I can to hear him. Fare ye well.' Then hastening thither, he crowdeth through the thickest, where having stayed while the glass was turned up twice, the man was metamorphosed; and was fain to hang down the head often, lest his watery eyes should blab abroad the secret conjunction of his affections, his heart crying loud to his Lord's echoing answer, to his blessed spirit, that caused the speech of a poor, weak, pale-complexioned man to take such impression in his soul at present, by applying the word so aptly, as if he had been his privy counselor; clearing Christ's work of grace in the soul from all those false doctrines which the erroneous party had affrighted him withal; and he resolves, the Lord willing, to live and die with the ministers of New England, whom he now saw the Lord had not only made zealous to stand for the truth of his discipline, but also for the doctrine, and not to give ground one inch." Mr. Johnson was a man of learning and property, and had a leading part in the erecting of a church and town at Woburn and in the administration of public affairs.

As we read the names of those who were in college during these years, we have another indication of the influence of the church. Out of this happy seminary, writes Cotton Mather, "there proceeded many notable preachers, who were made such very much by their sitting under Mr. Shepard's enlightening and powerful ministry." Among these young men was William Hubbard, long the most eminent solicitor in Essex County; and Samuel Mather, of that house whose name and deeds are intertwined with the early church history of the Colony; and Samuel Danforth, tutor and fellow of the college; and William Ames, and John Brock. There were John Rogers, president, and William Oakes, pastor and president; and Leonard Hoar, president; and Samuel Phillips, "an incomparable man, had he not been the father of Samuel."

There was another student, of whom special mention must be made. This carries our narration forward. At the head of the names of the class of 1647 stands Jonathan Mitchel, Mr. Socius. He was born in 1624 in Yorkshire, "of pious and wealthy parents," who sought "to make him learned by a proper education." In his tenth year he had a "sore fever," which "settled in his arm with such troublesome effects, that his arm grew and kept a little bent, and he could never stretch it out right." When he was about eleven years of age his parents were driven out of England by the "unconscionable impositions and persecutions of the English hierarchy."

They reached Boston in August, 1635. The family settled in Connecticut, and for several years the boy was employed in secular affairs. But he longed for a "learned education," and prevailed on his father to allow him to enter college, which he did in 1645. "He had a clear head, a copious fancy, a solid judgment, a tenacious memory, and a certain discretion, without any childish laschete or levity in his behavior, which commanded respect; . . . so that . . . they that knew him from a child, never knew him other than a man." He has come down to us as the "Matchless Mitchel." His serious impressions began very early, and were deepened and guided in the village church. In his own words: "Unless it had been four years living in heaven, I know not how I could have more cause to bless God with wonder, than for these four years." After graduating he was made a fellow of the college, and was for a time a tutor.

His services as pastor were sought by several of the most considerable churches in the country. "The Church of Hartford in particular, being therein countenanced and encouraged by the Reverend Mr. Stone, sent a man and horse above one hundred miles to obtain a visit from him, in expectation to make him the successor of their ever-famous Hooker." There he preached his first sermon, and on the next day he was invited to become the minister of the church. Large inducements were offered him. He did not accept the proposals, because before his journey Mr. Shepard, with the principal persons here, had prayed him to return to them, "as he did upon divers accounts most belong to Cambridge, and Cambridge did hope that he would yet more belong unto them." He preached here on the

12th of August, 1649. In the evening Mr. Shepard told him "This is the place where he should, by right, be all the rest of his days; and inquiring of some good people how Mr. Mitchel's first sermon was approved among them, they told him very well. Then said he, my work is done!" In less than a fortnight Shepard's work was indeed done. Mitchel received a unanimous invitation to become the pastor in his place, and he was ordained on the 21st of August, 1650. The neighboring pastor performed the service of ordination, and the Reverend John Cotton gave him the right hand of fellowship on behalf of the ministers and churches. His esteem for those who had made him their minister is manifest in his own words: "They were a gracious, savowry-spirited people, principled by Mr. Shepard, liking an humbling, mourning, heart-breaking ministry and spirit; living in religion, praying men and women. Here I might have occasion of many sweet heart-breakings before God, which I have so much need of."

His entrance into his parish was complete. He was to have married Sarah, the daughter of Mr. Cotton. When he "addressed himself unto the venerable old Mr. Cotton for leave to become his son-in-law," Mr. Cotton, "prognosticating the eminence which he would arrive unto, gave leave unto it." "But the immature death of that hopeful young gentlewoman" prevented "so desirable a match." "The young gentlewoman whom his predecessor had married a little before his decease, he now also married upon the general recommendations of that widow unto him; and the epithalamiums with which the students of the college then celebrated their marriage withal were expressive of the satisfaction which it gave unto all the good people in the vicinity." Thus, on the 19th of November, 1650, Margaret Shepard became Margaret Mitchel. In the following May the General Court confirmed a deed "Wherein is conveyed to Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, now husband of Margaret, the relict of the said Mr. Sheapheard, a dwelling-house, yards, orchards, and seven acres of land adjoining thereunto, in behalf of his said wife."

Thus hopefully, happily, the second pastorate of the church began. The man was prepared for the work, but there came with it enough of adversity to make proof of his courage and constancy. It is singular that his first public trial came from one from whom he could have expected only comfort and support. Henry Dunster, president of the college, was, to use the language of Cotton Mather, "unaccountably fallen into the briars of antipædobaptism; and being briar'd in the scruples of that persuasion, he not only forbore to present an infant of his own unto the Baptism of our Lord, but also thought himself under some obligation to bear his testimony in some sermons against the administration of baptism to any infants whatsoever." Mr. Dunster had come from England in 1640, holding orders, it is supposed, in the English church, but in strong sympathy with the Puritan movement. He had a high reputation for piety and learning, and was almost immediately called to preside over the college, with the title of president. Mr. Shepard describes him as "a man pious, painful and fit to teach, and very fit to lay the foundations of the domesticall affairs of the College, whom God hath much honored and blessed." He was received to the church here as an accession of strength. He preached in the neighboring churches with great acceptance. After Mr. Shepard's death he was called "to supply" the vacant pulpit. He was in accord with the doctrines of the church, although he thought that baptism by immersion was to be preferred. In his confession he said, concerning baptism: "I believe that only believers and their seed ought to be received into the church by that sacrament. . . . And as children, so those that come to mature age ought to be received into the church by baptism. And concerning the outward elements, something there is concerning sprinkling in the Scripture; hence not offended when it is used." It appears to have been in 1652 that he changed his views regarding the baptism of children. The change, which he publicly announced and defended, created a marked sensation. It must have made the staple of much of the social and ecclesiastical life of the community. We quote again from the "Magnolia:" "The brethren of the church were somewhat vehement and violent in their signifying of their dissatisfaction at the obstruction, which the renitencies of that gentleman threatened on the peaceable practice of infant baptism, wherein they had hitherto walked; and judged it necessary for the vindication of the church's name abroad in the country, and for the safety of the congregation at home, to desire of him that he would cease preaching as formerly, until he had better satisfied himself in this point now doubted by him." "The overseers of the college became solicitous that the students there might not be unawares ensnared in the errors of the President. Wherefore they labored with an extreme agony, either to rescue the good man from his own mistake, or to restrain him from imposing them upon the hope of the flock." The points at issue cannot be discussed here. They were of the greatest importance in the minds of those who had the church and the college in their charge. The doctrine in question was a part of their life, and was hallowed by the most sacred associations. If Dunster could claim consideration on account of his character and office, it was, on the other hand, specially important that such a man should be right. This they felt and they acted on their conviction. Their fear went further than this. For a hundred years the name Anabaptist had been connected with fanaticism and extravagance. In Germany this sect denied the authority of magistrates, opposed all laws,

made war against governments, rejected nearly all the Christian doctrines, and was guilty of the most seditious and vicious practices. There is no necessary connection between the belief out of which the name sprang and the enormities into which many rushed who held it. Nothing could be further from such conduct than the behavior of Dunster. It is not the only time that men have been frightened by a word. The name increased the dread with which the opinions of the president were regarded. In view of the horror which belonged with the name of Anabaptist, it is not very surprising that in 1644 there was a decree of the Court that any person who should openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants, or should go about secretly to draw others from the approbation or use of the ordinance, or should purposely depart from the congregation where it was administered, or deny the lawful authority of the magistracy, and should obstinately continue in this opposition after due time and means of conviction, should be sentenced to banishment. Two years after this decree the Court declared, "For such as differ from us only in judgment, . . . and live peaceably amongst us, without occasioning disturbance, etc., such have no cause to complain; for it hath never been as yet put in execution against any of them, although such are known to live amongst us." It was hard for the church to rebuke a man like President Dunster, who had been to them as a pastor. It was a hard position in which Mitchel was placed. He felt himself "embarrassed in a controversy with so considerable a person, and with one who had been his tutor, and a worthy and a godly man." He was slow to proceed to the action which seemed to be demanded. He thought the church too much excited, and said "that some light and less heat would do better." But he was greatly oppressed. "This business did lie down and rise up, sleep and wake with me." He labored in private with Dunster, but it was of no avail. He fasted and prayed; he sought help from neighboring ministers; then publicly and formally opposed the new teaching of his venerated president. "It was a dismal thing to me, that I should live to see truth or peace dying and decaying in poor Cambridge." He is said to have "preached more than half a score of ungainsayable sermons" upon the subject which occupied the mind of the church, and to have rendered service to other churches in the same cause.

The magistrates asked the ministers to examine into the matter and to inform them "how the matter stands with him in respect of his opinions." Accordingly a conference of ministers and elders was held for two days in Boston, in February, 1653–54. The president could not be drawn from his opinions by persuasion or argument, and on the 3d of May, 1654, the General Court commended it to the overseers of the college and the selectmen of the several towns, not to permit any person to be continued in the office of instructing the youth in the college or schools who "have manifested themselves unsound in the faith, or scandalous in their lives, and not giving due satisfaction according to the rules of Christ." The president probably thought that this vote was directed against himself, and he thereupon addressed a letter to the General Court tendering the resignation of his office. The Court referred the matter to the overseers, instructing them "to make provision, in case he persist in his resolution more than one month (and inform the overseers), for some meet person to carry on and end that work for the present." He could have retained both his office and his opinions, if he could have consented to be silent in regard to his dissenting views. This was out of the question.

On the 30th of July, 1654, "Mr. Dunster spoke to the congregation in the time of the public ordinance, to the interruption thereof, without leave, which was also aggravated in that he, being desired by the Elder to forbear and not to interrupt an ordinance of Christ, yet notwithstanding he proceeded in way of complaint to the congregation, saying I am prohibited to speak that in Christ's name which I would have testified. But "in his following speech" he declared his views regarding the baptism of children, in which he was at variance with the church. In the following April he was indicted by the grand jury "for disturbance of the ordinances of Christ upon the Lord's day at Cambridge . . . to the dishonor of the name of Christ, his truth and minister." The Court, after hearing the evidence, ordered that "at the next Lecture at Cambridge," Mr. Henry Dunster "should (by such magistrates as should then be present) be publicly admonished, and give bond for his good behavior." He acknowledged that he had said, in substance, the things which were alleged, but he denied that he was conscious of doing or saying anything contemptuously or in open contempt of God's word or messengers. In July, 1655, the overseers informed Mr. Dunster that the welfare of the college and of the colony made his removal necessary. In October he gave in his final resignation. Thus his fourteen years of zealous and helpful service came to an end.

Mr. Dunster was left in a peculiarly difficult position. With no office and a blemished repute, though with a blameless life, in which way could he turn? He petitioned the General Court that he might remain in his house until his accounts were settled, and that he might be allowed to "prosecute the spiritual and temporal weal of the inhabitants" of the colony, "in preaching the Gospel of Christ, teaching or training up of youth, or in any other laudable or liberal calling, as God shall chalk out his way, and when, and where, and in what manner he shall find acceptance." His petition was denied. The reply was signed R. Bellingham, Governor. Mr. Dunster sent in another petition begging for himself and his family the privilege of remaining in the president's house till a removal could be more easily accomplished. The first

reason he gave for his request shows the propriety of it. "The time of the year is unseasonable, being now very near the shortest day, and the depth of winter."

The Court granted him leave to remain till the following March. In due time Mr. Dunster moved to Scituate, where for a few years he was employed in the ministry, serving, though probably not as pastor, the church which had for about twelve years enjoyed the teaching of the Rev. Charles Chauncy, who was made Dunster's successor in the presidency. He died in 1659. In his will he mentions his "reverend and trusty friends and brethren, the president of the colledge and the pastor of the church of Cambridge." He gave gifts to both and made them appraisers of his library. He directed that his body should be taken to Cambridge, there to be interred by his loving wife and other relatives. He was brought back as he desired and laid in the old church-yard. The stone which marked the grave has disappeared. A new slab, with an elaborate Latin inscription in Dunster's memory, lies over the grave in which probably Mr. Mitchel was laid. The monument should be removed, but the fame of Dunster will survive though the place of burial is not known. The esteem in which he was held by Mr. Mitchel is evinced by an elegy which he wrote in his memory, a portion of which may well be copied to show the spirit of the writer:

"Where faith in Jesus is sincere,
That soul, he saving, pardoneth;
What wants or errors else be there,
That may and do consist therewith.

"And though we be imperfect here,
And in one mind can't often meet,
Who know in part, in part may err,
Though faith be one all do not see't.

"Yet may we well the rest obtain
In everlasting bliss above,
Where Christ with perfect saints doth reign,
In perfect light and perfect love;

"Then shall we all like-minded be,
Faith's unity is there full grown;
There one truth all both love and see,
And thence are perfect made in one."

President Chauncey was inaugurated November 27, 1654. He was a notable addition to the church. He was of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a successful and eminent minister in the English Church. But he was of those who could not consent and conform to all which was required, and he was suspended and silenced by America's benefactor—Archbishop Laud. "Few suffered more for non-comformity than he, by fines, by gaols, by necessities to abscond, and at last by an exile from his native country." He came to New England and found a home in Scituate. But things improved in England, and he was invited to return to his former charge at Ware, in Hertfordshire. He came to Boston, intending to embark, when the invitation to the college changed his plans. He was then sixty-two years old. His salary was a hundred pounds per annum. For seventeen years he held his important office, "and by the manner in which he filled his station fully sustained his high character for talents, learning and piety, and satisfied the expectation of the public." "It is a remarkable fact that the church in Cambridge, with which he connected himself, considered his residence at that place so great a blessing that in a year or two after he came there they kept a whole day of thanksgiving to God for the privilege by which they were thus distinguished."

There was another important discussion upon the subject and subjects of baptism in which Mr. Mitchel had a prominent part. The first settlers here were for the most part members of the church, and their children were duly baptized. But in the course of time there came on another generation of children, many of whose parents had not renewed their baptismal obligations and had not connected themselves with the church. By the rules then in force these persons could not have their children baptized. Yet it was felt that the children of persons who had been baptized should be regarded differently from Indians or others who were living in paganism. It was held by many that if baptized persons, even if not considered regenerate, were willing to renew the baptismal covenant and become subject to church discipline, their children could properly be baptized. This feeling and practice were growing in the churches, when a synod of the elders and messengers of the churches was called. This was held in Boston in the spring of 1662. Mr. Mitchel was a member of the synod. The result of its deliberations was the declaration of the independence of each church and the duty of the communion of churches—that is, Congregationalism. In regard to baptism, the synod framed what is historically known as the Half-way Covenant, which granted baptism to the children of certain persons who were not considered qualified for admission to the Lord's table. The result was chiefly composed by Mitchel, and its defense fell largely upon him. It was an important element in the ecclesiastical life of the town. In connection with this there arose the practice of administering baptism to adults who were not esteemed regenerate, but who owned the covenant and submitted themselves to the care of the church and were of proper moral character. This gave such persons a better standing in the community, and was of especial value so long as suffrage was confined to church members, and there were many persons who otherwise would be denied the full privileges of citizens, though fitted for it by age and character. The Cambridge records have three lists of persons in some kind of connection with the church. These have already been mentioned.

The list of the "Persons, adults, who owned the Covenant and were baptized" extends to 1782, and is quite largely made up of negro servants. The use of the Half-way Covenant gradually became less common, until it finally ceased. A recent writer remarks:

"The Half-way Covenant, the concession of the church, in order to a more pliable connection with the State, was still in force after the State had been practically divorced from the Church—a continual source of weakness and depression. It had been, indeed, one object of the Half-way Covenant to overcome the Anabaptist principle by attaching increased importance to baptism." In his time, Jonathan Edwards took strong ground against it. "Most of the Puritan churches accepted his principles, banished the Half-way Covenant, and took on the form which they still retain." During Mitchel's ministry there was excitement in Cambridge from a very different source. In 1656 "an accursed and pernicious sect of heretics, lately risen up in the world, who are commonly called Quakers," made their appearance in Boston. The severe measures which were taken to suppress them did not accomplish their purpose. There was not much trouble in Cambridge, but enough to disturb the little scholastic community. "Elizabeth Horton went crying through the streets that the Lord was coming with fire and sword to plead with them." She was "laid hold of by a bloodthirsty crew, and early in the morning had before Thomas Danfort and Daniel Goggings (two wicked and bloody magistrates), who committed her, and whose jayler thrust her into a noisome, stinking dungeon, where there was nothing to lie down or sit on, and kept her there two days and two nights, without helping her to bread or water; and because one Benanuel Bower (a tender Friend) brought her a little milk in this her great distress, wherein she was like to have perished, they cast him into prison for entertaining a stranger, and fined him five pounds. They ordered her to be sent out of their coasts towards Rhode Island, and to be whipped at three towns, ten stripes at each, by the way."

She came back to Cambridge, was again put in prison, and whipped three times, as before. Thus she passes out of this history. But Benanuel Bowers remains. His wife was Elizabeth Dunster, whom President Dunster, in his will, calls "my Cousin Bowers," with a legacy of five shillings apiece to her and her children. The Bowers family held all those of the Cambridge congregation who are known to have openly avowed the sentiments of their distinguished kinsman. In 1656 Mr. Bowers was arraigned before the County Court "for absenting himself from the ordinance of baptism, and was only admonished."

It appears to have been in 1662 that the first Quaker missionaries came to Cambridge. Benanuel Bowers was then a Quaker, and the law was enforced against him by Danforth and Gookin. His wife and daughter suffered with him in the same faith. At the County Court in 1663 he was convicted of absenting himself from church for about a quarter of a year and of entertaining Quakers in his family. He was fined twenty shillings for his absence from church, and four pounds for his hospitality, with three shillings by way of costs. Year after year he was fined for the absence of himself and wife from church. In 1666 he was fined for coming into the meeting-house with his hat on; in 1673 for "slandering and reviling the court, and for servile labor upon the Lord's Day;" in 1676, for "profane and wicked cursing." After a time he refused to pay fines, and passed more than a year in prison.

From time to time he petitioned for release. He claimed that he had attended worship according to his own faith and conscience. He complained of hard usage. He appealed to those who knew him to bear witness to his character. "I am about sixty years of age, thirty of which I have dwelt within about a mile of Cambridge town. What my life and conversation hath been amongst them, and what I have suffered these fifteen years for not going to the public meeting, is well known to many of my neighbors." In 1677 the court ordered that the marshal-general should levy upon the estate of Bowers the fines which had been imposed on him, and that thereupon he should be set at liberty.

But his troubles were not ended by his release. While in prison he vented his rage at his treatment in "a paper of scurrilous verses, wherein the honored Mr. Danforth and others were defamed." He sent the verses by his wife to the house of Mr. Danforth, who laid the matter before the Court. The magistrates sentenced Bowers to be severely whipped with twenty stripes or to pay a fine of five pounds.

Mr. Bowers went to church on one occasion, at least, in 1677, when, after the services were closed, he stood on a bench and began to speak to the people. Mr. Oakes, who was then the minister, tried to stop him, but did not succeed. He gave him leave to reply to anything which had been said if he would do it on a week-day. Major Gookin commanded the constable to carry him out of the meeting-house, but he continued to bring his charges against Magistrate Danforth, and desired the church to take notice thereof. In December Bowers and his wife were convicted of slandering the magistrate, and were sentenced to be openly whipped fifteen stripes apiece and to pay five pounds apiece in money, and to stand committed until the sentence was executed. This is substantially the history of the sad Quaker episode, so far as the records of Cambridge present it.

In 1681 and 1682 Mr. Bowers was fined for non-attendance on public worship, but of the latter years of his life very little is known.

The witnesses of his will were men of prominence —one of them the president of the college, and the others orthodox ministers. "This fact," remarks Dr. Paige, "justifies the presumption that he did not regard them as persecuters, and that they did not consider him to be an arch-heretic."

From this more public life of the Cambridge Church and minister we return to local affairs. What was Cambridge then? From an estimate made by the

selectmen in 1647, two years before Shepard's death, it appears that there were here 135 ratable persons, ninety houses, about 2600 acres of land, 208 cows, 131 oxen, twenty horses, with other property of different kinds, making up a valuation of less than £2000. Johnson describes Cambridge in 1652, as "compact closely within itself, till of late years some few straggling homes have been built. It hath well-ordered streets and comely, completed with the fair building of Harvard College. The people are at this day in a thriving condition in outward things." He confirms what others have said, "that they have hitherto had the ministry of the word by more than ordinary instrument." Attention was given to the cultivation of orchards. The orchard of the college is mentioned in the town record. The first license for an inn appears to have been given in 1652. In 1656 a committee was appointed to execute the order of the General Court for the improvement of all the families in spinning and clothing. In 1662 Mr. Mitchel and Captain Daniel Godkin were appointed "Licensers of the press." About the time of Mr. Mitchel's nomination the second meeting-house was completed on Watch-house Hill. It must have been a conspicuous building as it stood "forty foot square" on that eminence. In 1652 the church agreed to divide the farm in Shawshine, and assigned 500 acres to Mr. Mitchel. In 1656 the people on the south side of the river requested that they might have "the ordinances of Christ amongst them, distinct from the town." The town did not think it expedient to grant this request and thus divide the church. A few years later the inhabitants of Cambridge village had become so numerous that they formed a distinct congregation, and they were freed from contributing towards the ministry on the north side of the river, so long as an able ministry was sustained on the south side. In 1664 a new church was organized in Cambridge village. The village was incorporated as a distinct town in 1687-8, and in 1691 received the name of Newtown, which had long before been surrendered here. The protest which Cambridge made against the ambitious design of the village is almost ludicirous as we read it now. 'Now that Cambridge cannot spare what they desire we shall thus prove:" "That our town is thus situated, narrow and long on each wing, Watertown and Charlestown nipping us up close on each side, there needs no proof. . . . We must be no town, nor have no Church of Christ nor ministry among us, in case we be clipped and mangled as the petitioners would have." "These long-breathed petitioners, finding that they had such good success that they could never cast their lines into the sea but something was catched, they resolved to bait their hook again." It is strange reading now, but it was very serious dealing then.

The records preserve various matters of detail in the parish life. In 1660 sundry young men received permission "to build a gallery on the south beam." In 1666 Mr. Mitchel received a further grant of land. Among financial affairs is a vote in 1657 appointing a committee to make a levy of £240 for the maintenance this year, and for the payment of the debts of our reverend pastor, Mr. Mitchel. In the accounts are these items:

		£	s.	d.
20, 3, 67.	to bro. Okes when he went to Rehoboth, in silver,	0	6	0
22, 4, 67.	Payd to Daniell Cheavers for veall to Mr. Chauncy when he was sick	0	5	0
3, 12, 67-8.	Payd to Mrs. Danforth in her husband's absence in silver, the sume of 25 shillings for wine, sugar and spice at the buriall of Mrs. Chauncy who deceased the 24 of the 11th 67	1	5	0
27, 4, 68.	Paid to John Sheapheard for a fower gallon bottell to bring sack for the sacrament	0	3	9

The times which we have been reviewing were eventful days for England. Thomas Shepard died in the year in which Charles I. was beheaded, and the Commonwealth declared. It was a period which called for all the prudence of the Colonies. They admired the valor of Cromwell, who was the champion of their own ideas. But they refrained from asking any favors from the Puritan Parliament. Massachusetts kept silent when Cromwell was made a monarch. She was able to shelter three men who had signed the death-warrant of the King and fled from the vengeance of Charles II. Of these, Whalley and Goffe came immediately to Cambridge, where they intended to reside. The Act of Indemnity from which they were excluded did not reach this country for several months. Meanwhile, and for months afterward, they were treated with consideration, though at last there was a division of feeling among the magistrates regarding their duty. They were admitted into the best society here. They attended public worship and lectures, and took part in private devotional meetings, and were received to the Lord's Table. In showing them such favors, Mr. Mitchel was not aware of their exact relation to their government. He wrote afterwards in his own vindication: "Since I have had opportunity, by reading and discourse, to look into that action for which these men suffer, I could never see that it was justifiable." It is plain that the people had enough to talk about during Mitchel's pastorate. There was the case of Dunster, and of the Quakers. The Half-way Covenant was a lasting theme for conversation. Events of interest were taking place beyond the seas. The Waldenses were persecuted by the Piedmontese; Pascal died, and Jeremy Taylor; the first idea of a steam-engine was suggested. "The Pilgrims' Progress" was published. Eliot's Bible was printed. London was smitten with the great plague and devastated by the great fire. The Triple Alliance was formed for the protection of the Netherlands, and there were other events of importance, of which tidings came in the ships whose arrival was eagerly awaited.

But the end came to the busy and prosperous ministry of the "matchless Mitchel." In the summer of 1668, "in an extreme hot season," after he had been

preaching from the words, "I know that thou wilt bring me to death, and to the house appointed for all living," a putrid fever arrested him with a mortal malignity, and on the 9th of July "it pleased God to take him to rest and glory," in the forty-fourth year of his age. His departure caused a great lamentation among his own people and throughout the churches. "The chief remaining pillar of our ministry," as Hale ventured to designate him, had fallen. Only one sentence has come down to us from his last hours. To a young man standing by his bed he said: "My friend, as a dying man, I now charge you that you don't meet me out of Christ in the day of Christ." In the old church records is an entry of £8 13*s.* 6*d.*, paid in silver, by the appointment of the committee for the minister's house, unto the Deputy-Governor, Mr. Francis Willoughby, for the discharge of Mr. Mitchel's funeral. There is this entry, also: "To Goodman Orton, of Charlestown, for making a tapauling to wrap Mr. Michell, and for doing something to his coffing that way, 4*s.*" This was made necessary by the time and manner of his death, and his own condition; for, as Cotton Mather narrates, "Mr. Mitchell had, from a principle of godliness, used himself to bodily exercise; nevertheless he found it would not wholly free him from an ill habit of body. Of extreme lean, he grew extreme fat." His body was wrapt in the cerecloth, tansy was strewed about it, and he was laid in "God's Acre," in all probability in the grave now covered by Henry Dunster's memorial slab.

The testimony to the life and work of Mr. Mitchel does him the highest honor. Mather pronounced it an eminent favor of God to the church to have "their great breach thus made up, with a man so much of the spirit and principles of their former pastor, and so excellently qualified with respect to the college." His labors were "wonderfully blessed; for very many of the scholars bred up in his time (as is observed) do savor of his spirit for grace and manner of preaching, which was most attractive." He "was a mighty man in prayer, and eminent at standing in the gap." Mather says: "Though he was all along in his preaching as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice, yet, as he drew near to the close of his exercises, his comely fervency would rise to a marvellous measure of energy. He would speak with such a transcendent majesty and liveliness that the people would often shake under his dispensations as if they had heard the sound of the trumpets from the burning mountain, and yet they would mourn to think that they were going presently to be dismissed from such an heaven upon earth."

He took a prominent part in the affairs of the college of which he was an alumni and a fellow. "The college was nearer unto his heart than it was to his house, though next adjoining it." He was a hard student himself, an "over-hard student," one says, and "he loved a scholar dearly; but his heart was fervently set upon having the land all over illuminated with the spirit of a learned education. To this end he became a father to the college which had been his mother." President Chauncy said: "I know no man in this world that I could envy so much as worthy Mr. Mitchel." Richard Baxter said of him, "that if there could be an Œcumenical Council of the whole Christian world, that man would be worthy to be the Moderator of it." Increase Mather exhorted the members of the college: "Say each of you, Mitchel shall be the example which I shall imitate." The Quinquennial Catalogue gives the names of many who must have come under his influence. Among the students of his time were William Stoughton, Leonard Hoar, Michael Wigglesworth, Thomas Shepard, Increase Mathers, Samuel Willard, Solomon Stoddard, Abraham Pierson, and others whose names came to be well known. While we read such tributes to the man, it is almost painful to look upon his estimate of himself. He wondered what the people of God saw in him, that they so much desired his labors among them. Kept from preaching by a hoarse cold, he makes this record: "My sin is legible in the chastisement: cold duties, cold prayers (my voice in prayer, *i. e.*, my spirit of prayer, fearfully gone), my coldness in my whole conversation—chastisement with a cold; I fear that I have not improved my voice for God formerly as I might have done, and therefore he now takes it from me." He wrote long lamentations at the death of several lovely children in their infancy, and humbled himself with his bereavement. The churches sought his assistance in difficult matters and relied on his judgment; yet he felt his own unfitness for such service. "Sometimes I am ready to resolve to put forth myself no more in public work, but keep myself silent and unengaged, as I see others do." In view of death he "fell to admiring the manifold grace of God unto him, and exclaimed: 'Lord, thou callest me away to thee; I know not why, if I look to myself; but at thy bidding I come.'" When he was gone "it was feared there would be few more such ripe grapes to be seen growing in this unthankful wilderness." Mr. Sibley writes: "The universal sentiment and grief were expressed in several quaint epitaphs like the following:"

"*An epitaph upon the deplored death of that super-eminent minister of the gospel, Mr. Jonathan Mitchell.*

"Here lyes the darling of his time,
Mitchell, expired in his prime;
Who four years short of forty-seven
Was found full ripe and plucked for Heaven.
Was full of prudent zeal and love,
Faith, Patience, Wisdom from above;
New England's stay, next ages story,
The Churches Gemme; the colledge glory—
Angels may speak him; Ah! not I,
(Whose worth 's above hyperbole)
But for our loss, wer't in my power,
I'd weep an everlasting shower."

J. S.

"*Epitaphium.*

Here lies within this comprehensive span,
The Churches, Courts and Countries Jonathan,
He that speaks Mitchell, gives the school the lie,
Friendship in Him gained an ubiquity."

Vivet post funera virtus.

F. D.

It was more than three years before the church had another pastor. In the interim the pulpit was occupied by President Chauncy and others. In 1669, December 20, the town voted that "fifty pounds be paid to Mr. Chauncy and such as labor among us in preaching the word," and thirty pounds to "Mistris Mitchell." A year later forty-five pounds was voted to Mr. Chauncy and thirty to Mrs. Mitchell. The religious work of the church was carried on, although there was no pastor. In February, 1668–69, certain fitting men were appointed to catechize the youth of the town. The town was divided into districts for this purpose. In May, 1669, "The selectmen, taking into consideration, upon the complaint of some of the idleness and carelessness of sundry persons in the time of public worship, upon the Sabbath day, by keeping without the meeting-house, and there unprofitably spending their time, whereby God's name is dishonored,—they do order, for the time being, that the constable shall set a ward of one man during the time of public worship, one in the forenoon and another in the afternoon, to look unto such persons, that they do attend upon the public worship of God, that God's name and worship be not neglected nor profaned by the evil miscarriage of such persons." The town also improved the time and prepared for a new minister by building a parsonage. The ministers had hitherto lived in their own house. In 1669, July 5, a committee was appointed "to take present care to purchase or build a convenient house for the entertainment of the minister that the Lord may please to send us to make up the breach that his afflicting providence hath made in this place; and that the charge thereof be levied on the inhabitants, as is usual in proportion in the maintenance of the ministry." In the following September the church voted to sell its farm at Billerica, and that the proceeds be improved for the building of a house for the ministry. In the ancient church-book there is the record of a committee which was "chosen for that purpose, which tooke care for the same, and to that ende bought fower akers of land of widdow Beale to set the house upon, and in the yeare 1670 theare was a house earected upon the sayd land of 36 foote long and 30 foote broad; this house to remayne the church's and to be the dwelling place of such a minister and officer as the Lord shall be pleased to supply us withal, during the time hee shall supply the place amongst us. The chargis laid out for the purchas of the land and building of the house and barne, inclosing the orchyard and other accommodations to it:

	£	s.	d.
The purchas of the land in cash	40	0	0
The building and finishing the house	263	5	6
The building the barne	42	0	0
The inclosing the orchyard and yards, and repayring the fencis, building an office-house, and planting an orchyard with trees, and seeling some part of the house, and laying a duble floore on some part of it	27	1	10

The house was on the north side of Harvard Street, nearly opposite Chestnut, now (Plympton) Street, within the present college grounds, and on a glebe of four acres. We may follow the house-building a step further by copying another record.

"In the yeare 1676 the hall and hall-chamber were sealed, and another floore of bords was layed upon the chichin chamber. The particular chargis:

	£	s.	d.
20 busheles of lime and the feching it	1	1	8
800 of earth, 6^s 8^d, a bushel of hayer, 1^s	0	7	8
3 peckes of—it looks like—shreds, 1^s 6^d; lampblack, 8^d	0	2	2
3560 nails, 8^s, 10½^d	0	8	10½
The masons' worke	1	4	0
For brickes, and sand, and help to brick the kichen	4	6	4½

We may copy two other records which belong to this period.

March 6, 1668–9.	To Deacon Stone by a pair of shooes and a pound of sugar, because the deacon had silver though they cost him 4^s 6^d, had but	0	3	6
26, 4, 1670.	Payd in silver, by the apoyntment of the Comittee for the mynister house unto the deputie governor, Mr. Francis Willoughbly, by Deacon Stone and Thomas Chesholm, as appears by his discharg wch Deacn Stone hath for the discharg of Mr. Mitchell's funerall the sum of eight pounds, thirteen shillings, six pence. I say the sum of	8	13	6

In 1668, the year in which Mr. Mitchel died, the church invited Mr. William Stoughton, or Stoutton, as the old record gives it, to become the pastor. He graduated in the class of 1650, and afterwards studied divinity and preached in England with acceptance. He returned to New England in 1662, and was repeatedly asked to become the minister of Dorchester, his birth-place. Though he was "an able preacher and very pious," he was not "persuadable to take any office charge in any church." He was therefore "chosen into the magistracy, and he rendered much important service to the colony. His benefactions to the college exceeded those of any other person during the century." Not long before his death he erected a College Hall which took his name. This Hall was taken down in 1780, and in 1804–5 another Stoughton Hall was erected on a site nearer the north side of the yard. Failing to secure Mr. Stoughton as the minister, the church turned its eyes to one who had been favorably known as a student. The old record must tell the story. "After sume time of seeking God by prayer the Lord was pleased to guide the church to make theare application to Mr. Urian Oakes in Old England, which to further the same theare was a letter sent from the church with a messenger namely, Mr. William Manning with a letter; alsoe sent by seaverall magistrates and ministers to invite him to come over and be an officer amongst us, which he after counsell and advice did except but

devine providence did hinder him for that yeare by reason of a sickness the Lord was pleased to visit his wife withall and afterward tooke her away by death which hindered him for that yeare. The church the next yeare renewed againe theare call to him by another letter, but then he was hindered by an ague that he was long visited withall in the yeare 1670. Thease providences interfering, the church was in doupt wheather to waight any longer, but after sume debate the church was willing to waight till the spring in the yeare 1671, and then had an answer early in the yeare of his purpose to come over that summer, which was accomplished by the good providence of God, hee arriving in New England July the 3, 1671, and finding good acceptance both by the church and towne and in the country and joined a member with our church and was ordained pastur of our church November the eight 1671."

Urian Oakes was born in England about 1631, and was brought to New England in his childhood. He "was a lad of small, as he never was of great stature." But he seems to have been an amiable boy, for observers "make this reflection, If good nature could ever carry one to heaven, this youth has enough to carry him thither." He was precocious, and published "a little parcel of astronomical calculations." He graduated in 1649, and continued to reside at the college and board in Commons till 1653. "He returned into his native country about the time of the Rump." After serving for a time as chaplain to a person of note he was settled in the ministry at Tichfield, in Hampshire, where he labored with great devotion. In 1662 he was silenced with other non-Conformists; but after a time, "when the heat of the persecution was a little abated, he returned unto the exercise of his ministry." His friends here watched his course, and when the time came invited him to come back and be the minister of Cambridge. To this he consented, as we have seen, and as the "Magnolia" expresses it, "The good stork flew over the Atlantic Ocean to feed his dam." In the public records is an account of a meeting of the church and town to express thanks to Mr. Oakes for leaving England and coming hither, and the continued desire that he would join in fellowship here, that he might be made the pastor, and to entreat him to remove himself and his family into the new minister's house. The deacons were authorized to provide for his accommodation, and it was voted "that half a year's payment forthwith be made by every one, according to their yearly payment to the ministry; and the one-half of it to be paid in money, and the other in such pay as is suitable to the end intended." We have this record: "August the 9th 1671. Delivered to William Manning sixty pounds in silver to pay Mr. Prout toward the transportation of Mr. Urian Oakes, his family and goods, and other disbursements and for John Taylor his passage, I say payed him the just sum of 60*l*.0. 0. Let it be taken notice of that Mr. Prout does demand thirteen pounds more due to him." Another record shows that Mr. Prout's claim was satisfied: "Disbursed for Mr. Oakes' transportation from Old England with his family 73*l*." Mr. Oakes was ordained to the ministry here, November 8, 1671. The expenses of the ordination are worth mentioning for the light they throw on the customs of the times:

	£	s.	d.
It. 3 bushels of wheate	0	15	0
It. 2 bushels ½ of malt	0	10	0
It. 4 gallons of wine	0	18	0
It. for beefe	1	10	0
It. for mutton	1	4	9
It. for 30[l] of butter	0	15	0
It. for foules	0	14	9
It. for sugar, spice and fruite and other small things	1	0	0
It. for labour	1	8	6
It. for washing the table lining	0	6	0
It. for woode 7[s]	0	7	0
It. suit 7[li], 3[d].; bread 6[d]	0	9	0
	9	17	3

	£	s.	d.
Gathered by contribution of the church the Saboth before the ordination for the sayde occasion	4	7	1
And the remainder of the charge was defrayed out of the weekly contributions	5	10	2
	9	17	3

In 1673, Mr. Oakes preached the annual election sermon, in which he declared himself heartily "for all due moderation." "Many a man hath a good heart and affections under the bad conduct and ill steeridge of a very weak head. Nevertheless I must adde (as I have great reason) that I look upon an unbounded toleration as the first born of all abominations." He reminded his hearers that New England "is originally a plantation not for trade but for religion." Mr. Oakes was elected a fellow of the college soon after his ordination. After the death of Mr. Chauncy, Leonard Hoar, a clergyman and physician, was chosen president of the college. He was the first graduate to be placed in this exalted position, which has since always been filled by a graduate. President Hoar had not been in office long before trouble came to him. The account of them does not belong in this narration. But the man "who was last year highly courted to accept the place, was now by some wished out of it again." There soon came to be "uncomfortable notices and debates." The students took a strong dislike to the president, and did what they could to annoy and injure him. Cotton Mather says, they "turned cudweeds and set themselves to travestie whatever he did and said." "I can scarcely tell how," but he fell "under the displeasure of some that made a figure in the neighborhood. . . . In a day of temptation which was now upon them, several very good men did unhappily countenance the ungoverned youths in their ungovernableness." Mr. Oakes was closely connected with college affairs, but his relations to the president are not clearly defined. In 1673, with Thomas Shepard and two others, he resigned his seat in the corporation. He was re-elected, but did not

accept the appointment till March 15, 1675, the day on which President Hoar resigned. Mr. Oakes suffered much at the time of these difficulties in the college. "Mr. Oakes hath had a distemper hang upon him, which hath much weakened him, the greatest occasion of which is, I think, some exercise of mind." Governor Lovett adds that Mr. Oakes "thinks it is the remayne of his sickness long agoe in England. I have been afraid lest he may be of noe long continuance with us, but a graine of hopes that he may get over it." Mr. Oakes was asked to accept the presidency of the college. This he declined to do. He was asked to accept the office *pro tempore*. "In answer thereto he declared a deep sense of his unfitness for the work; yet, considering the present exigency the society was now in and confiding in the overseers seasonably to endeavor the settling a fit person for that work, manifesting his willingness to accept of that place for a time, God enabling by health and strength, and so far as his church consented." The Legislature "ordered an allowance of one hundred pounds in money by the year." In October, 1675, the General Court thanked him for his care and pains, and desired him "to continue his labors as President of the said College, which hath been, by the blessing of God, of so great advantage." "He did the services of a President even as he did all other services, faithfully, learnedly, indefatigably." In February, 1679–80, he was again unanimously chosen president by the fellows, and the House of Representatives voted that "for the better encouragement of himself and also of the church for providing help for carrying on that work, which hereby he may be in part diverted from, or need assistance, this Court doth order that fifty pounds per annum, in country pay, be allowed the Reverend Mr. Oakes, in the considerations aforesaid, over and above the hundred pounds in money already settled, provided he accept the presidentship." He finally consented to this persistent appeal and was inaugurated on Commencement Day, 1680. He was not to serve the college much longer. He had been long subject to a quartan ague, and "was at last seized with a malignant fever." "When he had lain sick about a day or two, . . . his church coming together with expectation to have the Lord's Supper on the Lord's Day administered unto them, to their horror found the pangs of death seizing their pastor, that should have broken to them the bread of life." The end came on the 25th of July, 1681, in the tenth year of his ministry here and in the fiftieth year of his age. He was borne to his grave in the ancient God's Acre. The memorial slab which marked the grave has been taken away for some ignoble use, but another stone, with an elaborate inscription in Latin, has supplied its place. There is one memento of his burial in an entry in the college books, where are "charges of £16 16*s*. 6*d*. for scarfs and gloves, and £8 14*s*. for twelve rings at Mr. Oakes' funeral." Increase Mather's testimony may stand for many which could be given: "It may, without reflection upon any, be truly said, that he was one of the greatest lights that ever shone in this part of the world, or that is ever like to arise in this horizon."

Mr. Oakes' ministry fell in disturbed times. Not only was the college in a disorganized state, but the Colony itself was in peril. The reading of Dr. Palfrey's "History of New England" will recall the continuous events which kept the whole community excited and alarmed. It was a day when every man who loved New England and believed in its liberty and loyalty was forced to do his best thinking. The men of Cambridge were not lacking in this. It is a part of the civil history, but it is a part of the ecclesiastical history also. The encroachments of the British government upon the privileges of the charter were unceasing A few months after Oakes' death the King declared his resolution to have the charter, with all its powers, "legally evicted and made void." In 1684 a decree was passed vacating the charter. "Massachusetts, as a body politic was no more. The elaborate fabric, that had been fifty-four years in building, was leveled with the dust." We have only to read of these things to know what ministers and people were saying and doing in those days which tried their souls.

There was much excitement, too, through the renewed activity of the Anabaptists and Quakers. Rev. Samuel Danforth, in a letter to his brother Thomas, in 1670, writes: "The truth is, matters are so circumstanced that a man can hardly come into any company and enter into any discourse, but before he is aware he finds himself in the like fan and sieve as that wherein Satan winnowed Peter in the high priest's hall." The views and teachings of Mr. Oakes on the limits of toleration have been already given. In June, 1671, just before the arrival of Mr. Oakes from England, the freemen of Cambridge presented to the General Court a long memorial, in which they recited their afflictions because of Quakers, Anabaptists and Familists, and petitioned "that the laws here established against the wicked practices of these obstinate offenders may be fully executed, all discontentments that may tend to give any discouragements thereto notwithstanding."

The witchcraft delusion, which had its centre in Salem and thence spread widely, was at a period later than that we are reviewing. There was trouble from this cause here, as in other places. A woman "crazed, distracted and broken in mind" was imprisoned on suspicion, but was acquitted when tried. A woman named Kendal was accused and put to death through false witness. But as early as 1659 there had been trouble here. The widow Winifred Holman and her daughter, Mary, who lived where the Botanic Garden now is, were accused by her opposite neighbor, John Gibson, and his wife and son and daughter. A war-

rant was issued for the arrest of the Holmans, but there is no account of their trial, and it is probable that no indictment could be found against them. But they were not content with this termination of the matter, and they brought suit against their accusers for defamation and slander. The church came to their help. Deacons John Bridge and Gregory Stone and others certified that Winifred Holman was well known to them, and that she "is diligent in her calling, and frequents public preaching and gives diligent attention thereunto." Judgment was given against the mother, but the daughter sustained her case against John Gibson, Jr., and he was required to acknowledge that he had "wronged and scandalously slandered her," or else to pay her five pounds. He chose to make the acknowledgment and to have her forgiveness of his trespass. Those who wish to read the mass of wearisome testimony are referred to Dr. Paige's "History of Cambridge."

As we pass from the third minister of the church we may set at the line of transition a portion of the elegy which he composed in memory of one whom he describes as "that reverent, learned, eminently pious, and singularly accomplished divine, my ever-honored brother, Mr. Thomas Shepard, the late faithful and worthy teacher of the Church of Christ, at Charlestown, in New England:

"Oh! that I were a poet now in grain!
How would I invocate the muses all
To deign their presence, lend their flowing vein,
And help to grace dear Shepard's funeral!
How would I paint our griefs, and succors borrow
From art and fancy, to limn out our sorrow!

Cambridge groans under this so heavy cross,
And sympathizes with her sister dear—
Renews her grief afresh for her old loss
Of her own Shepard, and drops many a tear—
Cambridge and Charlestown now joint mourners are,
And this tremendous loss between them share."

It has seemed best to make this narrative of the early history of Cambridge somewhat full, because it is the beginning of a long course of events, and the remoteness of the time gives a special interest to all which is connected with it. From this point the record must be more general. But for nearly eighty years longer the ecclesiastical history of Cambridge is the history of one church and is, therefore, in good measure, the property of all the churches which have gathered around it.

In the old church-book good Deacon Cooper places this among "severall providencis of God to the church of Cambrigd:" "Mr. Oakes, our pastor, being chosen to be president of the college about a year before his death, it pleased the Lord to guide our church to give Mr. Nathaniel Gookin a call to be helpful in the ministry in order to call him to office in time convenient, which some time after our pastor's death our church did give him a call to the office of pastor which call he did accept of and was ordained pastor of our church November 15, 1682. Also, there were ordained the same day two Ruling Elders of our church, namely, Deacon John Stone and Mr. Jonas Clarke, to the office of Ruling Elders."

The account of the ordination expenses resembles that which has been given in the case of a former minister. It includes: "Provision for 80 persons. For burnt wine, sugar, brandy before dinner. Wine for the messengers in the morning; for cakes and rosewater, loaf sugar and spice, butter and pork." The total cost was £13 14*s.* 2*d.* The Rev. Nathaniel Gookin was a son of Major-General Daniel Gookin, the associate of the Apostle Eliot in his labors for the Indians, and a man distinguished for his integrity and benevolence. The son was born in Cambridge, October 22, 1656. He graduated in 1675. He was, therefore, twenty-six years old when he was ordained. Less is known of him than of the other ministers of the church. The records of his time are very incomplete. It is strong testimony to his ability and character that he was called to be the associate of President Oakes, and was afterwards placed over the church. Judge Sewall gives an account of the ordination: "Mr. Sherman ordains Mr. Nath. Gookin pastor of Camb. Church. Mr. Eliot gives the right hand of fellowship, first reading the Scripture that warrants it. Mr. Sherman, Eliot and Mather laid on hands. Then Mr. Gookin ordained Deac. Stone and Mr. Clarke Ruling Elders. The presence of God seemed to be with his people. Mr. Jona. Danforth, the Deputy Governor's only son, lay by the wall, having departed on Monday morning (13th) of a consumption."

Mr. Gookin married Hannah, the daughter of Habijah Savage, who was the grandson of the noted Ann Hutchinson. Mr. Gookin was a fellow of Harvard College. His son and grandson were successively ministers of Hampton, N. H., and were highly commended for their worth and work. Of the latter it is said that he was "both ways descended from those who have been stars of the first magnitude."

There are not many traces of the ministry of our Mr. Gookin. There is an account of the money paid him from time to time for his services. The amounts vary, being sometimes less than a pound, at other times ten pounds or more. There is a record of the contributions on the Sabbath. The sum collected in this way was usually about one pound. Of the pastor's salary about fifty pounds appears to have been collected in the church. It is interesting to notice the care which was taken of the poor. Contributions for their relief—and frequently for a single person—were made on the Sabbath. We have the careful record of the sums raised and the uses to which they were applied. There were collections occasionally for the redemption of captives. At one period "the scholars" made their contribution, which was entered by itself and appropriated, according to their wish, for the benefit of the minister. The students' contribution is only found, however, in the interval after Mr. Gookin's death. These items are signifi-

cant. Contributions were taken in 1683 for Joseph Green, in 1684 for Moses Eyers, in 1685 for Thomas Gould, who were in "Turkey slavery." In 1686 there was a collection for poor Frenchmen who had come here for shelter, and in 1692 for "York captives with the Indians." In 1686 seven pounds were given to John Parker, at the "Village," whose house had been burned. Another contribution was for the relief of Widow Crackbone and her son, "her being distracted." In 1689 Widow Arrington and her family, "they being under the afflicting hand of God, her sons were taken away by death, and her daughter and a grandchild." The sum in cash was £6 18*s*. The sum in common pay was £1 2*s*. 6*d*.

In 1680 statistical returns were made by a committee in response to an order of the General Court,—121 families were reported, and 169 ratable polls, or males sixteen years of age. The annual allowance to the pastor is given as £51 in money; in goods and provisions £78 13*s*.; "Sum is £129 13*s*. 0*d*., with his dwelling in the house built for the ministry, with four acres of land adjoining thereunto; also about twenty loads of wood annually carried to his house." That was for Mr. Oakes. In June, 1680, it was voted to give Mr. Gookin £100 for that year and to pay the remainder to Mr. Oakes. June 28, 1680, it was "Voted and agreed that five hundred acres of the remote lands, lying between Oburne, Concord and our head-line, shall be laid out for the use and benefit of the ministry of this town and place, and to remain to that use forever." In 1682 the "Farmers" who were living in what is now Lexington complained that they were too far from the church, the nearest of them being five miles distant, and petitioned the General Court that they might be set off as a separate parish. Cambridge made opposition and the petition was refused. It was made again in 1684, and yet again in 1691, when it was granted, and the "Farmers" were allowed "to provide for themselves a person that may be meet and able to dispense unto them the word of God." A separate service was soon established, but it was not till 1696 that a church was formed and a minister ordained.

Nothing of marked importance seems to have been done in the town during Mr. Gookin's pastorate. Mr. Mitchel was still kindly remembered, for in 1687 a grant of ten pounds was made to "Mistress Mitchel." The corporation of the college in 1691 appropriated five pounds toward the repairing of the meeting-house, "provided that this present allowance shall not be drawn into a precedent for the future, and that the selectmen shall renounce all expectation of such a thing for the future." But if things were quiet in the town there was enough abroad to engross the minds of the people, for in this time James II. ascended the throne and entered on his troubled and bloody reign, to be thrust down and driven out when William and Mary assumed the crown at the hands of the people, and brought in a new era, with new liberties for these Colonies. The "Glorious Revolution" must have stirred the subjects of the English throne who were 3000 miles away, and must have entered into the thanksgiving and the preaching and talking along the streets, and in the church and the home. In 1689 the new sovereigns were proclaimed in Boston with much ceremony. Doubtless Cambridge was there, bearing its part in all which was done. Then followed the war with the French and Indians, in which the Cambridge people shared the common burden and peril. In Massachusetts, in connection with the expedition against Canada, in 1690, the first paper money was issued by the Colonies. It was a curiosity which the students and towns-people must have seen and talked about.

Meanwhile the minister's work went on. In a small, oblong, leather-covered book, now the property of the Shepard Historical Society, and having in it the names of Joseph Baxter, of the class of 1693, and Benjamin Collman, of the class of 1692, afterwards the first minister of the Brattle Street Church in Boston, are reports of sermons preached by Mr. Gookin in 1690, when these young men were in college. Occasionally there is the report of a sermon by some other preacher. The sermons were on thoughtful, vigorous themes, and we may believe were worthy of the preacher and his hearers. In doctrine they were in accord with the faith of the churches. Mr. Gookin seems to have attended closely to his personal work, and not to have been diverted from it by public affairs.

At length we come upon this entry in the old book: "Mr. Nathaniel Gookin, our pastor, departed this life 7th day of August, 1692, being the Sabbath day at night, about nine or ten o'clock at night." It must, however, have been the 14th of August that the end came. The record was made some time after the event, and continues: "Elder Clark departed this life 14th January, 1699 or 1700, being the Sabbath day. Our pastor Mr. Nathaniel Gookin's wife, Hannah, died 14th day of May, 1702, and was buried 16th day of May at the town's charge." Her grave is in the old burying-ground and is plainly marked; the grave of Mr. Gookin is not now marked, but a monument by the side of his wife's, from which the inscription has crumbled away, is supposed to cover the spot where the fourth minister of the Cambridge Church was buried. In the November after his death, at a public meeting of the inhabitants of the town, it was voted that "the selectmen should make a money-rate to pay the expenses and defray the charges, which amounted to about £18 in money, of our Pastor Gookin's funeral charges."

We close the record of this brief life with entries in Judge Sewall's diary—"Monday, August 15, Mr. Joseph Eliot comes in and tells me the amazing news of the Rev^{d}. Mr. Nathaniel Gookin's being dead; 'tis even as sudden to me as Mr. Oakes' death. He was one of our best Ministers, and one of the best friends I had left.

"August 16, 1692. I went to the Fast at Roxbury and from thence to the Funeral of Mr. Gookin. Mr. Mather, Allen, Morton, Willard, Bayly, Hobart, Bearers. Has left a Widow, a Son and Daughter."

After the death of Mr. Gookin the pulpit was filled by various preachers. We have a long list of their names, with the amount paid to each. Among the names are Mr. Mather and Mr. Brattle. The amount paid for a single sermon was ten shillings; for a whole day's service one pound was the regular stipend. The gifts of the students seem to have been added to the amount granted by the people. There is a pleasant record which tells us that during this interval Mr. Increase Mather preached much, and gave his pay to Mrs. Hannah Gookin, widow. She was also paid for entertaining the ministers who preached at this time. The Rev. Increase Mather was unanimously invited to assume the pastoral care of the church; but the people among whom he had labored for thirty-six years were not willing to release him, and this, with other obstacles to his removal, led him to decline the proposal. But it is a sign of the importance and standing of the church, that it dared look so high for a minister, and call a man of Mr. Mather's prominence.

After the office had been vacant for four years, the Rev. William Brattle was invited to become the minister of the church, and he accepted the call. He had supplied the pulpit after Mr. Gookin's death and he was ordained as the minister November 25, 1696. He was thirty-four years old and came of a wealthy and prominent family. He graduated in 1680, and was afterwards tutor and fellow in the college. He was one of the first to be made Bachelors of Divinity. In 1688–89, he was in Europe with his friend Samuel Sewall, who wished to be with Mr. Mather, who was seeking to advance the interests of the Colony, which was without a charter or a settled government. Judge Sewall's diary has records of the visit: "February 7th. Mr. Brattle showed me Gresham College, by Mr. Dubois his kindness and cost.

"February 11th. Mr. Brattle and I went to Covent Garden and heard a Consort of Musick.

"July 8th. Went with Mr. Brattle and swam in the Thames, went off from the Temple Stairs, and had a wherry to wait on us. . . . I think it hath been healthful and refreshing to me."

The church records are complete from the time of Mr. Brattle's accession. He made an entry of the day when he "succeeded the Rev. Mr. Nathaniel Gookin, and was ordained a minister of Jesus Christ and a pastor to the flock at Cambridge, November 25, 1696, per the Rev. Mr. Inc. Mather. The Rev. Mr. Morton, Mr. Allen and Mr. Willard laid on hands. The Rev. Mr. Sam[l] Willard gave the right hand of fellowship. *Deus sit gloria*, Amen." He preached his own ordination sermon from the words, "I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase." A sermon was preached on the same occasion by Mr. Mather from Revelation i. 16: "And he had in his right hand seven stars." Mr. Brattle's independence was shown in his refusal to have an elder, who was a layman, join in the laying on of hands. The charges of the ordination are entered as about £20. There was "laid out about the repairing of the ministerial house for Mr. Brattle £10 18[s] 8[d]." The salary of the minister had been fixed after Mr. Gookin's death, when the town voted "to give to the next minister that the church and town shall settle among them ninety pounds per annum, in money, so long as he shall carry on the work of the ministry in Cambridge." In 1712–13 it was "voted, that the sum of ten pounds per annum be added to the salary of the ministry in this part of the town, instead of the annual custom of carting of wood; so that the said salary is an hundred pound per annum." But the custom of carting wood to the parsonage was not entirely abandoned at that time. There are long lists of the donors of wood. In 1697 Mr. Brattle received twenty-two loads, and he usually received more than that till the custom was changed. There are also accounts of wood for which he paid. There is in 1697 a long list of donations headed: "Sent in since November 3d, the day that I was married." The list extended through more than a year, and is composed of articles for his table, with the names of the givers and the value of their gifts. The beginning is in this way:

"Goody Gove, 1 pd. Fresh Butter, 8[d].; Mrs. Bordman, 1 pd. Fr. Butter, 8[d].; Doct. Oliver a live Pork, 2[s].; Sarah Ferguson, 1 pig, 1[s]. 9[d]." The Cutter Genealogy has a list of gifts to Mr. Brattle, in '97, including from Mrs. Amsdel a "rib-spair of pork."

There are in the records accounts of similar donations afterwards. His private affairs are closely associated with his public relations, and we have another account which is entitled: "Housekeeping Dr., since we were married November 3, 1697." The list opens with "2 powthering Tubs, 9[s].; 1 Tub of Beef 154 pds. salted October 29, £1 18[s]. 6[d].; wine w[n] married and wine to 7[th] day, £3; Bear 19[s]. 6[d]."

At the end of the church-book are various statements regarding the minister's gardening, the weather, etc. Of 1697 we read, "The winter this year was a very severe winter for cold and snow. The ground was covered with snow from the beginning of December to the middle of March; many snows one upon another; in February it was judged to be three foot and a half deep on a level." "Charlestown ferry was frozen up so that the boat did not go over once from January 17 to February 28, in which time I rode over upon the ice." The summer following this hard winter was a very fruitful summer. In February and March, 1700, he was planting his garden.

In 1696–97 there was important action by the church concerning the reception of members. The subject occasioned much discussion. The result was, in brief, that persons desiring to enter the church should be excused, if they so desired, from a public

relation of their religious experience, and should privately give satisfaction to the elders regarding their religious character. The minister was to state to the church the ground of his satisfaction with the candidates some time before they were to be admitted, and they were to be propounded in public, that if any one knew any reason which should justly bar them from communion he could privately inform the elders. The vote of the church upon receiving persons who had been duly propounded was to be taken by "handy vote, or silence, or any other indifferent sign," at the discretion of the elders. Those who were accepted by the church were publicly to make "profession of their faith and repentance in their covenanting with God." This method does not differ essentially from that which is now employed in Congregational Churches. It leaves the whole matter with the church, and the application of the general principles will depend upon the spirit of each church in each case. During Mr. Brattle's ministry of twenty years, 364 persons were admitted to the church; 724 children were baptized.

In February, 1700, Mr. Brattle was "taken sick of a feaver," and was "very ille, near to death." In about a fortnight he was able to be out—"*Deo sit gloria.* Amen." He was often interrupted during his ministry by pains and languishments. At length the end came to him, also. February 15, 1716–17, "The Rev^{d}. Mr. Brattle, Pastur of the church of Christ in Cambridge, departed this life." He had borne his sufferings "with great patience and resignation, and died with peace and an extraordinary serenity of mind." "He was greatly honored at his interment." It was the day of "The Great Snow," and the principal magistrates and ministers were detained here for several days.

Let Judge Sewell give his account of these events: "1716–17, February 15, 6. The Rev^{d}. Mr. William Brattle died last night at midnight. He was a Father to the Students of Harvard College and a Physician, My Fast Friend. I wish it be not portentous that Two such great men should fall in one week. *Deus avertat omen.*" The reference is to the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, of Boston, who died on the 13th.

"Febr. 16, 7. Is a great Storm of Snow and Sleet, so that the burying of Mr. Pemberton is put off to Monday, and notice sent accordingly. Feb. 18, 2. Great storm of snow; yet good going under foot. Mr. Pemberton is buried between 4 and 5, in Mr. Willard's Tomb. Feb. 20. . . . About ½ an hour past one my son and I set out for Mr. Brattle's Funeral in Capt. Belcher's slay; got thither in good time. Bearers, President Mr. Auger, Mr. Hancock, Mr. Wadsworth, Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Stephens. Scarves and Rings. Governour and Govr. Dudley went first; Govr. Usher and Sewall 2d. Were many ministers there; Mr. Rogers and Fitch, from Ipswich, came home from the Burying-place. Cousin Elithrop drove. Got home very seasonably. Another snow coming on. *Laus Deo.* Feb. 21, 5. Extraordinary storm of snow; yet many were at Lecture to hear Mr. Colman preach the Funeral Sermon of Mr. Pemberton and Mr. Brattle, from Jno. 9: 4. Compared Mr. Pemberton to Elijah; Mr. Brattle to Moses. After Lecture the storm increases much, grows more vehement." Mr. Brattle remembered the church in his last testament: "As a close to this part of my will, it is my desire to consecrate, and with humility I bequeath and present to the Church of Christ in Cambridge (my dearly beloved flock), for a Baptismal Basin, my great silver basin, an inscription upon which I leave to the prudence of the Reverend President and the Rev. Mr. Simon Bradstreet."

The character of Mr. Brattle was held in general esteem. He was a man of marked politeness and courtesy, of compassion and charity. He had a large estate and he scattered his gifts with a liberal hand, yet without ostentation. He was patient and pacific in his temper, and "seemed to have equal respect to good men of all denominations." "With humility he united magnanimity; and was neither bribed by the favor nor overawed by the displeasure of any man." He was of "an austere and mortified life, yet candid and tolerant towards others." He had great learning and ability, and bore a high reputation as a preacher. His manner in the pulpit was "calm and soft and melting." His sermons show that he was thoroughly of the Puritan school in theology; yet in ecclesiastical usages he was liberal. When the Brattle Street Church was founded in Boston, by men who sought larger liberties in the ordering of their ecclesiastical affairs, the movement enlisted his sympathy. When Mr. Colman was called to this Manifesto Church, Mr. Brattle wrote to him: "As for my own part, I shall account it a smile from heaven upon the good design of these gentlemen, if you can send them answer of peace." Of himself he wrote in 1715: "I can't but look upon myself as a standing instance of the infinite power and infinite goodness of God." His friend, Mr. Colman, said of him: "They that had the happiness to know Mr. Brattle knew a very religious, good man, an able divine, a laborious, faithful minister, an excellent scholar, a great benefactor, a wise and prudent man, and one of the best of friends. The promotion of religion, learning, virtue and peace everywhere within reach was his very life and soul, the great business in which he was constantly employed, and in which he principally delighted. Like his good Lord and Master, he went (or sent) about doing good. His principles were sober, sound, moderate, being of a catholic and pacific spirit."

His relation to the college has been mentioned. In the absence of President Mather in England "the administration of the college," writes Mr. Sibley, "was carried on by the Tutors, John Leverett and William Brattle. . . . These two wise and efficient officers appear to have constituted the whole

College Faculty, and to have had almost exclusive direction of the studies and discipline." After the death of his brother, in 1713, Mr. Brattle, who was his sole executor, acted as treasurer of the college for two years, "and in 1715 delivered to his successor nearly three thousand eight hundred pounds of personal estate, and a real estate yielding two hundred and eighty pounds."

A little is known of Mr. Brattle's life in smaller matters. He was a singer. Judge Sewall has an entry in 1701: "I went to the Manifesto Church. . . . They sang the second part of the sixty-ninth Psalm. Mr. Brattle set it to Windsor tune." At an earlier date Mr. Brattle sets Oxford tune.

In 1708 the judge remonstrates with Mr. Henry Flint regarding the application of saint to the apostles and evangelists. "He argued that saying Saint Luke was an indifferent thing; and 'twas commonly used; and therefore he might do it. Mr. Brattle used it."

Again, he cites Mr. Brattle as one of the men who had respect to nature and did not cut off their hair and put on a wig. In 1702 he had this cheerful entry: "Mr. Brattle came to us and smoked a pipe."

The town records give us the close: "6th February, 1716–17. At a meeting of the inhabitants orderly convened, voted, that the charges for wines, scarfs, and gloves for the bearers at the funeral of our late Pastor, Rev. Mr. William Brattle, be defrayed by the town, under the direction of the deacons and selectmen."

There are here and there in the public records items of more or less interest in connection with the church. There is a vote that a pew be made and set up in the southwest corner of the meeting-house for the family of the minister; Mr. John Leverett and Dr. James Oliver have convenient places provided for their families. Here is a tax ordered, payable in money, for repairing the meeting-house, ringing the bell and sweeping. The little meeting-house bell was given to the farmers and a new one was received from Captain Andrew Belden, who received thanks in return. The school-house was ordered to be rebuilt. A public contribution was taken for the relief of sufferers of a recent fire. A grant was made to Mrs. Hannah Gookin to pay her house-rent in 1701. The selectmen, with the consent of the pastor, who was deeply interested in the transaction, were "empowered to rent about five hundred acres of land laid out for the ministry, so that it shall become profitable to the university." Then, in February, 1703, at a town meeting, it is voted "that the inhabitants apprehend it necessary at this time to proceed to the building a new meeting-house, and in order thereunto there was chosen" a committee of seven, "to consider of the model and charge of building said meeting-house, and report of the same to the inhabitants." In 1706 the third meeting-house was built on or near the site of the second, and the first service in it was held on the 13th of October in that year. The corporation of the college voted £60 towards the building of this house, and instructed Mr. Leverett and the treasurer to "take care for the building of a pew for the President's family," and about the students' seats; "the charge of the pew to be defrayed out of the college treasury."

There was, in 1722, special interest in the church, when "Mr. Judah Monis, a Jew by birth and education, being converted to the Christian faith, owned the covenant, and was baptized and declared a member in full communion with the Church of Christ, after a prayer and discourse made by Mr. Colman, from John v. 46, and a discourse of his own from Psalm cxvi. 10, answering the common objections of the Jews against Christ's being already come, and giving a confession of his faith in the close. Sang part of the 110th Psalm, which solemnity was performed in the College Hall. *Soli Deo Gloria.*" Mr. Monis was a useful member of the church, and a fund left by him is still used for the benefit of the widows and children of Congregational ministers. He was an instructor in the college from 1722 to 1760. "All the students, except the freshmen, were obliged to attend, four days in the week, the exercises of Judah Monis, a converted Jew, who was instructor in Hebrew, unless specially exempted."

The period we have just been reviewing presents many events which must have engaged the minds of the good people here. Queen Mary died in 1694, and William III. in 1702. In 1697 the peace of Ryswick closed the war between England and France. The next reign was largely occupied by the "War of the Spanish succession." Thus even this country was for twenty-five years preceding the peace of Utrecht kept in the commotion of war, which reached this side of the sea. A large part of the men were in actual service, while those at home were compelled to guard their houses and families against treacherous foes. It is estimated that during these wars not less than eight thousand of the young men of New England and New York fell in battle or by disease contracted in the service. Most of the households mourned for friends dead or carried into cruel captivity. It was a gloomy time; the resources of the country were greatly reduced, fields were untilled, towns lay in ashes. The reign of Anne was marked by the constitutional union of England and Scotland, which ended the prolonged contest between those countries. The reign was marked, also, by its progress in science and literature. It was the time of Addison, Steele, Pope, Swift, Locke and Newton. Some of the glories and advantages of England's "Augustan Age" were enjoyed in the New England.

We return to our own modest history. After Mr. Brattle's death the church proceeded carefully to select a man who should enter into the place he had left vacant. A meeting of the church was held April 19, 1717. President Leverett opened the meeting

with prayer. After deliberation nominations were in order, and three clergymen were proposed for the office to be filled: Henry Flint, Jabez Fitch and Nathaniel Appleton. A ballot was taken and Mr. Appleton was found to have thirty-eight votes and Mr. Flint eight. An effort was made to make the vote unanimous by a hand ballot, and all but two are said to have lifted up their hands. "The moderator concluded the meeting with returning thanks to God for the peaceable and comfortable management of the affairs of the church. *Laus Deo.*" The election gave great pleasure to the corporation of the college, who chose the new minister to be a fellow in Mr. Brattle's place, not even waiting for his ordination.

Mr. Appleton was born at Ipswich December 9, 1693, and was the son of the Hon. John Appleton, one of the King's Council, and for more than twenty years a judge of Probate in Essex County. His mother was the eldest daughter of the Reverend President Rogers. He graduated in 1712, and, although receiving generous proposals to enter into business, adhered to his purpose to prepare himself for the ministry. He was ordained pastor of the church October 9, 1717. Dr. Increase Mather preached on the occasion from Ephesians iv. 12, and gave the charge. Dr. Cotton Mather extended the right hand of fellowship. Mr. Angier, of Watertown, and Mr. Rogers, of Ipswich, joined them in the laying on of hands. This was the beginning of a ministry which reached into its sixty-seventh year, the longest which the church has known. The written records of his labors as pastor comprise little more than long lists of persons received to the church, of adults and children baptized and of persons married. The summing up gives us 2048 children baptized and 90 adults. There were 784 admitted to the fellowship of the church. But figures give but a poor idea of the work of so long a ministry and of its results.

His connection with the college continued until 1779—more than sixty years. He filled the office of fellow with fidelity and discretion, and essentially promoted the interests of this "important seminary." At the commencement in 1771 the college conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, in consideration of his "having been long an ornament to the pastoral character, and eminently distinguished for his knowledge, wisdom, sanctity of manners and usefulness to the churches, and having for more than fifty years exerted himself in promoting the interests of piety and learning in this society, both as a minister and as a Fellow of the Corporation." This honor was the more marked in that it had only once been conferred, and that instance was seventy-eight years before, when Increase Mather was the recipient.

Traces of his faithfulness as a minister are to be seen through the church records, with the mention of events which concerned his relation to the church.

We come upon his vigilance in 1731 and afterwards, when certain persons had fallen into open sin. In February, 1734–35, the church and congregation met in solemn assembly and spent the forenoon in prayer and preaching. The sermon was from Ezra xiv. 5, 6. In the afternoon several votes were passed, expressing the apprehension of a sad decay of piety, and rehearsing the many ways in which persons had proved false to their covenant, and run into innumerable temptations and hazarded their souls. They feared that these evils resulted from a neglect to watch over one another, as they had covenanted to do. With deep contrition they promised to amend their lives, to discountenance sinful practices, and to deny themselves even their lawful liberty to prevent others from stumbling. They promised to be watchful and helpful. They voted, finally, that a suitable letter should be prepared by the pastor and sent to the inn-holders and retailers of ardent spirits, exhorting them to do all they could to prevent intemperance, gaming or any disorder at their houses. These general measures do not seem to have been sufficiently effective, for two years later, at a meeting of the church, a committee was appointed to consult with the pastor "about such measures as shall be thought most likely under the Divine blessing to reform the growing disorders that are among us." The committee in its report advised that nine of the brethren be appointed "to inspect and observe the manners of professing Christians, and such as are under the care and watch of this church." They were to inquire into any sinful and disorderly behavior of which they might hear, and administer admonition with faithfulness and tenderness. If such private treatment did not succeed, they were to advise with the pastor about more public action. In the case of such open and scandalous offences as required the notice of the church, they were to bring the matter properly before the church. But the appointment of the committee was not to excuse other Christians from the usefulness to which they were pledged. The committee was appointed and entered upon its work. The plan appears to have worked well, for year by year afterwards we have a record like this: "The brethren voted to choose a Committee to inspect the manners of professing Christians, etc., according to the method agreed upon April 19, 1737." The church was evidently striving to fulfill its own obligations, and at the same time not to encroach on the freedom of any person. The offences were real, would be real now, and there was an honest effort to bring them to an end.

Another matter entering largely into the records concerns the lands belonging to the church. These have already been mentioned more than once. There is a catalogue signed "N. A.," and entitled "Lands belonging to the Church and Congregation in Cambridge for the Use of the Ministry." The list includes three small lots of four, eight and three acres, and a lot of forty acres in Menotomy, called Bare Hill. Besides these there was a lot of twenty acres in

Newton, "the gift of Mr. Thomas Beale to the church of Christ in this place and town of Cambridge, whereof he was a member." There was, also, a farm of five hundred acres at the farther end of Lexington, towards Bedford, given in former time by the proprietors of the town for the use of the ministry. It was found expedient early in Mr. Appleton's ministry to sell the land in Newton and Lexington. The proceeds of the former were invested in bonds, and the income was to be used as the church should direct. Of the money received for the Lexington lands, £130 was reserved for the erection of a parsonage; the rest was applied to the purposes of the original donation. Inasmuch as the proceeds of the Lexington farm were to be for the minister's benefit, he made an arrangement with the town whereby he was to receive two-thirds of the interest which accrued from the investments of the money received by the sale of the land. The remaining third was to be added, by the minister's proposal, to the principal. The fund was to be in the hands of a treasurer nominated by the minister and approved by the town. Mr. Appleton solemnly charged the people of the parish to abide strictly by the arrangement which had been made, and never suffer the third of the interest to be applied to any other use than the increasing of the fund. He expressed the hope that no successor of his in the ministry would ever desire or demand more than two-thirds of the interest money. "Nay, let me add, what some of you may easily compute, that by keeping this vote and agreement, of adding one-third of the interest to the principal, sacred and inviolable, that by the 3d or 4th generation it will of itself afford a comfortable and decent support for a minister, without any tax upon the people."

We can trace this matter further. The minister of 1800 writes that this fund, by its own accumulation, and by the addition of the product of ministerial lands sold in 1795, has become greatly auxiliary to the support of the ministry. From time to time a committee was appointed to examine into the state of the church stock of moneys, bonds or notes in the hands of the deacons. In 1773 such a committee made a long report, in which they recommended that, after allowing the funds to increase by interest for fourteen years, for the next fifteen years one-third of the interest should be used for the support of the ministry, and that after that time two-thirds of the fund should be employed in this way, and the remainder added to the principal. In order that the fund might be further increased, the committee recommended, also, to the members of the church that, whenever they came together "to commemorate the death and sufferings of Him who spared not to shed His precious blood for us, they would express their thankful remembrance of the benefit they have received, by cheerfully contributing a small part of the substance with which God has blessed them for the important purposes of continuing and spreading amongst mankind that pure and undefiled religion which Christ appeared on earth to propagate." They entered into an elaborate statement "to show that a very small part of our substance, properly applied, would produce a very considerable effect" in enlarging the resources of the church.

The church records present various matters which were of importance in their day and are still interesting. We have Mr. Appleton's wood account, beginning in 1729: "My good friends and neighbors have, for several years past, in the fall of the year, brought me a considerable quantity of wood gratis, some years between thirty and forty loads, sometimes above forty loads, which good and laudable custom, that had been dead for some years before the Reverend Mr. Brattle's death, was revived by good Father Pattin about ten years ago, and continued by the friendship of the people." Then follow the names of the donors year by year, with the quantity of their gifts. In 1732 the people of the northwesterly part of the town were formed into a separate precinct, and in 1739 a church was gathered there. To this new church the church here gave £25 "to furnish their communion-table in a decent manner." In 1731 and 1734 additions were made to the communion service of the church here by private gifts. In 1740 "the Hon. Jacob Wendell, Esq., from his regard to this place," presented "to the minister of the first church, for the time being, a large handsome Bible for the use of the church," and the gift was suitably acknowledged.

There was another change in regard to the method of receiving members. Those who wished had already been excused from a public recital of their religious experience. In 1757, at a church-meeting, "some of the honorable brethren of the church moved that for the future it might not be insisted upon with such who should be admitted into the church to come forth and stand in the front alley or aisle at the time of their admission; alleging that it was disagreeable and surprising to some persons, and had been offered by way of objection by some persons, and had been such a stumbling-block to them as to prevent their offering themselves for admission; and considering it was but a mere circumstantial thing, and a matter of indifference, and considering also that the practice of other churches allowed persons to stand in their own proper places, all the time of admission. Therefore, the brethren agreed to leave the matter to the discretion of the pastor, at the same time manifesting that they did not insist upon the standing in the aisle or alley, and that they should be well satisfied if they appeared in any of the seats or pews that joined upon the front alley, so as to be fairly before the pastor and in view of the assembly; and to this no one of the brethren offered the least objection, although they were desired to do it if they had any objection to offer." This action marks the willingness of the church to regard the

wishes of each person in all matters which had not a distinct and essential religious character.

We are brought in our survey to the days of the Revolution. As early as 1765 the people of the town had formally instructed their representatives to give no aid to the operation of the Stamp Act, but to do all they could for its repeal. They ordered that their action should be recorded in the town-books, "that the children yet unborn may see the desire that their ancestors had for their freedom and happiness." The part which Cambridge had in the events of the weary, costly, glorious years which followed is not to be told here. Cambridge was long the headquarters of the American army, and the meeting-house stood in the midst of stirring scenes. It opened its doors and extended its kind offices to the soldiers who mustered around it. There Washington and his companions in arms came to worship. There the delegates from the towns of the States met in 1779 and framed the Constitution of the Commonwealth, which the next year was ratified by the people. The preaching of the pastor, his prayers, those of his church, glowed with patriotic fire. We know the men. Here in 1774, when public and private affairs wear a gloomy aspect, they are found keeping a day of humiliation and prayer, as in other places. Yet they kept up the work of the church, for on this very Fast Day they chose two deacons.

There is a glimpse at the times in the simple receipts which are in the church-book, signed by the minister in acknowledgement of his salary. There is one when he received £3. 2*s.* in Continental bills, which, "although they are exceedingly depreciated yet, considering the contributions and subscriptions they have afforded for my relief, and considering the additional grant they have made to my salary for 1778, I accept of this in full for my salary for the year 1777." His salary had been £100, and could not have been greatly increased, yet the next year he gave a receipt for £600, and the next for £750, and in 1783 for £2000 paper currency, and £25 silver currency. There is a touching pathos in the statement by the good man as he took his bills and called them money, "although they are greatly depreciated."

He was close upon ninety years of age. We find the fact of his advanced years creeping quietly into the records. 1777, April 25: "Whereas our Rev. and very aged pastor is at present under such bodily infirmities as to render it doubtful whether he will be able to administer the sacrament on the approaching Sabbath, voted, in such case, it is agreeable and is the desire of this church that the Hon. and Rev. President Langdon should administer the same, and at any other time when necessary occasion calls for it." The following Thursday was to have been a day of "Public Fasting and Prayer," but "the aged pastor, through bodily disorders was unable to carry on the services of the Fast, neither could help be obtained, so that there was no public service on the Fast." By 1782 the people had come to talk seriously of the need of "a more fixed and settled provision for the preaching and administering the gospel ordinances among them," and it was decided by the church that it was desirable to settle another minister if the right man could be procured, and the parish committee was desired to consult the parish in regard to the matter. We have Mr. Appleton's record of July 30, 1783, which "was observed as a day of Fasting and Prayer by the church and congregation to seek of God divine direction and assistance in the important affair of procuring a more fixed and settled preaching and administration of the word and ordinances among us, considering the very advanced age and growing infirmities of their aged pastor. The Rev. Mr. Eliot began with prayer; Rev. Mr. Cushing preached A.M.; Rev Mr. Jackson began with prayer; Rev. Mr. Clarke preached P. M." As the general desire of the brethren of the church, "as well as in compliance with his own inclination and earnest wishes," the pastor called a meeting of the church for the purpose of choosing one to be his colleague in the ministerial office, if the church should see fit. When the meeting was held the pastor was unable to attend and Deacon Aaron Hill was moderator. A committee was appointed "to wait on the President of the University and request him to pray with the brethren on the present occasion." The president complied with the request, and received the thanks of the brethren. It was voted by a large majority to proceed to the choice of an associate pastor, and the Rev. Timothy Hilliard was chosen to that office. The parish concurred in this action and Mr. Hilliard accepted the invitation. A council of the churches of the vicinage was called, and on the 27th of October, 1783, Mr. Hilliard was installed. He preached on the occasion from Titus ii. 15: "Let no man despise thee." The Rev. Mr. Clarke, of Lexington, prayed before the charge, which was given by the Rev. Dr. Cooper, of Boston. The Rev. Mr. Cushing, of Waltham, gave the right hand of fellowship. "The greatest order, decency and sobriety were observable through the whole. *Soli Deo Gloria.*"

Mr. Appleton soon gave over the church-book into the care of his colleague, which was virtually the relinquishment of the staff of office, which his decrepit hand could no longer hold. In the following February "he departed this life, in the ninety-first year of his age and sixty-seventh of his ministry."

"1784, February 15. This day his funeral solemnity was attended. The body was carried to the meeting-house. Rev. Mr. Cushing of Waltham, prayed. The surviving pastor of this church delivered a funeral address. A funeral anthem was sung, after which the procession advanced to the burying-place, and the body was admitted to the tomb."

A long Latin epitaph covers the stone upon his grave. After the Latin are two lines in his own tongue: "They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the

firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars forever and ever."

We have had many indications of the character of the sixth minister of the First Church in Cambridge, and of the esteem in which he was held. Testimony to the man is abundant—in his work, in his published discourses, and in the tributes of those who knew him. The words of Dr. Holmes, one of his successors, are plain and strong: "Dr. Appleton, if venerable for his age, was more venerable for his piety. His religion, like his whole character, was patriarchal. Born in the last century, and living till near the close of this, he brought down with him the habits of 'other times.' In his dress, in his manners, in his conversation, in his ministry, he may be classed with the Puritan ministers of revered memory, who first came to New England. His natural temper was cheerful; but his habitual deportment was grave. Early consecrated to God, and having a fixed predilection for the ministry, he was happily formed by the union of good sense, with deep seriousness, of enlightened zeal with consummate prudence, for the pastoral office. He preached the gospel with great plainness of speech, and with primitive simplicity. Less concerned to please than to instruct and edify, he studiously accommodated his discourse to the meanest capacity. To this end, he frequently borrowed similitudes from familiar, sometimes from vulgar objects; but his application of them was so pertinent, and his utterance and his air were so solemn, as to suppress levity and silence criticism. . . So great was the ascendency which he gained over his people, by his discretion and moderation, by his condescension and benevolence, by his fidelity and piety that, while he lived, they regarded his counsels as oracular; and, since his death, they mention not his name, but with profound regard and veneration."

Dr. Appleton was esteemed a wise man by the neighboring churches, and his advice was sought. His own church was "respectable for wealth, influence and numbers," but his influence was felt throughout the province. His portrait by Copley hangs among those of other worthies, on the college wall, and fittingly represents him holding in his hand a volume of Dr. Watts, entitled, "Orthodoxy and Charity." His manuscripts were burned in Boston in the fire of 1794. But a goodly number of his sermons are in print, with a work published in 1728 with the title, "The Wisdom of God in the Redemption of Man." He left a legacy of forty pounds for the benefit of the poor of the church; and one of twenty-six pounds Massachusetts currency, to the college for a scholarship, in addition to thirty pounds previously given by him.

Mr. Appleton was married, in 1720, to Margaret, daughter of the Rev. Henry Gibbs, of Watertown. The tradition of the manner in which he obtained his wife, by a device which sent his rival in pursuit of his runaway horse, indicates that while his prudence was "consummate," his deportment in his youth was not always severely grave. Twelve children were born to him. One son was a merchant in Boston and a zealous patriot during the Revolution, and for many years was commissioner of loans. Two daughters married clergymen.

Before we pass to the next ministry there are a few others events which should be mentioned. After Mr. Appleton had been invited to the church, a committee was appointed by the town to consider the expediency of raising the meeting-house, so that an upper tier of galleries could be put in. The college agreed to bear one-seventh part of the expense of this alteration, on condition that certain parts of the house should be reserved for the use of the scholars. The project seems to have been abandoned. In 1746 the parish proposed to repair the meeting-house, and the college agreed to pay a portion of the cost. There was a difference of opinion regarding the work which should be done, and the extensive repairs were given up; but it would appear that the immediate necessity was met by making the roof tight, and mending the windows, doors and seats.

It is very probable that some thought the time was not remote when a new house would be required, and that it would not be good economy to spend much money on the old building. In 1753 the inhabitants voted, to build a new meeting-house upon some part of the hill, on which their house was then standing. The college agreed to pay one-seventh part of the cost upon certain conditions, and with proper care that their action should not be taken as a precedent. The students were to have the improvement of the whole front gallery, and one of the best pews was to be set apart for the president. A petition was sent to the General Court, asking such help in the affair as should seem meet to the legislative wisdom and generosity. The college afterward agreed to add twenty pounds to its previous subscription. There was a protracted negotiation with the college, but at last, November 17, 1756, the house was raised. Divine service was first performed in it July 24, 1757. This, the fourth meeting-house, remained until 1833. President Quincy has said of it, "In this edifice all the public commencements and solemn inaugurations during more than seventy years were celebrated, and no building in Massachusetts can compare with it in the number of distinguished men who at different times have been assembled within its walls." There Washington and his officers worshipped. There the Constitution of Massachusetts was framed. There Lafayette received the address of welcome in 1824. A large stone from the foundation, one which had very likely served the preceding houses, has been built into the walls of the Shepard Memorial Church, inscribed with the date 1756.

In 1749–50 a committee was appointed by the parish "to treat with the governors of the college, in order to their assisting of said precinct in the support of Mr. Appleton."

A law was passed that if any dog was found in the

meeting-house on the Lord's Day, in time of public worship, the owner should be fined.

Provision was made for the care of the "French neutrals."

The court-house was to be rebuilt, as far as possible, from the materials of the meeting-house about to be taken down.

In 1761 an Episcopal Church was opened here, at the desire "of five or six gentlemen, each of whose incomes was judged to be adequate to the maintenance of a domestic chaplain. A missionary was appointed to the care of the church by the English Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts."

In 1764 the college suffered a severe loss by the burning of Harvard Hall, which contained the library, the philosophical apparatus and other things of value. This was of great interest to the church.

In 1747 the inhabitants on the south side of the river had made known their desire to be formed into a separate religious precinct. There was opposition to this, and the proposal was defeated. It was renewed with much pertinacity in 1748, 1749, 1758, 1774. Religious services were held there, and a meeting-house erected, and in 1779 the people on the south side were incorporated "as a separate precinct, with authority to settle a minister, and to provide for his support by a parish tax." Certain persons were by name exempted from the taxing, so long as they preferred not to be reckoned in the new precinct.

In 1780 the church members on the south side of Charles River in Cambridge presented a petition to the church, signifying their desire to be dismissed and incorporated into a distinct church, for enjoying the special ordinances of the gospel more conveniently by themselves." The church complied with the request, and, on the 23d of February, 1783, the church was organized. The Rev. John Foster was ordained to the pastoral care of the church November 4, 1784.

It was during Dr. Appleton's ministry that George Whitefield was arousing and exciting the country by his marvelous preaching. In 1740 he came to Cambridge to see and to preach, and he made a sad report of what he saw.

He found the college with the president, five tutors and about a hundred students. As he viewed matters, the college was "not far superior to our universities in piety and true Godliness. Discipline is at too low an ebb. Bad books are become fashionable amongst them. Tillotson and Clarke are read instead of Shepard and Stoddard and such like evangelical writers; and, therefore, I chose to preach on these words: 'We are not as many, who corrupt the Word of God;' and God gave me great freedom and boldness of speech. A great number of neighboring ministers attended, as, indeed, they do at all other times. The president of the college and ministers of the parish treated me very civilly. In the afternoon I preached again, in the court. I believe there were about seven thousand hearers. The Holy Spirit melted many hearts." President Quincy intimates that Whitefield had been misinformed about the college by some disaffected persons. His preaching here seems to have had results which were approved. The visiting committee of the overseers, in 1741, reported that "they find, of late, extraordinary and happy impressions of a religious nature had been made on the minds of a great number of students, by which means the college is in a better order than usual, and the exercises of the professors and tutors better attended."

Tutor Flynt wrote of Whitefield: "He appears to be a good man, and sincerely desirous to do good to the soul of sinners; is very apt to judge harshly and censure in the severest terms those that differ from his scheme. . . . I think he is a composition of a great deal of good and some bad, and I pray God to grant success to what is well designed and acted by him."

The college faculty retaliated the charges brought against the college in the hot discussions of the time by publishing their testimony against Whitefield, calling him very hard names. He replied, and the controversy went on. "Whitefield was sore beset. In letters to various friends he expressed more diffidence than might have been expected from a young man who had drunk so deeply into the intoxication of popular applause." He saw something of his error. "I certainly did drop some unguarded expressions in the heat of less experienced youth, and was too precipitate in hearkening to and publishing private information." He assured the faculty of his "sorrow that he had published his private information . . . to the world." Twenty years later, when the library had been burned, he gave to the college his "journal and a collection of books; and also by his influence he procured a large number of valuable books from several parts of Great Britain."

In all these events the church in Cambridge was most deeply concerned. The times required all the discretion of the ministers. At a meeting of the Association of Cambridge and the neighboring towns, in January, 1744–45, "the Rev. Mr. Appleton, having applied to his brethren" for advice, after prayer and discussion, "it was unanimously voted that it is not advisable, under the present situation of things, that the Rev. Mr. Appleton should invite the Rev. Mr. Whitefield to preach in Cambridge. And they accordingly declared, each for themselves respectively, that they could not invite the said gentleman into their pulpit."

June 27, 1745, there appeared this notice in the *Boston Weekly News Letter:* "WHEREAS, it is reported in the *Gazette* or *Journal*, of this week, that the Rev. Mr. Whitefield preached last Saturday at Cambridge, to prevent misapprehension and some ill consequences which may arise from thence, you are desired to give your readers notice that he preached on the Common, and not in the Pulpit; and that he did it, not only

without the consent, but contrary to the mind of the Rev. Mr. Appleton, the minister of the place."

But the church here felt "The Great Awakening" which had begun at Northampton in 1734, under the powerful preaching of Jonathan Edwards, and had spread to the surrounding towns and quickened the Boston churches. The visits of Whitefield and Tennent enlarged the interest which the churches here were feeling. We have the testimony of Tutor Flynt's diary: "Many students appeared to be in a great concern as to their souls, first moved by Mr. Whitefield's preaching, and after by Mr. Tennent's and others, and by Mr. Appleton, who was more close and affecting in his preaching after Mr. Whitefield's being here."

With this we close our account of Mr. Appleton's ministry and pass to that of his associate and successor. The death of Dr. Appleton left his colleague the sole pastor of the church. This had doubtless been foreseen in his settlement. The Rev. Timothy Hilliard was the son of a worthy farmer and deacon, and was born in Kensington, N. H., in 1746. In his youth he showed an unusual facility in acquiring knowledge, and manifested an amiable and cheerful disposition. President Willard, who was his contemporary in college, bore witness that "while he was a student he made such advances in the various branches of useful learning as laid the foundation for that eminence in his profession to which he afterward attained. . . . His pulpit performances from the first were very acceptable," whereon he was called to preach. He graduated with high honor in 1764. In 1768 he was appointed chaplain of Castle William. After a few months in that service he was appointed a tutor in Harvard College. He discharged his duties with fidelity and success for about two years and a half, when he was invited to become the minister of Barnstable, where he was ordained, April 10, 1771. He remained in that position about twelve years, discharging its duties with his usual diligence. He was highly esteemed as a preacher and a pastor, not only in his own parish, but through that part of the country. The chill, damp air of the sea had an unfavorable effect upon his health, and he was obliged to resign his charge. He was soon invited to Cambridge, and was installed here, as we have already seen. He continued in the ministry here until his death, which occurred on the Lord's Day morning, May 9, 1790, when he was in the seventh year of his ministry here, and the forty-fourth year of his age. The records of his pastorate are made up of the usual parochial events. There were one hundred and forty-five baptisms, and twenty-three persons were received to the church. The "Committee to inspect the manners of professing Christians" seems to have been discontinued after Dr. Appleton's death. Care was taken of the funds belonging to the church, provision was made for the poor, and the legacy of the late pastor was applied according to his directions. The years of the Revolution, and those which immediately followed it, were a dreary time for the churches. Many persons had been drawn away from the restraints of the law and the influence of the sanctuary and exposed to the excitement and temptation of a soldier's life, often among the unprincipled strangers from other lands. With the war uppermost in men's minds, religion suffered a decline. Errors of belief and practice, corruptions of divers kinds, came in like a flood. The Sabbath lost its sacredness, the Bible its authority, the church its sanctity. The preacher's task was doubled. The minister here felt the force of the conflict and the greatness of the issue. Mr. Hilliard was thoroughly in earnest. Both the learned and the unlearned were profited by his judicious, instructive, practical teachings. His sermons were of cost to him, and hence were of value to his hearers. The government of the college regarded him as "an excellent model for the youth under their care who were designed for the desk, and considered his introduction into this parish a most happy event." He excelled in public prayer, and was "tenderly attentive to the sick and afflicted." His temper was amiable, candid, liberal. While not ranking among what are called popular preachers, he had fine pulpit talent, and his ministrations were highly acceptable to the churches. His reputation was increasing when he died. He had much influence in ecclesiastical councils and associations, and his brethren paid him a marked respect. He was watchful of the welfare of the College of which he was a son and an overseer. In person he was rather spare, of a medium height, with an intellectual and attractive countenance. His portrait in the library of the Shepard Memorial Church presents him with a grave face and the aspect of a man thoroughly devoted to his sacred calling. His last illness was very short, and he met death with the calmness which was becoming in such a man. He mentioned his people with affection, and with satisfaction testified "that he had not shunned to declare to them the whole counsel of God, having kept nothing back through fear or any sinister views." His "bereaved, affectionate flock" erected a monument to his memory, and inscribed upon it the virtues that adorned his life,—"In private life cheerful, affable, courteous, amiable; in his ministerial character, instructive, serious, solemn, faithful."

Dr. Holmes tells us that "all the ministers, since Mr. Mitchel, have resided at the parsonage." The minister's house, which was built in 1670, became dilapidated in the course of years, and in 1718 the town made a grant "of two hundred and fifty pounds for the building of a new parsonage-house, provided the sum of one hundred and thirty pounds of the said money be procured by the sale of town, proprietary or ministry lands." It would appear, however, that additions were made to the old house. Dr. Holmes states, in 1800, that "the front part of the present house at the parsonage was built in 1720." In 1843 the house was taken down.

Mr. Hilliard died in 1790. His publications were five sermons, including a Dudleian Lecture.

It was to be nearly two years before the church had another minister, and his ministry was to be most eventful. There were then in Cambridge a few more than two thousand people. In ten years there was a growth of three hundred and thirty persons. The buildings and grounds of the college gave character to the town, and near at hand were the meeting-house of the First Church, the Episcopal Church, the county court-house and jail, and the Grammar School-house. In 1800 the historian writes: "West Boston Bridge, connecting Cambridge with Boston, is a magnificent structure. . . . It is very handsomely constructed; and when lighted by its two rows of lamps, extending a mile and a quarter, presents a vista, which has a fine effect. The bridge was opened for passengers November 23, 1793, seven months and a half from the time of laying the first pile. The bridge cost $76,700. A toll was "granted to the proprietors for seventy years." "The erection of this bridge has had a very perceivable influence on the trade of Cambridge, which, formerly, was very inconsiderable." There were then in the town "five edifices for public worship, and six school-houses." "The grounds of Thomas Brattle, Esquire, are universally admired, for the justness of their design, and the richness, variety and perfection of their productions. In no part of New England, probably, is horticulture carried to higher perfection than within his enclosure."

Cambridge was an inviting place of residence when the eighth minister came to the ancient church. He was born in the town of Woodstock, now in Connecticut, but then within the bounds of Massachusetts. He graduated at Yale College in 1783. His college life lay within the days of war. He felt the stir of the times, but pursued his studies with diligence and was considered one of the most accomplished scholars in his class. In his sophomore year he connected himself with the College Church. In the year following his graduation he was in South Carolina. While there the church and society at Midway, Ga., learning that he intended to enter the ministry, invited him to preach for a year, and, in 1783, he began his labors there. This church and society had removed from Dorchester, Mass., about the year 1700, and had first settled in South Carolina, at a place which they named Dorchester. Some fifty years later they moved to Georgia. The society was broken up and dispersed by the war, and the meeting-house, with most of the dwellings and the crops, were burned by the British troops. On the return of peace the people came back to their old home and resumed their common life. It was at this new beginning that Mr. Abiel Holmes, then in the twenty-first year of his age, was called to their service. When he was about to return to the North, in the following year, he was earnestly solicited to obtain ordination and then to resume his ministry in Georgia. He consented to this, and was ordained in the College Chapel at New Haven, on the 15th of September, 1785. The sermon, by the Rev. Levi Hart, of Preston, Conn., was entitled: "A Christian minister described, and distinguished from a pleaser of men." The prayer of ordination was by President Stiles. He went back to Georgia and continued his labors there for about four years longer, when it was found that his health was unfavorably affected by the Southern climate, and he resigned his charge and came to New England. Mr. Holmes was invited to preach at Cambridge with a view to his settlement, and was soon called to the pastorate. He replied: "In respect to the office of which you have asked my acceptance, I can truly say that I consider it above my years and improvements. But the singular candor with which you received me and my ministrations while I was with you, and the remarkable unanimity with which the transactions relative to my proposed settlement among you were conducted, silence my objection on this head." A council was called in the usual manner and it met at the parsonage. President Willard was chosen moderator. After the examination the council adjourned for dinner at Mr. Owen Warland's. After dinner the brethren of the church received the pastor-elect to membership. Then the council, with the pastor-elect, preceded by the church and as many of the other inhabitants of the parish as were present, proceeded to the meeting-house, where the services of installation were held. The sermon was by Rev. James Dana, D.D., of New Haven, from the words, "My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me." The record closes in this way: "Throughout the whole process the greatest order, decency and harmony were observable. *Soli Deo Gloria.*"

Thus the Rev. Abiel Holmes entered upon his long pastorate here. In his first sermon after his installation he said: "The place in which I stand reminds me of my venerable predecessors in the ministry. . . . Other men labored, and I am entered into their labors. Such an one as Paul the aged no longer addresses you from this pulpit, but a youth who would have esteemed it a singular honor, as a son with a father, to have served with him in the gospel. May the examples and counsels of your worthy pastors who have gone to rest be long kept in faithful remembrance among you; and may the recollection of their excellent characters excite your present minister to fidelity in the very arduous and important work to which he is reservedly devoted."

The records of the church during Mr. Holmes' ministry are in his own handwriting, which is almost as plain as printing, and they exhibit the method and accuracy which marked his whole life. From these records and collateral sources we are able to make out the history of those years. The chronological order will be followed, for the most part.

The first matter in the records proper of this period is the report in 1792 of "a committee appointed to inquire into the state of the church stock and of the fund appropriated to the poor of the church." It appears that the deacons had in their charge £356 19*s*. 8½*d*., which was nearly all invested and drawing interest. One-third of the interest was to be paid to the treasurer of the parish, by vote of the church. In the account of the fund for the poor, the deacons were charged with £82 7*s*. 6½*d*., which had been properly distributed, or was still invested, except a very small balance. The deacons declared their agreement to the report of the committee. The church passed a vote of thanks to "Deacon Hill for his generous services in providing for the communion and negotiating the funds of the church." This examination was repeated annually, and the vote of acknowledgment was regularly passed for several years, enlarged, however, by thanks "to the deacons in general for their services in behalf of the Church." The last of these monetary statements was made in 1830, when the funds of the church had increased to $3236.99, and the fund for the poor to $667.18.

The first statement made by the deacons is signed by Aaron Hill, Gideon Frost and James Munro. In the same year Deacon Hill died after a service of eighteen years, and Captain John Walton was chosen to fill the vacancy. He died thirty-one years afterwards, in 1823. In 1803 Deacon Frost died, after serving twenty years, and Mr. William Hilliard was chosen in his place. Concerning him the pastor wrote, in a note: "He is in his twenty-sixth year, is a son of my worthy predecessor in the ministry, and, though recently admitted into our church, has been several years a member of a church in Boston, and has had frequent communion with us." He remained in office until his death, in 1836—a period of thirty-two years. Deacon Munro died in 1804, having been twenty-one years in this office. In his place, Mr. Josiah Moore was chosen. He served for nine years, and died in 1814. His house stood where the Shepard Memorial Church was afterwards erected.

In 1818 Mr. James Munroe was elected deacon. The record proceeds in this way: "Sept. 6.—After the morning sermon (Lord's Day), the pastor, having admitted four members in full communion into the church, mentioned the election of Brother James Munroe to the office of Deacon, and his acceptance. The deacon-elect, signifying his acceptance by taking his seat, this day, with the deacons, near the Communion-table, rose, on being addressed by the pastor, who briefly stated to him the duties of the office to which he was elected, exhorted him to fidelity, and announced him a deacon of this church. In the concluding prayer, immediately following, he was commended to the peace and blessing of God." He remained in this office until his death, in 1848. Of Deacons Hilliard and Munroe a later pastor said: "In many respects dissimilar, they were alike in their love of the truth, in their zeal for the glory of Christ, and in their efforts and sacrifices for the welfare of the church."

In this connection we may bring together a few changes in regard to the Communion of the Lord's Supper. It had been the usage of this church to have this ordinance administered once in eight weeks. This caused inconvenience, as the particular days were not specified. Accordingly, in 1797, at the suggestion of the pastor, the church decided to have the communion on the first Lord's Day of every other month, beginning with January.

In September, 1816, there is this entry: "It had been the usage of the church, at the Communion service, for the members to remain in their own pews. To lessen the time and to facilitate the duties of this service, on the suggestion of the deacons, the pastor recommended it to the communicants to seat themselves in the pews on the broad aisle. These pews were, accordingly, occupied at the Communion this day." In 1825 the time for the lecture preparatory to the communion was changed to the evening, and it was voted "that the examination of the annual accounts of the church take place at the lecture previous to the first Sunday in March." At the same meeting it was voted that the Sabbath service from September to March should begin at half-past two o'clock, and during the rest of the year at half-past three. In 1826 "two of the tankards and two cups were recast, and two cups altered in such a manner as now made seven cups of a uniform shape and size. A new silver spoon and six Britannia-ware dishes, more adapted to the use for which they are designed, were also procured."

There are three cases of church discipline on record in this period. All were for offences which would at any time demand attention, and the proceedings were marked by carefulness and fidelity. The first case was settled by the satisfactory confession of the offender, after the admonition of the pastor had brought him to repentance. The second resulted in excommunication, after persistent efforts to bring the offender to amendment. Four years afterwards, upon her contrition and desire for forgiveness and restoration, she was taken again into the fellowship of the church, and the pastor "exhorted the members to conduct toward her accordingly." The third instance was that of a man who had "renounced his Christian profession . . . and proved himself to be, not merely an apostate from the Christian Church, but an enemy to the Christian religion." The earnest efforts of the church to reclaim him were ineffectual, and he was finally cut off from the membership which he had renounced.

Let us turn to pleasanter things. In 1805 a committee, consisting of the pastor and two others, was appointed to consider the expediency of "procuring religious books for the use of the members of the church. The report recommended that a contribu-

tion should be made by the church for that purpose, and this course was adopted. The committee prepared a list of about twenty volumes, which were deemed suitable for the designed object. The list began with "The Holy Bible." Then followed "Leslie's Short and Easy Method with Deists," Baxter's "Saints' Rest," Doddridge's "Rise and Progress of Religion," "Wilberforce on Christianity," and kindred works. It is clear that the reading was to be of a very decided character. The books named were highly and deservedly approved in the churches. If they are not much read now, it is to be doubted whether works of a higher order have supplanted them. The estimated cost of the books proposed was $13.50. The deacons were desired to solicit donations of money, or of any of the books which had been designated, that the library might be started. The response was generous, and the library was established and placed under the care of the church, which was annually to choose a librarian and a committee on books. The title agreed upon for the new organization was "The Library of the First Church." The pastor was chosen librarian. Probably the project was his in the beginning. A catalogue was printed, embracing 109 books.

This is the place to bring together a few other matters of a similar character. In the summer of 1815 a Sabbath-school was opened at the meeting-house, with the design of promoting "the moral and religious improvement of children and youth." During three summers the school was taught by Miss Mary Munroe and Miss Hannah Tenney. Five other young ladies came to their assistance, and Mr. James Farnsworth, master of the grammar school, tendered his services for the instruction of boys. "More than eighty children of both sexes received instruction at the Sabbath-school. They were taught to read and to commit to memory select portions of the Bible, catechisms, hymns and prayers, and to answer Cummings' questions on the New Testament. Books and tracts were early provided for their use. In 1819 the pastor presented the design and needs of the school to the congregation, "and a collection was afterwards taken for purchasing small books to be distributed among the children as an encouragement for punctual attendance, correct lessons and good behavior."

"In 1827 books and tracts were collected by subscription for a juvenile library." A Board of Trustees was chosen, of which the pastor was the head. He was also librarian. In July, 1831, seven trustees were elected, and Miss Mary Ann Sawyer became librarian. The trustees were authorized to make selections from the library in order to form a Sabbath-school library for the Shepard Sunday-school. We are now carried beyond Dr. Holmes' pastorate, but it seems best to continue this account of the school. In 1832 it was voted that "Mr. Stephen Farwell, then superintendent in the Sabbath-school, be appointed and requested to deliver the books selected for the use of the Sabbath-school." Afterward, in 1835, a Sabbath-school society was formed "for the purpose of promoting more effectually Sabbath-school instruction," and both libraries for the young were transferred to its care, and were brought together under the name of "Juvenile and Shepard Sabbath-school Library."

We now come to transactions affecting the connection between the church and the college. From the first they had held their Sunday services together, and the relation had been very intimate. In 1814 the corporation and overseers decided that it was best for the members of the college to hold religious services by themselves. It was thought that this change would secure services which would be more directly appropriate to those connected with the college, and would give an opportunity for transferring to Sunday certain discourses which had been delivered on a week-day. The approved practice of other colleges favored the change. The completion of University Hall, which contained a commodious chapel, made a good occasion for the proposed measure. It was designed to have a church organized and to have religious ordinances duly administered. Members of the college government, with their families, and students, graduates and undergraduates were to be the only stated communicants. A committee, including the reverend president, was appointed to notify the minister and congregation of the parish of the design, and "to express the sentiments of regard and fraternity felt by the members of the several college Boards, and the desire of Christian and friendly communion between the two societies." President Kirkland, as chairman, addressed a letter to the pastor, and the church and congregation, laying the matter before them in appropriate terms. He said: "The ties of neighborhood and friendship, the sympathy and regard naturally produced by a communion in religious acts, and the experience of edification and comfort in attendance upon your services, combine to make us wish to continue going to the house of God in company." The committee expressed the belief that the separation, although in some respects painful and undesirable, would, on being viewed in all its bearings, receive approval. A conference was held to determine the future relations of the parish and college. When the proposals of the college had been received, the church voted "that the reasons assigned for the proposed measure, so far as it respects this church, are entirely satisfactory, and that the church is ready to concur in the change." Those who were to leave the old church for the new one were to be dismissed in the customary manner. Five delegates, with the pastor, were appointed to assist in the formation of the new church, and the pastor was "requested to reciprocate the assurance of regard and fraternity so kindly expressed by the university toward us." The pastor accordingly replied to the letter of the president in words full of feeling. He said: "Allowing ourselves, however, to be influenced on this occasion by no other

consideration than a regard to the best interests of the university, we cannot but acquiesce in a measure designed for its benefit. Our prayer to God is that it may, in all respects, be of kindly and salutary influence, and particularly that it may conduce to the religious interests of the university—a seminary consecrated 'to Christ and the Church.'" The president and fifteen others signed the covenant upon which the church was to be formed. This is dated "Harvard College, November 6, 1814." The record of the church closes with the statement that "on the morning of Lord's Day, 6 November, 1814, the church was organized at University Hall, in the presence and by the assistance of the pastor and delegates of the First Church in Cambridge." It was an interesting and important event in the history of both church and college.

In the following year the pastor made a discovery of great interest and value. There was no catalogue of the members of the church in its earliest years, though many names could be inferred from the fact that a freeman was of necessity a member of the church. Even with this method but a portion of the names could be obtained. But in 1815 Dr. Holmes found among the collections of the Rev. Thomas Prince, who had been the minister of the old South Church in Boston, and who died in 1758, a manuscript register, in the handwriting of Rev. Jonathan Mitchel, containing a list of the members of the church under this title: "The Church of Christ at Cambridge, in New England. The names of all the members thereof that are in full communion; together with their children who were either baptized in this church or (coming from other churches) who were in their minority at their parents' joyning, taken and registered, in the 11 month, 1658." Dr. Prince was a noted collector of books and papers relating to the history of New England, and he doubtless regarded this paper as of rare worth. The church directed that this list should be bound up with the records, and that blank leaves should be left for the record of other papers. It is much to be regretted that the list of members cannot be continued through the years which intervened before the settlement of Mr. Brattle. This is now impossible.

Another blank-book was to be procured "for the preservation of the reports on the state of the church stock, etc.," and other important papers suitable to be preserved with them; such as Acts of the Legislature relative to parish and ministry lands, the setting off of parishes within the town of Cambridge, etc., etc.

In 1807 Dr. Holmes left the ancient house in which the ministers had so long resided, and removed to the house in Holmes' Place, so well known through the writings of his son, Oliver Wendell Holmes. "The gambrel-roof house" remained in the family until a few years since, when it passed into the possession of the college. It was subsequently taken down; but the work of the photographer will preserve the familiar appearance of it.

In 1807 a meeting-house was erected in that part of the town which was already rejoicing in visions of commercial prosperity, and which, in anticipation of its importance, had been made a port of entry and was designated as Cambridgeport. That part of the town had been under the care of the minister of the First Church, "who was wont in his visits to distribute catechisms and hymn-books, and to question the children upon religious doctrines and duties." The new church will have its own place in this narration. But some things concerning it properly belong here. "In 1805 Royal Makepeace and others were incorporated for the purpose of building a meeting-house, by the name of Cambridgeport Meeting-House Company, and the next year they proceeded to erect a large brick edifice on Columbia Street, between Harvard Street and Broadway, which was dedicated Jan. 1, 1807, and was the first house of public worship in Cambridgeport." The sermon of dedication was preached by Dr. Holmes. "By an act passed March 1, 1808, the proprietors of the meeting-house, together with all the inhabitants and estates in the Fifth School District in Cambridge, east of Dana Street and a line extended in the same direction northerly to Charlestown (now Somerville), and southerly to the river, were incorporated as the Cambridgeport Parish; and, Feb. 2, 1809, the proprietors (reserving private ownership of pews) conveyed to the parish the meeting-house and lot, containing two acres, together with a parsonage lot at the northeasterly corner of Harvard and Prospect Streets." A church was organized in connection with the new parish, July 14, 1809. The first pastor was settled in 1814. In a small book, entitled "Two Hundred Years Ago; or, a Brief History of Cambridgeport and East Cambridge, with details of some of the early settlers. A Christmas and Birthday gift for young persons," we are taken back to that day. "At the close of this year we had the satisfaction of knowing that we were to have a permanent minister, Mr. Thomas Brattle Gannett having accepted our unanimous call, to the great joy of all the parish. He was installed pastor of the Cambridgeport Parish January 1st, 1814. Notwithstanding the roads were almost impassable, the church was filled to overflowing." Dr. Holmes preached at the ordination of Mr. Gannett, from the words "I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some." One who afterwards wrote the history of that church, said of the sermon and the preacher, "It reads as placid as he looked. . . . It is another instance of that now lost art of felicitously weaving in Scripture language with the texture of every sentence and the expression of every thought, which gave such peculiar unction to the most common utterances of the older divines." Mr. Gannett was born in Cambridge, February 20, 1789, and graduated at Harvard College in 1809. He remained with the church for twenty years, when he was dismissed at his own request, after

"a singularly blameless ministry." He took no active part in the theological contest which here fell in the years of his pastorate, "but devoted himself entirely to the inculcation of those moral duties and Christian graces which become the true disciples of Christ." After his resignation he resided in Cambridge for ten years, holding the office of town clerk in 1840–42, and serving as a Representative in the General Court in 1834, 1835, 1837, 1838. He removed to South Natick in 1843, and there ministered to the Unitarian Church. There he died, April 19, 1851.

Among other memorials of Dr. Holmes' ministry is "A sermon delivered at the Episcopal Church in Cambridge, by the request of the Wardens and Vestry, December 25, 1809, in celebration of the nativity of our Blessed Saviour. By Abiel Holmes, D.D., Minister of the First Church in Cambridge." The text was, "The desire of all nations shall come." At that time the Episcopal Church was for the most part supplied by lay readers. Affixed to the sermon is this note: "At a meeting of the congregation belonging to the Protestant Episcopal Church in Cambridge, January 7, 1810—voted, That the thanks of this Society be presented to the Rev. Dr. Holmes for the learned and appropriate discourse by him delivered in this Church, on the last Christmas day; and that he be requested to furnish a copy of the same for the press." The note is signed William Winthrop, Sen. Warden.

In connection with the service of song in the house of the Lord it is of interest to find one of Dr. Holmes' sermons inscribed, "This day Watts's Psalms and hymns introduced instead of Tate and Brady." It was preached in the afternoon of June 29, 1817. The text was. "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom; teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord."

Some extracts from the sermon will show its spirit and show, also, the hope of the preacher. "To the skilful performance of the choir we are much indebted for the order and harmony, the solemnity and effect, with which this part of Divine service is performed. The style of sacred music is, of late years, essentially improved; and the exclusion of light and unhallowed airs, so foreign to the solemnity of the subject and the place, is itself highly favorable to our improvement in piety and devotion and, at the same time, more easily admits the union of a great proportion of the assembly in this common duty,—the social praise of Almighty God. Let us not, then, leave this interesting, improving and delightful service to be performed wholly by others. Let none be listless, or indifferent to it. Let none regard it as a mere entertainment. Above all, let none either perform, or hear it performed, with levity. Let us all be supplied with books. Let those who can, with any propriety, bear a part in singing the high praises of God; and let the rest have their eyes fixed on the psalm or hymn that is sung, and join with the understanding and affections in the sublime employment, and thus make melody, at least in their hearts, to the Lord. And here, my brethren, I would suggest to you the propriety of performing this part of the service, even when we do no more than perform it in heart, in a standing rather than in a sitting posture."

An organ was placed in the church in 1827, and the sermon on music was repeated, with the insertion of these remarks: "The introduction of an organ, instead of diminishing, should increase the number of singers in the congregation. It is not, you will remember, intended as a substitute for the voice, but as an aid to it. It may be accompanied by those who are not thoroughly skilled in music, though great care should be taken not to violate either the time or the harmony. In the use of this instrument, it is hoped and believed great regard will be shown to the spiritual nature of the worship which it is intended to aid. It is not meant for an entertainment, but for an improvement; not simply to delight the ear, but to inspire the heart. It will not, I trust, be suffered to overpower the vocal music, of which it should be but an accompaniment. Let us have the distinct articulation of the human voice, that it may not give an uncertain sound, or be so merged in the sound of an instrument, that the meaning cannot be understood. Let us remember, my brethren, that we are required to sing with the spirit and with the understanding." Whatever improvements the years may have brought, the opinions and desires of Dr. Holmes are as timely to-day as when they were first expressed.

We are brought now to events of a more weighty and less pleasing nature. In 1827 there was formed "The First Evangelical Congregational Church in Cambridgeport." The distinctive word in this title is "Evangelical." That word had come to bear a precise, and, in some degree, a denominational significance. It marks the controversy which engaged the religious world in this region and had very serious results for many churches. Into the general movement we do not propose to enter. We are only to recall facts, without opinions. So far as the First Church in Cambridge is concerned, the facts are in print, in rare pamphlets and in local histories, and need only a brief rehearsal in these pages.

On the 20th of July, 1827, a memorial, signed by sixty-three members of the parish, was presented to Dr. Holmes, remonstrating with him for discontinuing professional exchanges with certain clergymen, and recommending a return to his former custom. It was not a question of courtesy, but one of a much graver nature. We must go back a little. As early as 1787 Unitarianism, which had been adopted by many persons, ministers and others, became a "substantial reality" in this community by the action of the society worshipping in King's Chapel, Boston, which modified the English Liturgy it had been

using. The minister had changed his own doctrinal views, and the change in the service of the church followed. For many years this remained the only conspicuous church in New England which was confessedly Unitarian. The new views, however, extended and became very influential. By the time which we are now reviewing, a large part of the ministers of the churches in this neighborhood had embraced the new principles of belief. "The Unitarian Association" was formed about this time. Of course, all this changed the relations in which ministers stood toward one another. Freedom of professional intercourse became restricted. There were men of all degrees of conviction and confession, with extreme men on both sides and those of moderate views standing between them, some nearer one end and some nearer the other. The minister here knew all this, and was affected by the movement in which he was not disposed to take a prominent part. But it came to pass here, as elsewhere, that some ministers who had been invited to his pulpit no longer received such proposals. It was less the fact than the occasion and meaning of it which attracted attention and led to the action which has already been mentioned. A large majority of the legal voters in the affairs of the parish were found on the Unitarian side. They complained of the change in the pastor's practice, and asserted that he was changing the policy of the church, and deviating from the custom of his immediate predecessors, and departing from the views which had governed his own procedure and shaped his own preaching. They complained that, while he excluded some ministers whom they liked to hear, he introduced other preachers whose teaching was offensive to them. Out of this state of things grew the memorial, in which the signers gratefully testified to the order, peace and harmony with which the church and society had walked together, and expressed their fear lest there should arise disaffection and disunion in consequence of the pastor's action. They requested him "to exchange a reasonable proportion of the time with such respectable clergymen of liberal sentiments in this vicinity as had heretofore been admitted into his pulpit, and with others of similar character." The pastor replied, in dignified terms, that he thought a personal interview with him would have been more favorable to truth and peace. To show that the charge complained of was not altogether on one side, he said that some liberal ministers were of the opinion that such exchanges as were proposed were not desirable. He added: "The subject is believed to be uniformly left to the discretion of the pastors, who are, or ought to be, the best judges of what is profitable for their hearers, and who are bound religiously to determine what is right and consistent for themselves." We cannot pursue the controversy, which was prolonged and intense. The effort of the parish was to secure the preaching of Unitarian ministers for a portion of the time by exchanges, or by the settlement of a colleague, or by the introduction of such ministers at times when there was no established service. To neither of these measures would Dr. Holmes consent. He claimed that he must adhere to the principles of the church during its entire history; that he could not depart from them, or suffer others to lead the people away from them. The Shepard Historical Society has a written document which he prepared and entitled, "Religious Principles of the Ministers of Cambridge." By citations from their writings, he traces the line of doctrinal teaching from Shepard to himself, and adds: "Doctrines held and taught by the present pastor from the commencement of his ministry here to this time; collected from his discourses on the anniversary of his installation." The object was to show that he was continuing the instruction for which he was called to the church. The church upheld the pastor in his course, and expressed their approval of his teaching. They remonstrated in writing against the action of the parish. "Let us not attempt to drive from us a man by urging upon him a course of measures which, should he submit to them, would render him a stranger among his brethren, not satisfy those who make the demand, and would leave him dishonored in his own eyes and in theirs. . . . We also apprehend that, were the females of this parish allowed to come here and speak, a majority of them would entreat you to forbear; and we would hope that we shall not be regardless of their feelings, because they are not allowed the poor privilege of begging you to consider them." It became evident that the matter was not to be settled by discussion, and men turned to the congregational method of relief. The parish proposed to the pastor that an ecclesiastical council should be called to advise in the premises. The church and a minority of the parish declared that usage in New England, and invariably in this parish, required that the church and parish should concur in all matters touching the settlement or the removal of a minister. It was, therefore, proposed that the church should be a party in calling the council. To this the parish refused to accede. The parish said that if the church were admitted "they would make all the resistance in their power to the attempts of the parish to remedy the evils of which they complained, and would give Dr. Holmes all their assistance and support in his opposition to the principles and wishes of the parish." The church was not allowed to join in calling the council. Dr. Holmes said "that he was not at liberty to overlook or to interfere with the equitable claims of the church, and that he would consent to a mutual ecclesiastical council, if regularly called, according to the usage of our churches; that is, by the church and parish together."

The discussion effected nothing, and the parish proceeded to call an *ex parte* council, which assembled in the Old Court-House on the 19th of May, 1829. It

was composed of the representatives of six Unitarian churches. A copy of the complaint against the pastor was given to him before the meeting of the council. When the council assembled Dr. Holmes denied its jurisdiction, and the church and a minority of the parish also remonstrated. The council, by a committee, gave Dr. Holmes and the remonstrants an opportunity to present further information. The pastor received the committee with his accustomed courtesy and replied "that he had no further communication to make to this council." The complaint of the parish was heard, evidence was received, an argument was made by the counsel of the parish, Hon. Samuel Hoar. The council finally voted "that the First Parish in Cambridge have sufficient cause to terminate the contract subsisting between them and the Rev. Dr. Holmes as their minister, and this council recommend the measure as necessary to the existence and spiritual prosperity of the society." The parish accepted and confirmed the "result" and voted, June 8, 1829, that the "Rev. Dr. Abiel Holmes, be, and he hereby is, dismissed from his office of minister of the gospel and teacher of piety, religion and morality in said parish, and that all connection between said Holmes as such minister, or teacher, and said parish, do and shall henceforth cease." A grant of three months' salary was made "to said Holmes, on equitable principles, but not as legal right," and he was to have the use and occupation of the real estate held by him as pastor of the parish "until the 25th day of January next, but no longer."

In a communication made on the 12th of June the committee of the parish inform Dr. Holmes that "they have employed a preacher to supply the pulpit in the meeting-house of the First Parish in Cambridge on the next ensuing Sabbath, that they will procure and employ a preacher or preachers for the succeeding Sabbaths, and that your services will not be required or authorized in the public religious services in the meeting-house in said parish hereafter." Dr. Holmes had not consented to the council, but had entered his protest against it. He did not accept its result. He wrote in reply to the notice which had been served on him: "I now give notice to you, and, through you, to the inhabitants of the parish, that I still consider myself as the lawful minister of the parish, and hold myself ready to perform any and all the duties, in or out of the pulpit, which belong to my office as pastor of the First Church and Society in Cambridge." The closing communication was addressed to Dr. Holmes by the parish committee. They say, "In answer to your said letter, said committee, in behalf of said parish, state to you that said council had jurisdiction of the complaint exhibited to said council against you; that said result is legal and valid; that said dismission from said office conforms to said result and to law; that your connection with said parish as their minister is legally dissolved; that you are not the minister or pastor of said parish, nor have you been such minister or pastor since said dismission; that as such minister or pastor you do not owe any such duties as aforesaid to said parish, and that said parish refuses to accept from you any service, or services, as such minister or pastor thereof. Hereafter you cannot occupy nor use the pulpit of the meeting-house of said parish, as it will be exclusively appropriated to such preacher or preachers as said parish shall employ to supply it."

Thus the pastor of thirty-eight years was turned from the door of the meeting-house. There was but one course open to the church, and that was to withdraw from the meeting-house from which their minister was excluded. The church and pastor crossed the street and began religious services in the Old Court House, in the presence of "a full, attentive and solemn assembly." On his last Sabbath in the meeting-house Dr. Holmes preached from the words, "I have no greater joy than to hear that my children walk in truth." The next Sabbath morning he preached from the words, "Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you; but rejoice inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings; that, when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy." The encouragement was commended to "all who are in affliction, and especially to the church and the attendant worshippers constrained to assemble in this place."

"The whole number of members belonging to the church at that time was about ninety, fully two-thirds of whom followed the pastor and attended upon his ministry. The number of male members was twenty-one, fifteen of whom were the uniform friends and supporters of the pastor, and two only took an active part in the measure s of the parish" for his dismission. Of the whole number who usually worshiped in the meeting-house previous to the separation, about one-half withdrew and worshiped statedly w here the church and pastor continued their services.

On the 17th of June, 1829, an advisory council met at the invitation of the church and pastor. After hearing the statements which were made by those who sought advice, the council reached this "result:" "As Dr. Holmes is still, according to ecclesiastical usage, the pastor and minister of the First Church and parish in Cambridge, and as the parish has by its votes excluded him from its pulpit, the council approve the course pursued by him in continuing to perform parochial duties whenever and to whomsoever he may have opportunity, and advise him and the church and other friends of truth not to forsake the assembling of themselves together, but to maintain Divine worship and the celebration of Divine ordinances." The church accepted this advice and resolved to follow it faithfully. As the church was now separated from the parish, after a union of nearly two hundred years, it was necessary,

in accordance with the custom of the times, to organize another society, which should include persons who were not members of the church, and should be in the place of an organized parish in connection with the church. Such a society was formed, and it was voted unanimously that it should be called "The Holmes Congregational Society." Dr. Holmes declined the proffered honor, and advised that the new society should bear the name of the first minister of the church. In accordance with this wish the new body took the title which it still bears· "The Shepard Congregational Society." The pastor could not connect himself with this organization, because he held that he had not been legally or regularly dismissed from his connection with the old parish, which he had served so long. But the church joined itself to the new society in order to maintain "the worship and ordinances of the gospel, according to the established principles and usages of Congregational churches in this Commonwealth."

In the records is an account of a meeting of the church held on the 20th of November, 1829, at the house of Mr. Jacob H. Bates. The record is too long to be copied here, and it is already in print. It begins: "Whereas the Rev. Dr. Holmes, the pastor of this church, has been excluded by a committee of the First Parish in Cambridge from the desk and sanctuary where he has so long officiated, under pretence that he is legally dismissed from office," and after declaring the views of the church in regard to Dr. Holmes and the parish, continues: "In consideration of all the circumstances, and having consulted with the Rev. Dr. Holmes, our pastor, whose relation to us as a church we wish to hold sacred and inviolate, and finding that in present circumstances the choice of a colleague pastor meets with his entire approbation; therefore, voted, 1st, that until such time as our rights, with those of our pastor, shall be respected, and the privileges of the gospel ministry be enjoyed, as heretofore, in connection with the First Parish in Cambridge, we will, as a church, accede to the invitation of the Shepard Congregational Society and co-operate with it. . . . Voted, 2d, that in pursuance of their object, and subject to the several conditions expressed in the first vote, the church now unite, and call Mr. Nehemiah Adams, Jr., who has been heard by us for several Sabbaths with high approbation, and in whom we have full confidence, to the office of colleague pastor in this church in connection with the Rev. Dr. Holmes as senior pastor." The society concurred in this vote, and Mr. Adams was called. The salary offered him was $850 for the first year, to be increased $50 each year until $1000 was reached. It is said, however, that by private subscription the salary was made $1,000 from the beginning. The invitation was given and accepted. The Baptist Church of Cambridgeport kindly offered its house for the service of ordination. The council met on the 17th of December, 1829. Twenty-three churches were represented. The list of ministers contains many names well known then and afterwards. There were John Codman, William Jenks, Lyman Beecher, Edward Beecher, Benjamin B. Wisner, Moses Stuart, George W. Blagden, Samuel M. E. Kettle, better known as William M. Rogers. Dr. Codman was moderator. The action of the previous advisory council was submitted by the church, and a remonstrance which had been presented to the pastor-elect by a committee of those members of the church who had remained with the parish. After the preliminary proceedings common in such cases the services of ordination were held. The sermon was preached by Professor Stuart, and Dr. Holmes gave the charge to the pastor. Mr. Adams was born in Salem, Mass., February 19, 1806, and graduated at Harvard College in 1826, and at Andover Theological Seminary in 1829. His services were sought elsewhere, but he was persuaded to accept the Cambridge invitation. It was thought by many that he was especially needed at a time when the faith of churches and individuals was in question. Dr. Holmes was in his sixty-sixth year, and did not feel equal to the labors which were incident to the new conditions of the church.

Dr. Holmes' sermons, at this period, give an insight into the state and feeling of the people. One manuscript is marked, "June 7, 1829: in meeting-house." Another, "June 14, 1829: A.M. Camb. Court-house." These have been already mentioned. One sermon is marked: "Dec. 20, 1829, A.M., 1st Sabbath after ordination of Mr. N. Adams." The text was happily chosen: "Now if Timotheus come, see that he may be with you without fear; for he worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do." He said: "Receive him. Treat him with candor and equity; preserve unity and peace; and pay an attentive and serious regard to his ministry."

The services of the Sabbath were divided between the two ministers—the senior preaching in the morning and the junior in the afternoon and evening. The congregations were good, especially in the evening, when many visitors would come to hear the new minister in a place usually devoted to other purposes. There were large additions to the membership of the church. Meetings for prayer and religious conference were held for a time in private houses, and were finally established in a large room fitted up for that purpose, in the house at the northwest corner of Mt. Auburn and Brighton Streets. There were times when the people carried their own lamps for the evening services, which gave the bystanders a chance to use their cheap wit.

When they felt able to do so, the church and society erected a meeting-house on the corner of Mt. Auburn and Holyoke Streets. To do this they needed and procured the assistance of many friends, near and remote. Indeed, they were assisted, at first, in supporting their regular services. It is believed that

the senior pastor drew no salary after the separation. The land for the new house was given by Miss Sarah Ann Dana. It is said that Dr. Holmes was the largest contributor to the building fund. Ground was broken at six o'clock on the morning of the 5th of August, 1830. On the 21st of September the corner-stone was laid with an address by Rev. Samuel Green, of Boston. One sentence will show something of the feeling which marked the occasion: "We speak with pride and boldness, as becometh the descendants of Puritans on Puritan ground." On the 23d of February, 1831, the house was dedicated with a sermon by the senior pastor from Jeremiah vi. 16: "Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls." The new house was much admired. Henry Greenough was the architect. Washington Allston furnished the plan of the house and had much pride in the building. He liked to take strangers at evening to a particular spot, about a hundred yards southeast of the church, where he would bid them mark the simple beauty of the unassuming structure, repeating the familiar lines:

"If thou would'st view fair Melrose aright,
Go visit it by the pale moonlight."

A silver plate enclosed in a box of lead was placed under the corner-stone, with this inscription:

"To Jesus Christ and the Church, The Pillar and Ground of the Truth —First Church and Shepard Society, in Cambridge:

ABIEL HOLMES, NEHEMIAH ADAMS, } Pastors;
WILLIAM HILLIARD, JAMES MUNROE, } Deacons.
xxi September, MDCCCXXX."

But the troubles were not over. In 1831 Abel Whitney, deacon of the First Parish Church, demanded certain articles of church property, to wit: the church fund, the poor's fund, the communion service and baptismal basin, the church record and papers, the library and a few minor things. The demand was refused, and a suit at law was begun against Deacons Hilliard and Munroe, as representing the church, and they were held to answer in the sum of five thousand dollars. The church appointed a committee to take legal advice and to defend the church so far as it could be done, or, if it was necessary, to surrender the property. They found that by a decision of the Supreme Court of the State the church could not retain the property and it was accordingly given up under the constraint of the decision. The decision under which they were obliged to do this was given in 1820, in what is known as the Dedham case, or, more exactly, Baker and another *vs.* Fales. The rule laid down was this: "Where a majority of the members of a congregational church separate from the majority of the parish, the members who remain, although a minority, constitute the church in said parish, and retain the rights and property belonging thereto." The Court drew a broad distinction between the church in its civil and its ecclesiastical position: "That any number of the members of a church, who disagree with their brethren, or with the minister, or with the parish, may withdraw from fellowship with them and act as a church in a religious point of view, having the ordinances administered and other religious offices performed; it is not necessary to deny, indeed, this would be a question proper for an ecclesiastical council to settle, if any should dispute their claim. But as to all civil purposes, the secession of a whole church from the parish would be an extinction of the church; and it is competent to the members of the parish to institute a new church, or to ingraft one upon the old stock if any of it should remain; and this new church would succeed to all the rights of the old in relation to the parish." It was not denied that there could be a church without a parish "in an ecclesiastical sense." There was nothing to be done under this construction of law but to give up the property. This was done and a receipt was taken on the 28th of December, 1831, for "the church fund and poor's fund, belonging to said church, amounting, in money and securities for money, to the sum of four thousand one hundred and fifty-four dollars and three cents; also, the communion service of said church, consisting of four silver tankards, seven silver cups, one silver spoon, six britannia dishes, two napkins, one table-cloth and basin, four books of church records, and sundry files of papers, and a trunk and box containing the same; also, the library of books, with the shelves for the same, and nine dollars and ninety-nine cents for the same." The church fund was originally constituted by the gift of fifty pounds by a member of the church, and largely increased by contributions of the church members at the Lord's Supper. "A part of the church plate was given to the church, and the rest was purchased with its own funds." The baptismal basin was the gift of the Rev. William Brattle, "to the church of Christ in Cambridge, my dearly beloved flock."

Those were trying days for the men who had left the parish, but their faith was strong. For a time they used private plate at the communion services. Then the junior pastor came into the possession of the "small book" of Thomas Shepard, and by its publication a communion service was obtained.

In September, 1831, the senior pastor found that his age and increasing debility prevented him from performing the duties of his office and he asked release. The church consented to his request. He preached his farewell sermon October 2, 1831, from the text: "For now we live, if ye stand fast in the Lord." He bore witness to the steadfastness of the people in the time of their trial and to the goodness of God. "Let this house which we have built for the honor of his name be at once a monument of our gratitude and a temple for his praise." The

impression was unspeakably touching when, after his sermon, he gave out the seventy-first Psalm:

"God of my childhood and my youth,
The guide of all my days,
I have declared thy heavenly truth,
And told thy wondrous ways.

"Wilt thou forsake my hoary hairs,
And leave my fainting heart?
Who shall sustain my sinking years,
If God, my strength, depart?"

But Dr. Holmes was still to live among his old friends, and where his presence and counsel would be at the service of the church and the town. He preached a double sermon in February, 1836, on the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the church. He preached his last sermon to his people on the 22d of February, 1837. The subject was: "The vanity of life a reason for seeking a portion in heaven." An illness of a few weeks brought his long and useful life to a close. A severe paralytic shock rendered him almost helpless. But the end was in peace and charity. He said that he wished his injuries written in sand. He died on Sunday morning, June 4, 1837, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. The church-bells were ringing as he passed away; they were afterwards tolled in tribute to his worth, and in witness to the respect of the community. His first wife was the daughter of President Stiles. His second wife, the daughter of Hon. Oliver Wendell, long survived him and received the affectionate homage of all who knew her. The body of Dr. Holmes was at first laid in the ancient burying-place, but was removed to Mount Auburn.

The ministry of Dr. Holmes was, with one exception, the longest which the church has known. He stood at the centre of the parish and the town, and his influence was widely felt. He was a friend to the college of which he was an overseer. He was greatly interested in historical studies and published a "History of Cambridge" in 1800. He printed many sermons, preached on special occasions. His largest work was "The Annals of America from 1492 to 1826." He was actively connected with the Massachusetts Historical Society. He was one of the founders of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and of the American Education Society, and was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Edinburgh about 1805, and was made Doctor of Laws by Allegheny College in 1822. His life was long and full and helpful in every direction. His old friend, Dr. Jenks, said of him: "That blending of moderation and modesty with firmness and decision of character, where decision and firmness are needed, constitute, if I mistake not, an enviable or rather a desirable distinction. . . . Never in extremes or chargeable with extravagance, his deportment and character united, in no common degree, the gentleman, the scholar and the Christian." Some who were children in his day recall his kindly manner towards them, and they like to tell how, as he walked the streets with his well-remembered cane, he would pause at a group of children, and, with a pleasant question and a word of counsel, would draw from his capacious pocket a handful of confectionery and distribute it among the listeners, who had learned to expect it. They tell how, a few weeks before his death, he stood before the pulpit and gave a good book to each member of the Sabbath-School as they passed before him. His name is engraven on the tablet in the Shepard Memorial Church, and his initials are on one of the pillars at the door. His name is on the monument in the church lot in the Cambridge Cemetery. But his best memorial is his work. At the installation of his successors in 1835 and in 1867, at the dedication of the meeting-house in 1872, at the 250th anniversary of the foundation of the church, a hymn written by him was sung. With the last two verses we close this sketch of his ministry:

"Here may the church thy cause maintain,
Thy truth with peace and love,
Till her last earth-born live again
With the first-born above.

"O glorious change! From conflict free,
The church,—no danger nigh,—
From militant on earth, shall be
Triumphant in the sky."

For nearly three years after the retirement of Dr. Holmes, Mr. Adams remained the pastor of the church. In February, 1834, he was invited to become the pastor of the Essex Street Church and Society in Boston. He thought it his duty to accept this invitation. With reluctance the church gave its consent, and he was released from his office here, with the approval of a council, on the 14th of March. This is the only instance in the long history of the church in which a minister had left it to assume the care of another church. Mr. Adams was here in a critical time, when his labors were especially needed, and large results attended his work. After a long and fruitful ministry in Boston, Dr. Adams died in 1878. He had published many religious books, which were widely read and which will preserve his name and character when those who knew him and enjoyed his friendship have all passed on.

For thirteen months the church had no pastor. But Dr. Holmes was here, still a father to his people. In October, 1834, a call was extended to Rev. Oliver E. Daggett, but this was declined. A call was extended to Rev. John A. Albro, and this was accepted, and he was installed April 15, 1835. Mr. Albro was born in Newport, Rhode Island, August 13, 1799. He studied for the law and entered upon its practice at Mansfield, Connecticut, and there he united with the First Church. After spending about two years in the law, he entered the Theological Seminary at

Andover, to prepare for the ministry. He graduated in 1827, and was ordained at Middlesex Village, in Chelmsford, Massachusetts. There came a division there as there came here, and in many other places. After about two years there he became the minister of the Calvinistic Congregational Church in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, where he was installed in 1832. Three years later he came to Cambridge, where he was to have a pastorate of thirty years. The population of the town was then about 6,000. The church was still small and its pecuniary ability limited. But the place was attractive and he was qualified to enjoy it and adorn it. His salary at first was $850 and was to be increased $50 each year till it was $1000. He was to have a suitable dwelling-house at a rent not exceeding $200. If his salary for the second and third years did not cover his expenses he was to have a further grant, not exceeding $50 per year. Soon after his installation a parsonage was built on Holyoke Street, and in this he resided until his death. The original meeting-house contained sixty-six pews. In 1840 ten pews were added. In 1844 the house was enlarged and twenty more pews were provided. In 1852 there was another enlargement, making room for 130 pews on the floor. There was a small gallery at the south end of the house. At his installation the church had 101 members. In 1852 there were 244 and in 1865 there were nearly 300.

In 1848 Mr. Albro was made a Doctor of Divinity by Bowdoin College and in 1851 Harvard conferred the same honor upon him. In 1852 he visited Europe, through the liberality of his people. In 1860 the twenty-fifth anniversary of his installation was celebrated by the church and society, when abundant witness was borne by his own people, and his neighbors, and by the college, to the esteem in which he was held for his learning and character and fidelity. His labors were not restricted to his parish. He served on the School Committee. He gave the address at the consecration of the Cambridge Cemetery. He was a manager in the Massachusetts Sabbath-School Society, and always enlivened the meetings of the Publication Committee "by his genial and keen criticisms, and made them instructive by his learning."

He was the friend and advocate of the Puritan faith and order in the churches. He was conservative in temper and had no fondness for innovation. His preaching was Scriptural and logical, and helpful to his hearers. He could lead the songs of the church with his voice and direct them by his taste and skill. He excelled in conversation, and it was a rare enjoyment to listen to him as his spirit and wit illumined his words. He had for many years a class of college students with whom he read portions of the Greek Testament, which he expounded with the wealth of his learning and his piety, hearing and asking questions. "Many theologians refer to the principles of interpretation which he gave them as laying the foundation of their interest and success in Biblical studies."

On the 12th day of March, 1865, the congregation was surprised by a letter from the pastor in which he resigned his office. He had contemplated taking this step at the close of thirty years of service, and the time was at hand. The resignation was accepted with deep emotion and many expressions of affection and gratitude. On the 15th of April, 1865, his pastorate ended. But he remained in the parsonage and was in many ways still the minister of the people, preaching and serving in other offices of religion. He had no desire for another settlement, but he preached in neighboring churches. On the 16th of December, 1866, he preached for the last time. It was at West Roxbury. When near the close of his sermon a pallor overspread his face. He laid his hand on his heart, and then on his head. He finished the service, resumed his seat and became insensible. He was removed to his temporary home at the house of a deacon of the church, where he regained consciousness, and with it his wonted calmness and peace. Quietly, patiently, in faith and hope, he waited till the end came on the 20th. On Monday his venerated form was brought to his old church and a few days later the last ministries of religion were performed in the darkened church. He was laid to rest in the Cambridge Cemetery, as he had desired, the first tenant of the lot belonging to the church—the Shepard lot. An appropriate stone marks his grave, a granite monument bears his name, with the names of all the ministers of the church who have finished their course.

This long narrative has reached its closing sentences. In October, 1865, the minister of the South Church and Parish in Augusta, Me., was invited to become the minister of the First Church in Cambridge. The invitation was necessarily declined. It was renewed in December, 1866, and under changed conditions it was then accepted. Accordingly the Rev. Alexander McKenzie (Harvard 1859, Andover 1861, S.T.D. Amherst 1879) was installed January 24, 1867. In 1872 a new church of stone was opened and dedicated on Garden Street, corner of Mason. The chapel on Mason Street was finished in the following year. The parsonage on Garden Street was built in 1872. Dr. McKenzie is still the minister of the First Church in Cambridge and the Shepard Congregational Society. The Rev. Leonard S. Parker, A.M., is the assistant minister.

It has been most convenient, and according to precedent, to trace to its present estate the history of the church "in an ecclesiastical sense." The church, "as to all civil purposes," to borrow another phrase of the Supreme Court, is best known as the First Parish Church. The names are sufficiently distinct to prevent confusion. We have now to trace the course of the First Parish Church from the time of the separation—on the 12th of July, 1829. Abel

Whitney was chosen deacon and Sylvanus Plympton clerk or scribe of the church. The Rev. William Newell was called to the pastoral office. Mr. Newell was born in Littleton, Mass., February 25, 1804. His school and college career was very brilliant. He entered the Boston Latin School in 1814, and graduated at Harvard College in 1824, the second scholar in his class. Dr. John Pierce wrote in his diary, "The II. oration of Newell, on early prejudices, was finely written and delivered." His subject, as given by his son and biographer, was, "Duties of College Students as Men and as Citizens." In 1825 he was appointed usher in the Latin School. The tendencies of his mind carried him towards the ministry, and he entered the Harvard Divinity School, where he graduated in 1829. He wished to delay his settlement for a year at least, as his health was uncertain. But he was sought by the church in Cambridge, as we have seen, and he was here ordained May 19, 1830. His salary was $1000 for the first four years, and then $1200, in equal quarterly payments. "His active connection with the parish was severed March 31, 1868. But his heart never could be separated from his people. In the long interval between his own retirement and the settling of a successor many parochial duties continued to fall to his share." "He came to Cambridge in delicate health, and found himself, without any accumulated stock of experience or any store of addresses, obliged to contribute two sermons a week, and to conduct the ministerial duties of a large parish—a parish, too, somewhat formidable from its connection with the college and the number of retired ministers who had come to settle in the university town; while, on the other hand, a section of his auditors stood on the level of plain, practical life. . . . He succeeded as well as it was possible to succeed in satisfying the natural claims of one class and the other." In 1832 the parish sold to the college the land on which its meeting-house stood, and the house now occupied by the parish church was erected. It was dedicated December 12, 1833. The college had certain reserved rights in the house, and the commencement exercises were held there until 1873. When Mr. Newell was settled there was a partial connection of Church and State, by which every townsman was required to pay his part toward the support of public worship. Changes in the law were made in 1833 and 1835, and it was declared that no person "shall hereafter be made a member of any parish or religious society without his consent in writing." The whole matter was complicated and made more perplexing by the financial connection between the church and the college.

Mr. Newell came to Cambridge in the year following the division of the church. A protest against his settlement as minister of the parish was presented to the ordaining council, but, like other protests, had no effect. "He met the storm of hostility by absolutely refusing to engage in religious controversy and by ignoring enmity." When the twenty-fifth anniversary of Dr. Albro's settlement was celebrated, Dr. Newell wrote a letter, expressing his "respect for your able and faithful pastor, with whom, during the whole period of his ministry, my personal relations, notwithstanding our theological differences, have always been pleasant and friendly." He spoke of "the kindly feeling which I hope will always subsist, not only between your pastor and myself, but also between the societies with which we are connected—branches as they are of the same old stock, descended from the same old Congregational family, looking back, amidst their honest differences of opinion, with common pride to a common ancestry." Dr. Albro expressed the comfort he had in knowing that he had lived in so much harmony with his "neighbors of different persuasions."

Mr. Newell received the Doctorate of Divinity from Harvard College in 1853. We may quote again from his filial biographer: "His manners were as courteous, his heart as open and his attentions as constant to the poorest as to the richest member of his congregation. . . . As the years of his ministry passed on, and as age approached, his face seemed to grow constantly more radiant and benignant. Some have felt such a presence on the streets and in the marts of business as a benediction which seemed to leave behind a sweetening and consecrating influence." His successor said of him: "The most marked characteristic of his habit of mind was its complete and childlike simplicity, a sweet, gracious, unstudied naturalness, whose ways were so plain and straight that formal phrases could not fitly follow them." He said there was no need to recall the beauty of the life which for fifty years had been lived in this community by the faithful man and earnest minister.

Dr. Newell's last illness was prolonged and painful, but was borne with wonderful patience and cheerfulness and faith and hope. What seemed to others the valley of shadows was to him the valley of light.

His release came on the 28th of October, 1831, "in the presence of those dearest to him. Conscious almost to the end, his last characteristic farewell was thanks for the happiness which their love had conferred on his life."

The Rev. Francis G. Peabody, Harvard 1869, became the next minister of this church, and was succeeded by the Rev. Edward H. Hall, Harvard 1851. Under his charge the church has remained in continued prosperity.

It has seemed best to trace the history of the First Church and Parish as fully as the limits of this work will allow, inasmuch as it is, for the most part, a history to which all the churches of Cambridge are related. For the greater portion of the time this is the entire ecclesiastical history of the town. As we are now brought into times much nearer to our own, the historical sketches may well be briefer and in more general terms. The wiser plan appears to be to group the

churches of each name and class, instead of presenting them in chronological order. It is proposed, however, to make the order of the groups and the arrangement within each group chronological. In accordance with this principle we continue the account of the Trinitarian Congregational Churches of Cambridge.

In the preparation of these historical sketches constant use has been made of Dr. Paigne's invaluable "History of Cambridge." Other material has been furnished by different churches, and will be used, so far as practicable, in the form in which it was presented.

It does not seem necessary in this account of the churches of Cambridge to continue the history of the churches which have been at different times set off from the First Church, and are now in other towns.

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES.—*The First Church in Cambridge* was organized February 1, 1636.

The First Evangelical Congregational Church in Cambridgeport was organized September 20, 1827. Towards the close of the year 1826 the Rev. Dr. Beecher commenced a course of public weekly lectures at Cambridgeport. "It was instituted at the request of a few individuals who had, for some time previous, been connected with the Hanover Street Church in Boston, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Dr. Beecher. . . . They were kindly furnished by the Baptist Society, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Bela Jacobs, with the use of their meeting-house for this purpose." This was at the time when theological controvery was agitating and dividing the churches. It was thought expedient to found a church in Cambridgeport which should maintain and teach the Trinitarian or "Evangelical" doctrines. Meetings were held at the house of Dr. J. P. Chaplin, on Austin Street, where the project was considered and plans were laid for carrying it into effect. There the council met to organize the church—on the same day on which the new meeting-house was dedicated. This house was on Norfolk Street, at the corner of Washington Street. Evening meetings were usually held at Dr. Chaplin's house until September, 1841. A vestry was built after the meeting-house, probably in 1834. The meeting-house was of wood and was several times enlarged. But it was found necessary to provide a more commodious place of worship, and a brick house was erected on Prospect Street, which is still used by the church. The old house was sold, and was used for lectures and other purposes until it was burned, November 7, 1854. The new house was dedicated June 30, 1852. The cost of the house was $23,184.01. The first pastor of the church was Rev. David Perry, from April 23, 1829, to October 13, 1830. He was followed by Rev. William A. Stearns, from December 14, 1831, to December 14, 1854. This was much the longest pastorate which the church has enjoyed, and it was rich in its usefulness. The first meeting-house was twice enlarged and the new house erected. Dr. Stearns was a man of learning and wisdom, of prudence and charity, and of a many-sided efficiency. The church was greatly strengthened during his ministry, and he had the esteem of the whole community for his goodness and dignity and ability. He resigned to accept the presidency of Amherst College, which he held for the rest of his life. Mr. Stearns was born in Bedford, Massachuseets, March 17, 1805; graduated at Harvard College in 1827, and at the Andover Seminary in 1831. He died June 8, 1876.

Dr. Stearns was followed by the Rev. Edward W. Gilman, (Yale, 1843) who was pastor from September 9, 1856, to October 22, 1858.

Rev. James O. Murray (Brown University, 1850) was installed May 1, 1861, and served until February 6, 1865. He is now professor in Princeton College, which made him Doctor of Divinity in 1867.

Rev. Kinsley Twining (Yale, 1853) was installed September 12, 1867, and resigned April 28, 1872, to become pastor of the Union Congregational Church in Providence, R. I. Rev. William S. Karr (Amherst, 1851) was pastor from January 15, 1873, to November 22, 1875, when he became professor in Hartford Theological Seminary. Rev. James S. Hoyt (Yale, 1851) was installed September 14, 1876.

He was afterwards pastor of the Congregational Church in Keokuk, Iowa, until his death, in 1890. Rev. David N. Beach (Yale) was installed 1884, and is now pastor of the church. By the last report the church had 600 members.

As a part of the history of the church in Prospect Street, a place should here be given to its work at Stearns' Chapel. A Union Sabbath-School was established in 1852, which after a few years passed into the control of the Congregational Church. In 1863 a chapel was built on Harvard Street, to which the name of Stearns was given. Rev. Edward Abbott (University of the City of New York, 1860) took charge of this mission January 1, 1865. November 21, 1865, a church of fifty-one members was organized as the Stearns Chapel Congregational Church, and Mr. Abbott installed as pastor. Mr. Abbott retired in November, 1869, after efficient service, and Rev. George R. Leavitt (Williams, 1860) was installed May 4, 1870. The chapel, which had been enlarged in 1867, became too small for the growing church which went out and became the Pilgrim Congregational Church. Services were continued in the chapel under the care of Rev. Edward Abbott, and another church, was formed October 16, 1872, as the Chapel Congregational Church, and Rev. John K. Browne (Harvard, 1869) was installed as its pastor. He retired September 16, 1875, and was appointed a missionary of the American Board at Harpoot, Eastern Turkey. Rev. Robert B. Hall (Williams, 1870) was installed December 29, 1875, and after a promising beginning of his work was removed by death November 2, 1876.

Rev. Marvin D. Bisbee became the acting pastor April 1, 1877, and on the 18th of April, 1878, he was

installed as pastor. On account of impaired health he resigned his office and was formally dismissed July 3, 1881. He is now librarian of Dartmouth College. September 4, 1881, Rev. Thomas K. Bickford assumed the duties of acting pastor. March 2, 1883, the church was incorporated as the "Chapel Congregational Church in Cambridgeport." About the same time Mrs. Caroline A. Wood, the widow of Caleb Wood, and a member of the church in Prospect Street, made a very large gift for the erection of a meeting-house, on condition that it should be called the Wood Memorial Church, in memory of her husband. The gift was accepted and a commodious and attractive house was erected on the corner of Austin and Columbia Streets. It was dedicated April 30, 1884, and on the following day Mr. Bickford was installed as pastor. By act of the Legislature February 28, 1884, the name of the church was changed to "Wood Memorial Church in Cambridgeport."

Stearns' Chapel was again at the disposal of the church which had built it, and sustained in good measure the services in it. Religious services, including preaching and a Sunday-school, were resumed, and Rev. Robert E. Ely, from the Union Theological Seminary, was placed in charge of the work which is under the supervision of the church in Prospect Street, by which the mission is chiefly sustained. The affairs of the mission are prospering, and it is thought that another Congregational Church will soon be formed in Stearns' Chapel.

Second Evangelical Congregational Church.—This church was organized March 30, 1842, by persons who were generally "Zealous advocates of the immediate abolition of slavery." They erected a meeting-house at the corner of Austin and Temple Streets, and dedicated it January 3, 1844. The first minister, Rev. Joseph C. Lovejoy (Bowdoin, 1829), was installed January 26, 1843, and he continued in office until May 10, 1853. Rev. Charles Packard (Bowdoin, 1842) was the minister from April 26, 1854, to March 21, 1855. Rev. Charles Jones was the minister from May 25, 1855, to October 16, 1857. Rev. George E. Allen (Brown University, 1850) was installed May 20, 1858, and he resigned July 12, 1861. After a series of discouragements, by advice of a council, the church was disbanded October 3, 1865. Many of the members united with the Pilgrim Church, furnishing more than $1200 to aid in building the church on Magazine Street. The meeting-house, which was no longer needed by the society, was sold, and was burned September 6, 1865.

The Evangelical Church at East Cambridge was organized September 8, 1842. In 1843 a meeting-house was erected at the northeasterly corner of Second and Thorndike Streets. The first pastor was Rev. Frederick T. Perkins (Yale, 1839), who was ordained January 11, 1843, and resigned May 26, 1851. He was followed by Rev. Joseph L. Bennett (Amherst, 1845), who was installed July 1, 1852, and resigned February 18, 1857. Rev. Richard G. Greene was pastor 1858–60; Rev. William W. Parker 1861–64; Rev. Nathaniel Mighill (Amherst, 1860), 1864–67; Rev. Heman R. Timlow was acting pastor in 1867–70. Then Samuel Bell was installed November 1, 1870, and resigned May 29, 1872. Rev. D. W. Kilburn supplied the pulpit afterwards. In 1876 the meeting-house was presented to the Day Street Church in West Somerville, and was taken down and removed for the use of that church, by which it is now occupied. The East Cambridge Church had become greatly reduced in numbers by the removal of its members and the changes in the population around it, and it was therefore disbanded.

The North Avenue Congregational Church was organized September 23, 1857. It was at first called the Holmes Congregational Church, and was connected with the Holmes Congregational Society, which was formed in North Cambridge in September, 1857. In 1866 the name North Avenue was substituted for Holmes. A chapel was built in 1857, and called the Holmes Chapel. In this worship was maintained until it was too small for the congregation, when it was sold to a new Methodist Society. The Holmes Society bought the meeting-house of the old Cambridge Baptist Church, and moved it bodily to the corner of North Avenue and Roseland Street. It was dedicated by its new owners September 29, 1867. It was afterwards enlarged to meet the wants of the growing congregation, and it is still the home of the church. The church at its formation had forty-three members, some of whom were from the First Church. At the last report there were 512 members.

The first pastor was Rev. William Carruthers (Bowdoin, 1853), who was installed January 2, 1861, and dismissed February 21, 1866. Rev. David O. Mears (Amherst, 1865) was ordained and installed October 2, 1867. After a successful ministry he retired July 1, 1877, to become the pastor of the Piedmont Church, in Worcester. Rev. Charles F. Thwing, (Harvard, 1876, Andover, 1879) was ordained and installed September 25, 1879, and resigned October 29, 1886, to become the pastor of Plymouth Church in Minneapolis. Rev. Walters Alexander, D.D. (Yale, 1858, Andover, 1861), was installed October 28, 1886, and has remained the pastor of the church until his recent resignation of the office.

Pilgrim Congregational Church.—An account of the origin of this church has already been given. The fuller sketch which follows has been prepared by one of the officers of the church and is printed in full.

In 1852 a mission Sabbath-school was established in the lower part of Cambridgeport, which was for some time carried on by the First and Second Congregational, the Methodist and the Baptist Churches, acting together. Within a few years, however, all these churches except the First Congregational relinquished their connection with the work. In 1863 the Stearns Chapel was built on Harvard Street, near

Winsor, primarily for the accommodation of this school. The chapel was soon opened for religious meetings on Sunday and Wednesday evenings, and preaching services were held on Sunday afternoons with a good degree of regularity. The success of these efforts was such that the First Church was led to consider the question of organizing another church.

In the autumn of 1864 Rev. Edward Abbott was invited to "take charge of the Stearns Chapel for one year." He began his work Sunday, January 1, 1865, and on November 21st of the same year a church of fifty-one members was formed. It was called the Stearns Chapel Congregational Church, and Mr. Abbott was installled as its first pastor. Of the fifty-one members, eighteen came by letter from the First Congregational Church, seventeen from the Second Congregational Church (which disbanded at about this time), and four from churches outside of Cambridge; while twelve made their first public confession of faith.

The growth of the church was rapid. In December, 1867, it became necessary to enlarge the chapel. Mr. Abbott resigned the pastorate in November, 1869, and on the 4th of the following May Rev. George R. Leavitt was installed as his successor. It had now become evident that the church ought to leave the mission chapel, and build a larger meeting-house. A majority of the attendants at the Stearns Chapel lived on the southerly side of Main Street, in a part of the city where there was no Congregational Church. It was consequently decided to build in that section, and a lot was bought at the corner of Magazine and Cottage Streets, in April, 1870. The corner-stone of the new house was laid May 13, 1871, and the building was dedicated January 4, 1872. The cost of the lot and the building was nearly forty thousand dollars.

Early in 1871 the name of the organization was changed to The Pilgrim Congregational Church, and a petition was laid before the Legislature for a special act of incorporation, giving the church the right to hold property and do all its own business, without a parish or society. At that time such a form of church life was almost unknown, and was impossible without special legislative enactment. The petition was granted, however, and The Pilgrim Church became a legal corporation. February 22, 1885, Mr. Leavitt tendered his resignation, in consequence of a call to Cleveland, Ohio, and on the 10th of March he was formally dismissed by an ecclesiastical council. Soon afterward a call was extended to Rev. George A. Tewksbury, of Plymouth, Mass., and on the 7th of May he was installed as the third pastor of Pilgrim Church. He held this office about four years, and was dismissed March 5, 1889. Rev. Charles Olmstead, formerly of Oswego Falls, N. Y., succeeded Mr. Tewksbury, being installed July 9, 1889.

At the outset the church adopted the plan of free sittings and voluntary offerings. None of the pews are assigned to individuals or families, but all are strictly free. The expenses of the church are met entirely by the free-will offerings of the people, which are gathered by passing boxes throughout the house at each Sunday preaching service. The old custom of having two sermons every Sunday, forenoon and afternoon, has never been abandoned.

The church has received a total of over eleven hundred members, and its present membership is about six hundred and fifty.

Wood Memorial Church.—An account of the formation of this church has been given. It moved from Stearns' Chapel to its new house in 1884. Mr. Bickford retired from the pastorate May 26, 1887, after a ministry which had been of signal advantage to the church. Rev. Isaiah W. Sneath became the acting pastor September 1, 1887, and was finally installed as pastor June 20, 1888. The church had in February, 1890, a membership of 195, with a Sunday-school of 395 members.

UNITARIAN CHURCHES.—*The First Parish Church* was organized February 1, 1636. The account of this church has already been given.

Cambridgeport Parish.—An account has already been given of the organization of this parish. The meeting-house corporation was formed in 1805, the meeting-house dedicated January 1, 1807, the parish organized in 1808, and the church formed July 14, 1809. The first minister, Rev. Thomas Brattle Gannett, was ordained January 19, 1814, and was the pastor till 1834. He died in 1851, at the age of sixty-two.

The second pastor was the Rev. Artemas B. Muzzey (Harvard, 1824), who was installed January 1, 1834, and continued in the office until 1846. Mr. Muzzey is still living in Cambridge. He has been especially interested in historical studies, and as a native of Lexington has appropriately published a book of "Reminiscences and Memorials of Men of the Revolution, and their Families." The third minister was the Rev. John F. W. Ware (Harvard 1838), who was installed November 29, 1846, and retired April 1, 1864. He resigned to take charge of a society in Baltimore, and afterwards was the minister of the Arlington St. Church, in Boston, until his death, in 1881.

Rev. Henry C. Badger was installed January 15, 1865, and he resigned on account of ill health October 1, 1865. He is now connected with the Cartographical Department of the library of Harvard College.

The Rev. George W. Briggs, D.D., was installed April 3, 1867, and is still pastor of the church. He graduated at Brown University in 1825 and at the Harvard Divinity School in 1834. He received his Doctorate of Divinity from Harvard in 1855. The Rev. John Tunis, a graduate of the Harvard Divinity School in 1882, was installed as colleague pastor April 11, 1889.

During Mr. Ware's ministry the society increased

largely, and in 1854 the church was remodeled and new pews took the place of the old ones. After Dr. Briggs' accession to the pastorate of the church the society was so much enlarged that in 1872 it was found necessary again to remodel the church and to increase the number of pews. A new vestry was fitted up in the basement. The first meeting-house was of brick, and stood on the west side of the square bounded by Broadway and Harvard, Columbia and Boardman Streets. This house was so much injured by the wind in 1833 that it was abandoned, and the new house was erected on Austin Street. This is now the home of the church,—the place of worship, and the centre of its religious and philanthropic activities. A Sunday-school was established by the society in 1814.

The Third Congregational Society was incorporated June 16, 1827, and in that year it erected a brick meeting-house at the corner of Thorndike and Third Streets, East Cambridge. The church was organized March 3, 1828. The first pastor was Rev. Warren Burton (Harvard, 1821). He was installed March 5, 1828 and resigned in 1829, and the Rev. James D. Green (Harvard, 1817) was installed January 6, 1830. He resigned in 1840 and afterward filled various civil offices. He was the first mayor of Cambridge. His successors were Rev. Messrs. Henry Lambert, George G. Ingersoll, Frederick W. Holland, Frederick N. Knapp, William T. Clarke, Henry C. Badger, Rufus P. Stebbins, Stephen G. Bulfinch and Samuel W. McDaniel. The latter resigned in 1874. The changes in that part of Cambridge made it impracticable to continue the services in the church. In 1887 the Cambridgeport Parish and Church in Austin Street received the fund of the society and became responsible for its custody and use. In connection with this arrangement the society in Austin Street, by an act of the Legislature, took the name of the Third Congregational Society in Cambridge. The house in East Cambridge was sold in 1886, with the organ and bell, and has since been used by the Church of the Ascension (Episcopal).

The Lee Street Society was organized in 1846. Most of the original members, with the first pastor, had been connected with the Cambridgeport Parish. The church was organized April 9, 1847. The first meeting-house was built on Lee Street and dedicated March 25, 1847, and burned May 20, 1855. Another house was erected on the same lot and dedicated January 23, 1856.

Rev. Artemas B. Muzzey was the pastor from September 7, 1846, till February 20, 1854, when he resigned. He was followed by Rev. Henry R. Harrington (Harvard, 1834), from February 11, 1855, to April 1, 1865. He was followed by Rev. Abram W. Stevens, who was installed November 26, 1865 and retired November 1, 1870. Rev. John P. Bland, of the Harvard Divinity School (1871), was ordained September 6, 1871. But the Lee Street Society had become reduced in strength by the death or removal of most of its original members, and it was at length thought best to accept a cordial invitation to return to the church and society in Austin Street. "The result was accomplished satisfactorily to all concerned and the union was consummated without a dissenting voice."

The church on Lee Street was bought by the city, and is now temporarily used by the Latin School.

The Allen Street Congregational Society (*Unitarian*) was organized October 8, 1851, in North Cambridge. Several of the members resided over the line, in Somerville. A meeting-house was built at the corner of Allen and Orchard Streets, on land given for that purpose by Mr. Walter M. Allen. The house was finished in February, 1853, and was destroyed by fire March 19, 1865. Another house, erected on the same site, was completed in December, 1865, and was afterwards enlarged. In 1869 it was found expedient for the society to unite with the Universalist denomination, and its latest history will be found in connection with the Universalist Churches.

University Church.—An account has already been given of the organization of a church in connection with Harvard College in 1814. That was nearly fifteen years before the separation of the First Church from the parish, and the new church was formed with the approval and assistance of the old church and its minister. But the new church became allied with the Unitarian movement and its ministers were from that branch of the church. Services were held in the new College Chapel in University Hall and the president with the Faculty of the Theological School, officiate. In 1858 Appleton Chapel was completed, and the services of the College Church have since been held there. The pastors and preachers, in addition to President Kirkland, have been Rev. Henry Ware, D.D. (Harvard, 1785), from 1814 to 1840; Rev. Henry Ware, D.D., Jr. (Harvard, 1812), from 1840 to 1842; Rev. Convers Francis, D.D. (Harvard, 1815), from 1842 to 1855; Rev. Frederic D. Huntington, D.D. (Amherst, 1842), from 1855 to 1860; Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, D.D. (Harvard, 1826), from 1860 to 1881. Since that time the services of the University Church have been discontinued. After Dr. Peabody's resignation the chapel pulpit was supplied by different ministers who were invited by the college authorities. In 1886 Rev. Francis G. Peabody (Harvard, 1869), was appointed Plummer Professor of Christian Morals, and a board of five preachers was appointed to administer with him the religious affairs of the college. The five preachers were Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D.D., Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D., Rev. Alexander McKenzie, D.D., Rev. Richard Montague, Rev. George A. Gordon. The preachers are appointed annually. Rev. Theodore C. Williams, Rev. William Lawrence, Rev. Lyman Abbott, D.D., Rev. Brooke Herford, D.D., and Rev. Henry Van Dyke, D.D., have been added to the board, from which some of the original

members have retired. The Plummer professor and the preachers conduct the service of morning prayer, and a Sunday evening service in which they are assisted by other clergymen.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCHES. — *Christ Church.*—The introduction of the Episcopal Church into Cambridge has been mentioned already in its chronological place. A fuller account can be given here, compiled, for the most part, from the narrative written by Rev. Dr. Hoppin for the "History of the American Episcopal Church." "Several worthy gentlemen of the town of Cambridge," members of the Church of England, petitioned the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts to grant them a missionary who should officiate for them and for others in neighboring towns, and for such college students as were in the English Church. They named the Rev. East Apthorp, a Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, England, as a suitable man for this service. Mr. Apthorp was appointed in 1759. Arrangements were made for building a church. The original subscription for this purpose is dated at Boston, April 25, 1759. The building committee was composed of well-known men: Henry Vassal, Joseph Lee, John Vassal, Ralph Inman, Thomas Oliver, David Phips. They employed "a masterly architect," Mr. Peter Harrison, of Newport, R. I." "Christ Church, built from his designs, at a cost, not including the land, of about £1300 sterling, seems to have been always regarded as an edifice of superior elegance." Mr. Apthorp spoke of it as "adding to the few specimens we have of excellence in the fine arts." Archdeacon Barnaby, in his "Travels," published in 1760, says of the house and the minister, "The building is elegant, and the minister of it, the Rev. Mr. Apthorp, is a very amiable young man of shining parts, good learning, and pure and engaging manners." The establishment of the Church of England in this colony was met with resistance. Mr. Apthorp, published in 1763, "Considerations on the Institution and Conduct of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel." The Rev. Jonathan Mayhew replied, the Archbishop of Canterbury replied to him, and Dr. Mayhew and Mr. Apthorp continued the controversy. Upon his settlement here, Mr. Apthorp "built a spacious and costly mansion, the unwonted splendor of which caused many remarks." Dr. Mayhew wrote: "Since the mission was established in Cambridge, and a very sumptuous dwelling house (for this country) erected there, that town hath been often talked of by Episcopalians, as well as others, as the proposed place of residence for a bishop." Dr. Hoppin writes: "No doubt Mr. Apthorp's situation in Cambridge was rendered uncomfortable by this controversy, and he the more readily embraced the opportunity of preferment in England." He received in 1765 an appointment from Archbishop Secker, and returned to England, where "he died at the advanced age of eighty-four, and was buried with great honor in the chapel of Jesus College, Cambridge." His death occurred on the 16th of April, 1816.

The church was erected on Garden Street, on land adjoining the old burying-ground. "A piece of land one hundred feet square was bought of Mr. James Reed for £16 2*s.* 1½*d.*, lawful money." "This, with the same quantity bought of the Proprietors of the common and undivided lands of the Town of Cambridge and taken in from the commons, formed the church lot. The price paid to the Proprietor was £13 6*s.* 8*d.*, lawful money, the church also paying for the removal of the Pounds." The church was opened for divine service October 15, 1761. After Mr. Apthorp's retirement the Rev. Mr. Griffith officiated from December, 1764, to May, 1765. In June, 1767, the Rev. Winwood Serjeant became the missionary for the church, and he remained in this office until the breaking out of the War of the Revolution. Dr. Caner writes to the society, June 2, 1775: "Mr. Serjeant of Cambridge, has been obliged, with his family, to fly for the safety of their lives, nor can I learn where he is concealed. His fine church is turned into barracks by the rebels, and a beautiful organ that was in it broke to pieces." Another writes in 1778: "Mr. Serjeant's parish at Cambridge is wholly broken up. The elegant houses of these gentlemen who once belonged to it are now occupied by the rebels." Mr. Serjeant died at Bath, England, September 20, 1780.

While the American Army was in Cambridge it is probable that service was occasionally performed in the church. There is a record of a service held on Sunday, the last day of 1775, "at the request of Mrs. Washington. There were present the General and lady, Mrs. Gates, Mr. Custis and a number of others." But the house "was left for many years in a melancholy and desecrated condition, the doors shattered and all the windows broken out, exposed to rain and storms, and every sort of depredation; its beauty gone, its sanctuary defiled, the wind howling through its deserted aisles and about its stained and decaying walls; the whole building being a disgrace instead of an ornament to the town." No effort appears to have been made for the renewal of divine worship till the beginning of the year 1790. The edifice was then repaired, and on the 14th of July was reopened for service, and Rev. Dr. Parker, rector of Trinity Church, Boston, preached from Ephesians ii. 19–22. "The Rev. Joseph Warren had been 'put into Deacon's orders' by Bishop Seabury, for Christ Church, and officiated till Easter, 1791. The Rev. Dr. Walter and the Rev. William Montague, as assistant, then served conjointly for a time. Readers were employed, among them Theodore Debar, afterward Bishop of South Carolina, and Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, afterward Provisional Bishop of New York." In 1826 the building was repaired and reopened July 30, 1826, "a sermon being preached by the Rev. George Otis, A. M., one

of the faculty of Harvard College. Of those who have in later days served this ancient parish as rectors, two are now bishops of the church, the Right Rev. Drs. Vail and M. A. De Wolfe Howe. Of those who have temporarily served in this congregation, the Rev. Dr. John Williams is now Bishop of Connecticut, and the Rev. Horatio Southgate was the Missionary Bishop in Turkey." Mr. Otis was chosen rector, and declined the office on account of his college engagements, but "he continued to officiate for the church, and was virtually its minister, till his lamented and untimely death, at the age of thirty-two, February 25, 1828." Rev. Thomas W. Coit, D.D., was rector from Easter, 1829, to Easter, 1835; Dr. Howe for a few months in 1836 and 1837; Dr. Vail from Easter, 1837, to Easter, 1839. The Rev. Nicholas Hoppin became the rector in November, 1839. He was a graduate of Brown University in 1831. The congregation increased under his rectorship, and in 1857 the church edifice was enlarged by an addition of twenty-three feet to its length. Changes were also made in the interior. A chime of thirteen bells was procured by subscription and placed in the belfry of the church, where they were rung for the first time on Easter morning, 1860. After a successful ministry of thirty-four years, much the longest which the church has known, Dr. Hoppin resigned, April 20, 1874. He continued to reside in Cambridge, where he was held in great respect.

The next rector of Christ Church was the Rev. William Chauncy Langdon, D.D., who, after a few years of faithful service, resigned the parish, and was succeeded by the present rector, Rev. James F. Spalding, D. D.

St. Peter's Church,[1] Main Street, Cambridgeport.—This parish was organized October 27, 1842. A lot of land on Magazine Street, near Perry, was given as a site for the church, but this location being considered entirely out of town, it was exchanged for a lot on Prospect Street, near the corner of Harvard, on which a church was at once built. The parish was admitted into union with the Diocese at the annual meeting of the convention in 1843.

The movement for a new church building began in 1864, and the foundation of the present church, corner of Main and Vernon Streets, was laid in that year. The work proceeded slowly; in September, 1866, worship was begun in the Sunday-school room, and the church was opened for service on the Sunday after Christmas, 1867; but owing to the fact that it was not fully paid for, its consecration could not take place until October 2, 1873, when that ceremony was performed by Right Rev. B. H. Paddock, it being his first public official act after his consecration as Bishop of the Diocese.

In the forty-seven years of its history the parish has been in charge of nine different clergymen. Rev. Edward M. Gushee (Brown University, 1858) was rector from Easter, 1875; but at the present time (February, 1890) the rectorship is vacant.

St. Philip's Church,[2] Allston Street.—This church was built by Rev. Edward M. Gushee while he was rector of St. Peter's Church, chiefly at his own expense. The formal benediction of the foundation took place on Sunday, November 28, 1886, and the church was opened for service on Sunday, June 12, 1887. Mr. Gushee continued to serve both churches until Easter, 1888, when he resigned the rectorship of St. Peter's and devoted himself entirely to St. Philip's, of which he still remains in charge. In the summer of 1888 the church was enlarged by lengthening both chancel and nave and the addition of a transept. The congregation is not represented in the meetings of the Diocesan Convention, not having been admitted into union with the Diocese.

The Church of the Ascension,[1] East Cambridge, and *St. Bartholomew's*, Cambridgeport, are canonically called "Missions," having no parochial organization and no representation in the Diocesan Convention, but they are not dependent on any parish.

St. Bartholomew's has been in existence about two years and is now under the care of Rev. David G. Haskins, D.D.

The first service for the Mission of the Ascension was held on Whit-Sunday, 1875, by Rev. Wm. Warland in the present church, which was then owned by the Third Congregational Society.

In May, 1886, the building, with the organ and bell, was bought for the Church of the Ascension. There is no clergyman in regular charge at the present time.

St. James' Parish,[3] Cambridge.—The circumstances leading to the organization of this parish are of more than ordinary interest, as its growth has been one of the noticeable features of the religious life of the city. In 1860 the Rev. Frederic D. Huntington, D.D., Plummer Professor of Christian Morals in Harvard University, and previously a Unitarian, had been ordained to the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Four years later he resigned his office in the university. His organization and rectorship of Emmanuel Church, Boston, followed this step. Another result was the organization of the "Church Union," a fervent society of young churchmen of Boston and vicinity, dedicated to aggressive effort in the line of church extension. Living at this juncture in Cambridge, and connected with the mother parish of Christ Church, was the Rev. Andrew Croswell, a retired Episcopal clergyman in impaired health. Stimulated by the zeal and activity around him, he looked about for a suitable place at which himself to try a mission work, and pitched upon North Cambridge, then an almost outlying and detached precinct of the city, beginning a mile or more above the college buildings at Harvard Square. There he hired a hall, and, with the co-operation of Samuel Batchelder

[1] Communicated. [2] Communicated. [3] Communicated.

and George Dexter, two devoted laymen, honored Cambridge names, the first service was held on the evening of Christmas Day, 1864, the rector of Emmanuel Church, Boston, now Bishop of Central New York, preaching the sermon. The hall was Atwill's, on the corner of North Avenue and Russell Street. Here the mission continued under Mr. Croswell's ministry until its growth led to its removal to the abandoned bank building on the avenue near Porter's Station, which was fitted up for a chapel and occupied as such until 1871. Meantime a parish of the Episcopal Church had been organized under the legal title of the Free Church of St. James, on the 18th of June, 1866, with the Rev. Andrew Croswell as rector, which position he filled till the building of the little church on Beech Street, the gift of a Cambridge lady deeply interested in the mission, and erected on land secured by Mr. Croswell with the aid of other friends. The corner-stone of this church was laid June 30, 1871, and the building was consecrated December 21st following. Mr. Croswell's health obliging him about this time to retire from the rectorship, he was succeeded by the Rev. W. H. Fultz, and he in turn, in 1873, by the Rev. T. S. Tyng, a grandson of the Rev. Dr. Stephen H. Tyng, of New York. Fresh from the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Mr. Tyng brought to this his first rectorship great ardor and indefatigable industry, and during the five years of his ministry the parish, though still small and feeble and struggling, made steady gains. The planting of St. John's Church, Arlington and the building of St. James' Chapel, West Somerville, were part of the visible fruits of Mr. Tyng's energetic work. In 1878 Mr. Tyng resigned, having offered himself as a missionary to Japan, and was succeeded by the Rev. Edward Abbott, formerly a Congregationalist minister, and a resident of Cambridge since 1865 (founder and first pastor of what is now the Pilgrim Congregational Church), who had lately been confirmed in the Episcopal Church, and was about becoming a candidate for its ministry. Mr. Abbott virtually took charge of the parish in September, 1878, and is now (1890) still its rector. The growth of the parish in the past twelve years has been vigorous and marked. The purchase of land in the rear of the Beech Street Church and the erection thereon of a Parish House, and later the purchase of the sightly and historic Davenport estate, on the corner of the avenue and Beech Street, and the completion thereon, in 1889, of a large, new and beautiful stone church, are the two most notable outward signs of their progress. Of this church Bishop Huntington laid the corner-stone in August, 1888. The new St. James' Church is considerably the largest Episcopal Church in the city, and in many respects one of the most impressive and attractive of all its religious edifices, having a capacity of nearly, if not quite, 800 persons, and possessing one of the most spacious and beautiful chancels in the State. This feature of the building is a memorial to the late James Greenleaf, of Cambridge, with whom the late Rev. Andrew Croswell, first rector of the parish, was connected by marriage. Through all these years the parish has been deeply interested and earnestly active in all good works, especially in behalf of missions at home and abroad, and has been a liberal giver according to its means. A flourishing Sunday-school, a numerous Ladies' Missionary Society, a Men's Benefit Society, a Young Men's Guild, a Young People's Missionary Society and a temperance society are among its activities. Its present number of communicants is about 250.

The Episcopal Theological School.—"This institution was incorporated in 1867. It had long been felt that a theological seminary was needed to provide a ministry for the church in New England, and especially when Cambridge offered so excellent an opportunity to recruit and prepare candidates." "Several attempts to establish the seminary had been made, but had not been successful. The Rev. J. H. Hopkins, later Bishop of Vermont, for nearly two years taught several young men in a house which he occupied in Cambridge. But as he was elected to the episcopate, and expectations in regard to finances were not realized, the matter was given up."

But in 1867 Benjamin T. Reed, of Boston, revived the scheme and conveyed to trustees selected by himself, the sum of $100,000, "accompanied by an inventure of conditions." The title of the property is in the hands of five lay trustees who fill their own vacancies. There is also a Board of Visitors consisting of the bishop of the Diocese, with three clergymen and three laymen. In regard to the instruction: "The aim has been to be independent of all schools of thought or parties, and to make the teaching as comprehensive as the church itself, and as impartial towards all loyal members thereof."

In 1869, Mr. R. M. Mason built St. John's Memorial Chapel "for the free accommodation of officers and students of the school and of Harvard College, and of the public on such terms as the trustees may fix." In 1873 Mr. Amos A. Lawrence built a dormitory, which was completed in 1880. In 1874 Mr. Reed gave the library and class-room building, and at his death, soon after, bequeathed to the seminary the reversion of his estate. In 1875 Mr. John A. Burnham built the refectory. There have been other gifts of money and land. "The actual donations have amounted to $426,500." The "property actually on hand is worth $381,500." "The ultimate reversion of the estate of the founder will render the endowment of the school one of the largest in America." The buildings make a very attractive group on Brattle Street, and the affairs of the school are in a flourishing condition. The Rev. John S. Stone, D.D., was dean of the school until 1876, when he retired. The Rev. George Zabriskie Gray, D.D., was then chosen

dean, and filled the office with great usefulness and acceptance until his death in 1889. The Rev. William Lawrence (Harvard, 1871) is now the dean of the school.

The course of study covers three years, with provision for post-graduate studies. The catalogue of the school for 1889–90 gave 43 students. About 200 students have been connected with the school.

BAPTIST CHURCHES.—*The First Baptist Church.*[1] —The First Baptist Church was organized "at the house of Mr. Samuel Hancock," in Cambridgeport, Dec. 17, 1817, seventeen males and twenty-nine females then subscribing to the "Articles of Faith and a Covenant." Measures had been taken already to erect a house of worship. February 10, 1818, William Brown and Levi Farwell were chosen deacons, both of whom acted in that capacity for twenty-six years. February 25, 1818, the church was publicly recognized in its own house of worship, situated on the corner of Magazine and River Streets. The house was built of wood and was three times enlarged to meet the wants of the increasing congregation. It was burned January 22, 1866. December 25, 1867, on the 50th anniversary of the organization of the church, a new and elegant structure of brick, costing $90,000, was dedicated. This house was also burned to the ground February 3, 1881, but a new and still finer building was erected and dedicated, free of debt, October 15, 1882.

The first pastor of the church was Bela Jacobs, formerly of Pawtuxet, R. I., who filled the office from 1818 to 1833. The time of his ministry was one of great prosperity, and though the church was, during this period, the mother of three other churches, she was compelled to enlarge her own facilities to accommodate the increasing congregation. A short and uneventful pastorate of two years succeeded, during which Stephen Lovell, of New Bedford, was the incumbent of the office. This was followed by the call of Joseph W. Parker, a student in Newton Theological Institution, who was ordained and installed as pastor Dec. 11, 1836. This pastorate continued seventeen years, and was one of great prosperity to the church. The congregation greatly increased, though eighty-three members of the church with their families were dismissed to form the Old Cambridge Baptist Church. March 25, 1855, Sumner R. Mason, of Lockport, N. Y., was installed, whose labors were greatly blessed through sixteen years. August 26, 1871, Dr. Mason was killed in the terrible railroad disaster at Revere. During this period the Broadway Baptist Church went forth from the First Church. Jan. 1, 1873, H. K. Pervear, of Worcester, became pastor and continued in the office for seven years. Large additions were made to the church, the net increase being from 423 to 538. Sept. 1, 1879, W. T. Chase, of Lewiston, Me., entered upon the duties of the pastorate and remained with the church until 1884, the church numbering at the close of his pastorate 656. He was followed by the present incumbent, James McWhinnie, of Portland, Me., May 18, 1884.

The "Inman Square Mission" is under the care of this church. In 1887 a commodious chapel was provided for the use of the mission. A flourishing Sunday-school and regular Sunday and weekly services are held there. Among the deacons of the church Josiah W. Cook has held the office for forty-six years. Deacon Joseph A. Holmes has been clerk of the church for more than forty-five years.

The Second Baptist Church.—In 1824 a Sabbath-school was established in East Cambridge by members of Baptist Churches in Boston, who subsequently sustained preaching on one evening of the week in a room of the Putnam School-house. In 1827 a meeting-house was built on Cambridge Street, at the corner of Fourth. This house was burned April 14, 1837. A house of brick was erected on the same site, and dedicated January 11, 1838. A church was organized September 3, 1827. The first pastor was Rev. John E. Weston, who was ordained October 10, 1827, and resigned April 4, 1831. His successor was Rev. Jonathan Aldrich, (Brown, 1826), from June 3, 1833, to June 19, 1835. Rev. Bela Jacobs was installed August 23, 1835, and served until May 22, 1836, when his sudden death ended his useful and honored life. His successors have been Rev. Nathaniel Hervey, 1836 to 1839; Rev. William Leverett, 1840 to 1849; Rev. Amos F. Spalding, 1852 to 1856; Rev. Hiram K. Pervear, 1858 to 1865; Rev. Frank R. Morse, 1865 to 1867; Rev. George H. Miner, 1868 to 1872; Rev. Hugh C. Townley, 1873 to 1875; Rev. George W. Holman, Rev. H. R. Greene, Rev. N. M. Weeks and Rev. Burton Crankshaw, who is now the pastor. Mr. Crankshaw came to this country from England in 1872. He graduated at the Newton Theological Seminary in 1889. Under his ministry the church is pursuing its work with renewed energy and hope.

The Old Cambridge Baptist Church[2] was organized August 20, 1844, with a membership of nearly ninety persons, almost all of whom had formerly belonged to the First Baptist Church in Cambridgeport. Its first house of worship was on land bought from Harvard College, at the corner of Kirkland Street and Holmes Place. Services of dedication and of recognition of the church and installation of the first pastor, Rev. E. G. Robinson, D.D., LL.D., in after-years president of Brown University, were held October 23, 1845. Just twenty-one years later, October 23, 1866, the building was sold, and after removal to the corner of North Avenue and Roseland Street, where it now stands, became the church-house of the North Avenue Congregational Society. The land was resold to Harvard College, and what was perhaps the most desirable

[1] Communicated.

[2] Communicated.

place in Cambridge for a church, had not its limits then been so small, became by enlargement a fine site for the attractive Hemenway Gymnasium of the University. With the proceeds of the sale of house and land, and with what Dr. Paige, in his "History of Cambridge," calls "contributions on a magnificent scale," provision was made for the present place of worship, between Harvard and Main Streets, near Quincy Square, the dedication of which took place September 29, 1870.

In the Civil War the church had its doers of patriotic service at home and its martyrs in the field.

The most striking recent event in this summary of the church's external history was the fire on Sunday, January 20, 1889, by which the interior of the chapel was destroyed and the main building damaged. After an interval of nine months, during which the hospitalities of the University and of the First Parish were enjoyed (those of the Shepard Congregational Society being proffered with equal kindness), the house was reopened October 27, 1889.

At the date of writing, February, 1890, the church has been without a minister for nearly a year and a half, the pastorate of the Rev. Franklin Johnson, D.D., which began with the year 1884, having terminated in September, 1888. The church at present numbers some 450 members.

With its history of only forty-five years it seems almost a new-comer among the venerable institutions of this ancient home of piety and learning; yet the communion to which it belongs had here a notable representative of its genius and tendencies at a very early period of the history of Cambridge, in the person of the first president of the college, whom it regards with just fondness as a spiritual ancestor.

The pastors of this church have been Rev. Ezekiel G. Robinson, D.D. (Brown University, 1838), from October 23, 1845, to September 13, 1846.

Rev. Benjamin L. Lane, from December 30, 1846, to March 8, 1849.

Rev. John Pryor, D.D., from March 25, 1850, to July 26, 1861.

Rev. Cortland W. Anable, D.D., from June 21, 1863, to October 27, 1871.

Rev. Franklin Johnson, D.D., from December 31, 1873, to September, 1888.

The North Avenue Baptist Church[1] had its origin in a Mission Sunday school. The first session was held on the last Sunday of September, 1846.

In the territory now known as the Fifth Ward of the city there was then no religious service held and no religious society existing. At the first gathering there were present forty-five persons. Permission to use a room in the Winthrop School-house was obtained from the city government, through the Hon. James D. Green, first mayor of the city. The history of this religious interest is coeval with the corporate life of the city. The privilege of occupying a room in the school-house was suddenly withdrawn on the 18th of July, 1852. This withdrawal left the young interest in straits, but the apparent calamity was only a blessing in disguise. It threw faithful Christian workers back on God and their own resources. A lot of land on North Avenue, near the corner of Russell Street, was at once leased from the city, plans for a small chapel were secured, the funds for its immediate erection subscribed, and on the 31st day of October, of the same year, the little company entered their new abode. The city government kindly permitted the school to occupy its old quarters during the erection of the chapel.

This chapel was named "Our Sabbath Home," by the first superintendent, Mr. E. R. Prescott. The prime movers in this enterprise were chiefly members of the West Cambridge (now Arlington) and Old Cambridge Baptist Churches.

As early as February, 1848, the school was admitted into the "Boston Baptist Sabbath School Teachers' Convention." During the winter of 1852–53 religious services were held weekly, on Thursday evenings, in the chapel. In May, 1853, regular Sabbath services were begun. Rev. A. M. Averill, of the Newton Theological Institution became the "permanent supply." In this work of maintaining the preaching of the Gospel, Christian people of other faiths generously participated.

An organization known as the North Cambridge Evangelical Association was formed, and for a short time controlled the business affairs of the new enterprise. It was soon deemed advisable, however, to organize a regular Baptist Church, as a large majority of those interested were already members of that denomination. Accordingly, on the 22d day of March, 1854, a company of thirty men and women formed themselves into such a body, adopting articles of faith which, "for substance of doctrine," were in accord with the tenets and usages of the Baptist denomination. Public recognition services were held on the 6th of April, following. Mr. Averill became the regular pastor of the young church, and under his administration it greatly prospered. In the meantime there had been formed the "North Cambridge Baptist Society." This body was composed of prominent members of the church and congregation. Under the existing laws, a church, as such, could not legally hold property. The aid of Dr. J. R. Morse, a well-known physician, justice of the peace, and afterward deacon of the North Avenue Congregational Church, was invoked. The forms of law were duly observed and the society commissioned for its important work. Some of the leading members of that day are still foremost in activity and fidelity. Mr. Henry R. Glover, the first chairman, still magnifies that office, having been elected to it each successive year since. Mr. Warren Sanger, the first clerk, filled that office for twenty-one consecutive years; is still a member

[1] Communicated.

of the society and retains an unabated interest in its welfare. The society has been called upon during its brief history to build three houses of worship. In all three cases, the chairman of the Building Committee has been Mr. C. W. Kingsley,—a fact which needs no comment. The organization of this society was demanded by the growth of Sunday-school and church. The question of location was long and anxiously discussed, and at last settled by the generous gift from Mr. Henry Potter of a lot of land upon which the present edifice in part stands. Of many sites considered this has proven the most eligible, and the older members of the church and society still keep the donor's "memory green."

During 1854 the first meeting-house was built, and dedicated to the worship of God in February, 1855. The chapel was moved across "The Avenue" and attached to the rear of the church, affording ample facilities for work, as was supposed, for many years to come. In less than ten years, however, the Sunday-school had outgrown its surroundings, and in the summer of 1865 the chapel was enlarged and beautified, and on the nineteenth anniversary reopened with appropriate services. In the year 1884 the Sunday-school and church were once more straitened for room. The question of enlargement could be deferred no longer. In April, 1885, the work of removing the chapel, enlarging and remodeling the old meeting-house, was begun. In November the new and commodious chapel was opened for divine service, and on the 18th of May, 1886, the entire edifice was rededicated to the worship of God. The whole cost of the enlargement and renovation was fifty-four thousand dollars.

The spacious lot of land on the northerly side of the church, containing nine thousand square feet, was the gift of Mr. Henry R. Glover.

The original chapel was given to the First Baptist Church, and is now known as the Inman Square Baptist Mission Sunday-school. The church during its life of thirty-six years has had four pastors: Rev. A. M. Averill (Newton Theo. Inst.), Rev. Joseph A. Goodham, (D. C. 1848), Rev. Joseph Colver Wightman, (B. W. 1852.) Rev. Wm. S. Apsey (Madison Univ., 1861). The last-named became pastor in October, 1868, and is the present incumbent. From the first the work of the Sunday-school has been a prominent feature. The church was the child of the school. The progress of the school has been solid and uninterrupted. It looks now (1890) as if the stakes would soon have to be strengthened, and the cords lengthened of this promising department of Christian endeavor.

The Broadway Baptist Church[1].—A Sabbath-school, consisting of twenty-eight scholars and fifteen teachers, was opened December 16, 1860, in a room at the corner of Harvard and Clark Streets, under the patronage of the First Baptist Church. In 1861 a commodious chapel was erected for the school and for religious meetings, on the southerly side of Harvard Street, near Pine Street. The school held its first meeting in this chapel January 12, 1862. It was dedicated as a house of worship February 9, 1862.

It was deemed advisable to open the chapel for regular public worship on the Sabbath. Services were commenced on the first Sabbath in March, 1863, the committee having secured the services of Rev. William Howe (Waterville College, 1833), founder and pastor of Union Church, Boston, (now Union Temple).

The attendance so increased that within the year the chapel was enlarged. Subsequently it was sold and removed to the corner of Harvard and Essex Streets.

This Christian enterprise became so successful that it was deemed advisable to constitute a gospel church. Accordingly, on May 9, 1865, a church, consisting of fifty members, was organized and Rev. William Howe chosen pastor. The public services of recognition of pastor and church were held in the First Baptist Church June 25, 1865.

Enlarged accommodations being required, measures were taken to secure a suitable house of worship, which resulted in the purchase of a lot on Broadway, corner of Boardman Street, and the erection of an edifice sixty-eight feet by sixty-four, which was dedicated November 22, 1866, with appropriate religious services; sermon by the pastor.

Rev. Wm. Howe continued his pastorate until ill health and advancing age compelled him to resign in July, 1870. He received the degree of D.D. from Colby University July, 1885. Dr. Howe continues to reside in Cambridge, without pastoral charge.

October 25, 1870, Rev. Henry Hinckley, H. U., received a unanimous call to the pastorate and was installed December 13th following. After serving the church very acceptably eight years, he resigned October, 1878, to accept a call from the church in East Lynn, Mass.

In February, 1879, Rev. A. C. Williams, from New Jersey, was called to the pastorate as successor to Mr. Hinckley. Mr. Williams resigned in May, 1882, and removed to Hinsdale, N. H., where he died suddenly July 12, 1883.

A call was extended, September 22, 1882, to Rev. E. K. Chandler (Madison University); former pastorates: Rockford, Ill., Saco, Me. Mr. Chandler entered upon his duties as pastor November 1. After a successful pastorate of seven years, he resigned September 15, 1889, to accept a call from the church in Warren, R. I. He received the degree D.D. in 1884.

June 26, 1889, the church edifice was damaged by fire, which made it necessary to make quite extensive repairs. It was accordingly enlarged and remodeled at an expense of about $17,000.

[1] Communicated.

January 17, 1890, Rev. Asa E. Reynolds (M. U.) former pastorates: Natick, Mass., Wallingford, Conn. —received the unanimous call to the church to become its pastor. He entered upon his work March 2d, and was publicly recognized March 20, 1890, when the church edifice was rededicated and opened for public services.

Charles River Baptist Church.[1]—The Charles River Baptist Church had its origin in a Sunday-school, which was begun by members of the First Baptist Church, 1870, in the upper rooms of a dwelling-house, No. 8 Magazine Court. The first session was held April 3d, with an attendance of twenty-four children. Meetings for prayer and teaching the children continued to be held in this place until October 30, 1870, when a new chapel, which had been erected during the summer at an expense of about $8500, on the corner of Magazine Street and Putnam Avenue, was occupied. This was of wood, Gothic in style, seventy feet long and thirty-three feet wide, with an addition in the rear for the infant class of the Sunday-school capable of seating about seventy-five persons. The main room had seats for about 300. This chapel was dedicated November 29, 1870.

The school at this time numbered 180 teachers and scholars. Regular preaching services were begun in July, 1874, and continued under the charge of Rev. J. P. Thoms, and subsequently Rev. G. T. Raymond, to the time of the formation of the church—1876. The congregation at this time averaged about 120 in attendance.

In June, 1873, an incorporated association had been formed, called the Charles River Baptist Chapel Association, which held the property under a trust deed, meeting quarterly. This association, acting conjointly with a committee chosen each year by the First Baptist Church, sustained and continued the religious interest. April 10, 1876, a meeting was held to consider the matter of church organization. The outcome of this meeting and another held April 25th was the formation of the present church, adopting the old incorporated name, with the change of "chapel" to "church." Soon after the Articles of Faith, the covenant and constitution and by-laws were adopted and signed by forty persons, all presenting letters of dismission from some Baptist Church. The council, composed of delegates from neighboring Baptist Churches, convened June 8, 1876, and public recognition services were held the same evening. Moderator, Rev. H. K. Pervear; clerk, Rev. Henry Hinckley. Rev. D. C. Eddy, D.D., preached the sermon. The church was received into the Boston North Baptist Association in September, 1876.

October 5, 1876, a reorganization of the church was made for the purpose of forming the present corporation, with some changes in the by-laws. The purpose of the corporation, as set forth, is "to maintain the public worship of God, to support evangelical preaching, and to observe the ordinances appointed by Christ, according to the usuages of the Baptist denomination." In 1878 the church asked for and received a release of the trust-deed from the First Baptist Church to enable a title deed to be made for them. Thus the new church became the owners of the land, building and personal property at a nominal cost to them of $3000.

June 16, 1889, the corner-stone of the present house of worship was laid, and during the summer and the early part of the following year the edifice was erected. The building is a handsome brick structure, with brown-stone trimmings, located on the original lot, the old chapel being removed to the rear for vestry purposes. The style is Romanesque. The auditorium contains a number of memorial windows; seating capacity, about 550. The present membership of the church is 220.

The following have been the pastors of the church: Rev. F. B. Dickinson, from 1876 to 1878; Rev. C. H. Rowe, from 1878 to 1881; Rev. G. E. Horr, from 1882 to 1883; Rev. W. C. Richmond, the present pastor, settled 1884.

Union Baptist Churches.—The meeting-house of the Union Baptist Church, upon Main Street, was erected in 1882. The pastor of the church is Rev. Jesse Harrell. The society is flourishing under his charge.

Universalist Churches.—*The First Universalist Society in Cambridge* was incorporated February 9, 1822. For some years there had been occasional religious services conducted by Rev. Hosea Ballou and others in a school-house on Franklin Street. The society erected a meeting-house at the junction of Main and Front Streets, and this was dedicated December 18, 1822. A church was organized June 19, 1827. The first pastor was Rev. Thomas Whittemore, who was born in Boston January 1, 1800. He served the church from April, 1822, until May, 1831. He was prominent in his denomination and an active citizen after his retirement from the pastorate of this church. He died March 21, 1861. His successor was Rev. Samuel P. Skinner, who began to preach for the church in 1831. In 1832 he removed to Baltimore. He died in 1858. He was followed by Rev. Lucius R. Paige, who was born in Hardwick March 8, 1802. He began to preach in 1823, entered upon his ministry here in 1832, was installed July 8, 1832, and resigned July 1, 1839. He received the degree of A.M. from Harvard College in 1850, and of D.D. from Tufts College in 1861. He preached for nearly thirty years after his retirement from the pastorate. Dr. Paige has continued to reside in Cambridge, where he is held in the highest esteem. He has served as town clerk and city clerk, as treasurer of the Cambridgeport Savings Bank, and cashier and president of the Cambridge Bank. He has published various religious books, and also a history of his native town.

[1] Communicated.

He has also published a "History of Cambridge," which is invaluable to any who would know the long story of the origin and growth of the town, and especially to any one who has occasion to write concerning it. Dr. Paige is an active and honored member of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Rev. Lemuel Willis was the next minister, from 1842 to 1845. Rev. Luther J. Fletcher was installed in 1846, and he resigned in 1848. Rev. Edwin A. Eaton was the minister from 1849–52. Rev. Charles A. Skinner was installed in 1853 and he resigned in 1867. Rev. Benjamin F. Bowles was installed in 1868, and resigned in 1873. Rev. Oscar F. Safford was installed in 1874, and he served until 1885. The present pastor is Rev. Alphonso E. White (Dartmouth College, 1865), who was installed October 13, 1886. In 1889 the meeting-house was moved from the conspicuous place it had occupied—in order that Front Street might be widened to make a proper approach to the Harvard bridge—and was placed on Inman Street, where it has been greatly improved and furnishes a convenient and attractive place of worship.

The Second Universalist Society was incorporated February 11, 1823. For a time meetings were held in a school-house on Third Street, East Cambridge, and afterwards in the meeting-house of the Unitarian Society. In 1834 a hall was hired for the services, and in 1843 this was purchased and enlarged and converted into a meeting-house. In 1865 this was sold and a house was built on Otis Street. This was dedicated September 26, 1866. Rev. Henry Bacon was the first settled pastor; he began in 1834 and resigned in 1838. He was followed by Rev. Elbridge G. Brooks, 1838 to 1845; Rev. William R. G. Mellen, 1845 to 1848; Rev. Massena Goodrich, 1849 to 1852; Rev. Henry A. Eaton, 1855 to 1857; Rev. Henry W. Rugg, 1858 to 1861; Rev. S. L. Roripaugh, January, 1862, to the end of the year; Rev. James F. Powers, 1863 to 1866; Rev. Henry I. Cushman, 1867 to 1868; Rev. Frank Maguire, 1868 to 1871; Rev. Sumner Ellis, from 1872 to 1874. Rev. Henry I. Cushman was "stated supply" from November 11, 1874, and Rev. William A. Start from September 4, 1875. Rev. William F. Potter supplied the pulpit from 1879 to 1881. Rev. Clarence E. Rice was the pastor from 1883 to 1887. Rev. Isaac P. Coddington, a graduate of the Theological School in Canton, N. Y., became the pastor in 1889, and now fills that office with success.

The Third Universalist Society was the successor of the Allen Street Congregational Society (Unitarian), an account of which has been given in connection with the Unitarian churches. This society assumed its new name and new relations in 1874. The first minister of the new Universalist parish and church was Rev. James Thurston, who was installed in 1853 and resigned in 1854. Rev. Caleb D. Bradlee followed, 1854 to 1857. Rev. John M. Marston was installed 1858, and resigned in 1862. Rev. Frederick W. Holland served for two years, when Mr. Marston resumed the pastorate. He resigned in 1867. Mr. Charles E. Fay preached statedly for the church for about a year, when he was appointed a professor in Tufts College. Rev. William A. Start was installed April 10, 1870. Under his ministry the society increased and the church building was enlarged. He resigned in 1874. Rev. Isaac M. Atwood became the pastor in 1874, and remained until 1879. During his pastorate a new brick church was erected in a prominent place on North Avenue. Mr. Atwood was made the president of the Theological Department of the St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y. Rev. Charles W. Biddle, D.D., of Lynn, was called to the pastoral office, and entered upon his duties December 1, 1879. Under his care the society is enjoying an enlarged prosperity.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCHES.—*The First Methodist Episcopal Society* was formed in East Cambridge in 1813. Before that those who were connected with this denomination attended church in Boston or Charlestown. The first meetings were in private houses. The first "Class" was formed in 1818. The first Methodist sermon in Cambridge, it is believed, was preached in the house of William Granville, by Rev. Enoch Mudge. Worship was sustained for a time in a school-house. In 1823 a small chapel was built. The first stated preacher at Lechmere Point was Rev. Leonard Frost, in 1823. In 1825 a brick house of worship was dedicated, at the corner of Cambridge and Third Streets. After about forty-five years this house was demolished and a larger house was erected on the site. This was of brick, and was dedicated December 12, 1872. The church has had a very active and useful career. Its history has been written by the Rev. Albert Gould and was published in the *Cambridge Daily*, March 11, 1889.

The ministers since the close of Dr. Paige's list are as follows: Rev. George W. Mansfield, retired in 1878; Rev. George Whitaker, D.D., served 1879–81; Rev. John N. Short, 1882–84; Rev. Samuel L. Gracey, 1885–86; Rev. Albert Gould, 1886–89; Rev. S. E. Breen, 1889–90; Rev. C. H. Hannaford is now the minister in charge.

Harvard Street Church.—In 1831 a "Class" of six members was formed, according to the usage of the Methodist Church. At first it met in or near Harvard Square, but was removed to Cambridgeport. From this "Class" has grown the Harvard Street Church. Meetings for public worship were held in "Fisk Block," on Main Street, and afterwards in the Town House. In 1842 a meeting-house was built on Harvard Street at a cost of about $6,000. This was enlarged in 1851, and burned in 1857. Another house was built on the same site, at an expense of $17,000, dedicated October 13, 1858, and burned March 15, 1861. The present brick meeting-house was dedicated November 19, 1862. During Dr. Chadbourn's pastorate, 1882–84, the house was thoroughly renovated, and was enlarged by an addition on the west

side for a ladies' parlor. In March, 1890. the membership of the church was 375. The average attendance at the Sabbath-school was about 360. The Young People's Society numbered ninety. The congregations are large and the work of the church is pursued with efficiency and success. A lady is employed as a parish missionary and her work is of great value. All the affairs of the church are reported as in excellent condition.

The church appears in the minutes for the first time in 1841, when the first appointment was made. The ministers who have followed those given in Paige's History are as follows: Rev. W. E. Huntington, 1877–79; Rev. Joseph Cummings, D.D. (W. U., 1840), 1880–81; Rev. G. S. Chadbourn, D.D. (W. U., 1858), 1882–84; Rev. W. H. Thomas, D.D., 1885–87; Rev. C. S. Rogers, D.D. (W. U., 1858), 1888.

The Methodist Episcopal Church in Old Cambridge was organized June 3, 1868. A chapel formerly owned and used by the Holmes Congregational Society had been purchased and removed to a lot on North Avenue, opposite the Common. This was rededicated on the day the new society was formed. It has been used since that time by the Methodist Church.

The ministers of this church have been Rev. Abraham D. Merrill and Rev. James Mudge, 1868–69; Rev. Samuel Jackson, 1870–71; Rev. Pliny Wood, 1872; Rev. James Lansing, 1873; Rev. Mr. Beiler, 1873; Rev. David K. Merrill, 1874–75; Rev. Charles Young, 1876 to 1878; Rev. Alexander Dight, 1878 to 1881; Rev. Austin H. Herrick, 1881 to 1882; Rev. J. W. Barter, 1882 to 1885; Rev. W. H. Marble, 1885 to 1888. Rev. George H. Cheney assumed the charge of the church in 1888 and remains in the pastoral office.

Grace Methodist Episcopal Church.[1]—This church originated in a Sunday-school which began its work in Williams Hall, April 17, 1870, in connection with the Cambridge Temperance Reform Association, the first officers being J. A. Smith, superintendent; A. P. Rollins, assistant superintendent; S. C. Knights, secretary; G. C. W. Fuller, treasurer, and D. B. Harvey, librarian.

Representatives of the Methodist, Baptist and Congregationalist Churches were associated in the work, which was so prosperous that within two months of its organization eighty-seven members, with an average attendance of seventy-five, were reported.

The sessions were held in the morning till October, when they were changed to the afternoon, upon which change nearly all who were in any way connected with the Baptist and Congregationalist Churches—about two-thirds of the school—withdrew.

Notwithstanding this, the secretary reported a membership January 1, 1871, of ninety-three and a library of 275 volumes.

[1] Communicated.

The feeling becoming very strong that there ought to be a church organized in connection with this school, and as preliminary to that, a lot of land on Cottage Street was secured for a chapel.

As nearly all the workers were now Methodists, it was decided at a meeting at the house of A. P. Rollins, in March, 1871, to organize a church to be known as the Cottage Street Methodist Episcopal Church of Cambridgeport. This was done at a meeting at the house of W. J. A. Sullivan, April 5, 1871, when seventeen persons, principally members of Harvard Street Methodist Episcopal Church were so organized by Rev. David Sherman, D.D., presiding elder.

The Sunday services were held in Williams' Hall till Oct. 15, 1871, when they were transferred to Odd Fellows' Hall, where they were continued till the chapel was dedicated in June 19, 1872, with a debt upon it of $4000. This soon became too small for the people.

In 1882 a church site on the corner of Magazine and Perry Streets was purchased for $5500, and on the 16th of November, 1886, the corner-stone of the church was laid, and on June 19, 1887, the week of dedicatory services began.

In August, 1872, the trustees organized under articles of incorporation as the "Trustees of the Cottage Street Methodist Episcopal Church of Cambridgeport."

The pastors of this church have been chronologically as follows:

Rev. David Patten, D.D., Rev. Luman Boyden, Rev. Isaac Row (afterwards missionary to India), Rev. W. L. Lockwood, Rev. Jarvis A. Ames, Rev. J. W. Barker, Rev. Duncan McGregor, Rev. Alfred Noon, Rev. J. W. Higgins, Rev. N. B. Fisk, Rev. Albert Gould, Rev. S. E. Breen, who is now the minister of the church.

St. Paul's African Methodist Episcopal Church is at the corner of Portland and Hastings Streets. The organization of the church was made in 1873. It was reorganized in 1878.

The Rush African Methodist Episcopal Church for several years worshiped in a hall on Main Street. In 1888 a convenient house was erected on School Street. The present minister is Rev. G. L. Blackwell.

Another Methodist society, in 1890, began services in a hall on lower Main Street, under the care of Rev. Mr. Brockett.

THE REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH, under the name of St. Luke's, was organized a few years since in Cambridgeport, and has since maintained religious services. It has no church building as yet, but is doing its work quietly and steadily for the public good. The present pastor is the Rev. C. H. Tucker.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES.—*The Parish of St. Peter's Church* was formed in January, 1849, by Rev. Manasses P. Dougherty. His pastorate was long and

fruitful, and he was highly esteemed within his parish and beyond its bounds. St. Peter's Church, on Concord Avenue, was consecrated in 1849. Rev. Mr. Dougherty died in July, 1877. He was succeeded by Rev. J. E. O'Brien, who died in July, 1888. He was followed by Rev. John Flatley, who is now in charge of the parish, assisted by Fathers Broderick and Doody.

St. Mary's Church.[1]—"The parish of St. Mary's Church was organized, in 1866, by Rev. Manasses P. Dougherty, who performed the duties of pastor in connection with his charge of St. Peter's Church until May, 1867, when he was succeeded by Rev. Thomas Scully, who had previously served" as chaplain of the Ninth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers. The spacious brick church of the parish is on Norfolk Street, at the corner of Harvard Street. The sketch which follows has been prepared for this work and begins with the erection of the church.

The site was first occupied by the Cambridge Town Hall, which was destroyed by fire. It was purchased by Catholic citizens for the purpose of building a church. June 7, 1866, work was begun on the foundation, and on Sunday, July 15, 1866, the corner-stone was laid with impressive ceremonies of the Catholic ritual by Right Rev. John J. Williams, assisted by Revs. M. P. Dougherty, J. Donahue, J. Scully and other priests. The sermon was preached by Father Hitzelberger, S. J., and there were present about 4000 people. In May, 1867, the Bishop of the Diocese appointed Rev. Thomas Scully to this new parish, formed from the East Cambridge and Cambridge Parishes, and commonly called Cambridgeport. The new church was unfinished and just roofed. Sunday, June 9, 1867, the pastor of this new mission took formal charge. On Sunday, March 8, 1868, the church was formally dedicated by Bishop Williams. The preacher was Rev. G. F. Haskins, of Boston. The architect was Mr. James Murphy, of Providence, R. I.

Two valuable estates adjoining the church, known as the Luke and Howe estates, were, within a short time, purchased by the parish. The Luke house became the pastoral residence and a convent school for girls was erected on the Howe estate, and given in charge to the sisters of the congregation of Notre Dame, whose Mother House is in Montreal, P. Q. In 1875 a building sixty-five feet square, three stories high, was erected on land close to the church, and in September, of same year, opened as a parochial school for boys. In 1876 the sisters of the congregation were recalled to Montreal and the sisters of Notre Dame took charge of the girls' school with twelve classes. In the spring of 1876 the Dodge estate, on Essex Street, adjoining the church property, was purchased and became the residence of the sisters of Notre Dame.

In 1884 the Fiske estate, corner of Harvard and Norfolk Streets, was purchased by the parish, which erected on it Aquinas Hall, which is used for parish meetings, exhibitions, lectures, school, class exercises, etc. The Cheney land and building adjoining the convent school were purchased the same year. In 1886 Father Scully erected a large gymnasium on his own land, corner of Howard and Prospect Streets, and presented it to the parish. Dr. Sargent, professor in charge of the Hemenway Gymnasium, pronounces it one of the very best equipped in the country. Besides evening classes for young men, there are regular forenoon and afternoon classes for the children of the parish schools, given by a competent master. In 1889 Father Scully purchased about six acres of the Hovey estate on Cambridge Street, and presented the same to an association of Catholic young men, chartered by the State for the purposes of moral, intellectual and physical improvement, and known as the Father Scully Gymnasium (Incorporated).

St. Paul's Catholic Church,[2] situated on the corner of Holyoke and Mt. Auburn Streets, was purchased from the Shepard Congregational Society by the Rev. M. P. Dougherty, then pastor of St. Peter's Church, in 1873, and opened by him for public worship the same year. It was organized into a separate and distinct parish in 1875, with the Rev. William Orr, the present incumbent, its first resident pastor. It had, at the time of its organization, a membership —counting young and old—of about 2000 souls; now (1890) its members, at the same rate of computation, amount to about 3500.

Besides the church, the congregation possess a good pastoral residence, and in 1889 purchased the house and land known as the "Gordon McKay estate," adjoining Mt. Auburn, De Wolfe and Arrow Streets, which is intended for a new church and school. The house on the estate has been already remodeled for a convent and temporary school for younger children only. Sisters of St. Joseph were installed therein, and the school opened in the beginning of September, 1889, with an average attendance of 200 children. A new school is now being erected on the lately purchased site, and it is proposed to build on the same premises, at no very distant day, a new church of ecclesiastical architecture and an ornament to Cambridge.

In 1877 the Archbishop appointed an assistant priest to this parish, and in 1889 a second assistant. The present assistants are Rev. John J. Coan and Rev. John J. Ryan, both of whom received their preparatory education in Boston College, and their ecclesiastical education in St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Mass.

The pastor received his preparatory education in St. Charles' College, near Ellicott City, Md., and his

[1] Communicated.

[2] Communicated.

theological education in the Seminary of St. Sulpice, Baltimore.

St. John's Parish[1] (Church of the Sacred Heart).—Until 1842 the Catholics of Lechmere Point were of the congregation worshiping in St. Mary's Church on Richmond Street, in Charlestown, but a Sunday-school for the children had been for some years held in the Academy building then at the northwest corner of Otis and Fourth Streets, with Daniel H. Southwick as its superintendent. The first meeting for the purpose of erecting a church was held January 17, 1842, at the Academy building and John W. Loring was the chairman, William Gleeson, secretary. D. W. Southwick, J. W. Loring and William Gleeson were made a committee to wait on the Bishop and ask that a priest be assigned to assist in the erection of a church. Thirty-six hundred dollars was subscribed and the meeting adjourned till January 30th, when it met at Master Rice's School on Third Street, and appointed a committee to purchase a site. On February 6th the committee reported selecting lot on Fourth Street, and on February 20th it was voted to call the building "Saint John's Church." On March 19th the deed of the land passed from Amos Birney to Bishop Fenwick, and on October 9th the building was advanced so far that services were held for the first time in the basement by Rev. John B. Fitzpatrick, afterwards Bishop of Boston, who was the first pastor and organizer of the parish. This church was dedicated September 3, 1843. The parish then comprised all of the towns of Cambridge and Somerville. March 24, 1844, Father Fitzpatrick was made coadjutor Bishop of the Diocese, and April 22d of the same year Rev. Manasses P. Dougherty took charge of the parish. In 1847 Woburn was added to the parish, and continued as a part until about 1858. In 1848 Old Cambridge was set off and Father Dougherty left and took charge of the new parish of Saint Peter. The Rev. George T. Riordan succeeded him in November, 1848, and in December, 1851, he left for the West, when the parish was taken in charge by Rev. Lawrence Carroll, who died in office November 23 1858. During the illness which preceded Father Carroll's death, and until January 7, 1859, Rev. George F. Haskins was the temporary pastor. On the latter date Rev. Francis X. Branigan was permanently appointed, who resigned at the end of 1860, and died June 25, 1861. Until 1862 the church was in temporary charge of Rev. Joseph Coyle and other priests of Boston. Rev. John W. Donahue was appointed in 1862 and died in charge March 5, 1873. Cambridgeport was set off and made a parish in 1866. In 1870 Somerville was also set off, which reduced the territorial limits to what they now substantially are, comprising all of Ward 3, or East Cambridge, together with that portion of Cambridgeport which lies north of Plymouth Street, between the Boston and Albany Railroad and Winsor Street. On March 8, 1873, the Rev. John O'Brien was assigned to the parish from Concord, Massachusetts, and he at once set about erecting the new Church of the Sacred Heart at the corner of Sixth and Otis Streets. July 23, 1873, the site was secured; October 4, 1874, the corner stone was laid; November 12, 1876, divine service was first held, and January 28, 1883, the building was dedicated. This is the largest and handsomest Catholic Church in the city, of 75 × 150 feet dimensions, built in the decorated Gothic style, of blue slate with granite trimmings. The nave is 65 feet high and the spire 180. It has seating capacity for 1800, and contains a beautiful and artistic Gothic altar, which was especially modeled and carved by eminent sculptors in London, England, of white Caen stone. It is fifty feet high, and contains four groups or representations from the life of our Saviour sculptured in nearly human size. Father O'Brien is still the pastor in charge of the parish, assisted by three curates. The parish has 7000 souls.

The old Church of St. John, on Fourth Street, has been abandoned for church services, the congregation being removed to the new Church of the Sacred Heart. The old building is, however, still owned and used by the parish for meetings, etc., and the parish still goes by the name of that of St. John.

The New Jerusalem Church.[2]—In 1816 several young men in Harvard College became interested in the interpretation of the Bible contained in the works of Emanuel Swedenborg. The view of God as threefold in essential Divinity, Divine Humanity and Providential Grace, seemed to them more in accord with Scripture and reason than either the tri-personal or the humanitarian views then prevalent. To this were added the convictions that the Divine Word contained a spiritual as well as a historical meaning, that the judgment was the end of the first period of Christianity rather than a cosmical convulsion, that there is a spiritual world related to the material world as the soul to the body, and that the promised Second Advent is to be understood of the Lord as the spirit of Truth and of the opening of the Word to men.

These persons, including Thomas Worcester, Theophilus Parsons, John H. Wilkins, Sampson Reed and others, joined with others in Boston in forming a society of the New Church in 1818, which then had twelve members and had, in 1888, 624 members. Several societies had been formed from it, in Roxbury Dorchester, Brookline, Newton and Waltham, but no movement was made in Cambridge in a direct way till 1888, when services were held in a hall in Harvard Square, by Rev. James Reed, pastor of the Boston Society. These services had continued to be held Sunday afternoons for some months when it was decided by the managers of the Theological School of

[1] Communicated.

[2] Communicated.

the New Church to remove it to Cambridge from its temporary quarters in Boston. The estate at the corner of Quincy and Kirkland Streets was purchased, a chapel for temporary use was provided in the house standing upon the property and formerly the residence of President Sparks, and the services were transferred thither.

The officers of the school are as follows: *Corporation:* Wm. Albert Mason, judge of Superior Court of Massachusetts, president; Henry F. May, A.M., clerk; E. A. Whiston, M.D., treasurer, and fourteen directors. *Faculty:* Rev. John Worcester, president and Professor of Theology; Rev. S. F. Dike, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History; Rev. T. O. Paine, LL.D., and Rev. J. E. Warren, Professors of Bible Languages; Rev. T. F. Wright, A.M., Professor of Homiletics and Pastoral Care.

Mr. Wright (Harvard College, class of 1866) is the only member of the faculty in residence, as the school is small, having but seven students in attendance. He conducts service in the chapel on Sunday morning and afternoon, and has a congregation of about 100 persons. A fund for building a chapel has been opened.

No formal society has yet been instituted, but the affairs are in the hands of a committee consisting of Charles Harris, Thaddeus W. Harris, Charles H. Taft, Clarence H. Blake and Charles R. Shaw. A Sunday-school is held after morning service. A lending library of New Church books is in use, and a museum of Bible objects is in process of collection.

CAMBRIDGE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.[1]—The Cambridge Young Men's Christian Association was organized Sept. 6, 1883, with eighty-four charter members. The object of the organization was to create a society of men, so organized as to seek in its work the development of young men morally, physically, intellectually and socially. The membership was opened to all men of good moral character, the voting and office-holding power being confined to the active membership, the conditions of this active membership being that all men so enrolled should be members of some evangelical church.

Ever since its organization the association has proved itself to be a valuable addition to the benevolent societies of the city. Its work has been of inestimable value as an economic safeguard to the young men of Cambridge.

At the end of its first year the public-spirited business men, recognizing the value of the work, pledged money sufficient to purchase the beautiful and well-located building at Central Square; $50,000 has been expended on the property.

The following gentlemen have filled the important offices of the association: Presidents, Warren Sauger, E. D. Leavitt, O. H. Durrell; General Secretaries, L. W. Messer, W. A. Magee and A. H. Whitford.

[1] Communicated.

The present membership is 600. A junior department of 225 members and a woman's auxiliary of 700 gives a total membership of 1525 in all branches of work.

The association is a public institution. The building, open every day in the year, welcomes young men to helpful influences. The work has proved itself of peculiar value as an auxiliary to the churches of the city.

THE EAST END MISSION has been incorporated by the State, and is now conducting a Union Sunday-school in the Lower Port. It is proposed to purchase or erect a building in that part of the city, where religious services may be held, and a general work maintained by means of a reading-room, a library and other social appointments. The work will, in many respects, resemble that of the Social Union in Old Cambridge.

CHAPTER IV.

CAMBRIDGE—(Continued).

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.[2]

BY WILLIAM R. THAYER.

I. CORPORATE AND MATERIAL GROWTH.

ON Thursday, September 8, 1636, the General Court first assembled which, in the course of its proceedings on October 28th, passed the following resolution:—"The court agree to give Four Hundred Pounds toward a *School* or *College*, whereof Two Hundred Pounds shall be paid the next year, and Two Hundred Pounds when the work is finished, and the next Court to appoint where and what building." The next year it appointed twelve of the most eminent men in the Colony "to take order for a college at Newtown;" among these are the names of Winthrop, the Governor; Shepard, Cotton and Wilson, among the clergy; and Stoughton and Dudley, among the laymen. The name of Newtown was soon changed to Cambridge, as a mark of affection for the English town at whose university many of the colonists had been educated. This was the official beginning of the College, but little had yet been done when, in 1638, the Reverend John Harvard, a young dissenting minister, who having taken his degree at Emanuel College, Cambridge, in 1637, came to the Colony and settled at Charlestown,[3] died, and

[2] In compiling this sketch I have been under great obligation to Quincy's *History of Harvard University*, 2 vols., 1840; to *The Harvard Book*, 2 vols., 1874; to *College Words and Customs*, 1850; and to a valuable series of articles by the late Prof. Jacquinot in the *Revue internationale de l'Enseignement*, Paris, 1881–84.

[3] In 1828 a monument was erected by the alumni over John Harvard's grave at Charlestown. In 1883 a bronze statue, by French, was given to the College by S. J. Bridge, and erected in the Delta, west of Memorial Hall.

bequeathed one-half of his property and his entire library to the School at Newtown. His estate amounted to £779 17*s.* 2*d.*, of which the College received nearly £400; his library contained 260 volumes, chiefly theological and classical. Out of gratitude for this munificence, the Court, in March, 1639, bestowed Harvard's name on the seminary. The example of the young founder stirred the generosity of the colonists; the magistrates gave to the library books to the value of £200; individual gifts of £20 or £30 followed; and persons of smaller means, but of equal public spirit, contributed according to their substance. "We read," says Peirce, "of a number of sheep bequeathed by one man, of a quantity of cotton worth nine shillings presented by another, of a pewter flagon worth ten shillings by a third, of a fruit-dish, a sugar-spoon, a silver-tipt jug, one great salt, and one small trencher-salt by others; and of presents or legacies, amounting severally to five shillings, one pound, two pounds, etc." [1]

The choice of Cambridge as the site of the College has had a deep effect upon its character. In early times, when access to Boston could be had only through Charlestown and thence by ferry, or by a roundabout way through Roxbury, the isolation of the College was almost complete: in our own day, when Boston can be reached in twenty minutes from Harvard Square, the College has the advantage of being near a large city, while at the same time Cambridge has retained many of the desirable features of a university town.

The first building devoted to the uses of the "School" was put up by Nathaniel Eaton in 1637, somewhere near the present site of Wadsworth House. Eaton enclosed about an acre of land with a high paling, set out thirty apple-trees, and, according to Governor Winthrop, had "many scholars, the sons of gentlemen and others of best note in the country." Nathaniel Briscoe, "a gentleman born," assisted Eaton as usher; but the "School" did not long thrive. Briscoe complained of having received "two hundred stripes about the head," the scholars complained of bad food and harsh treatment, and in September, 1639, Eaton was dismissed and fined by the General Court. Mr. Samuel Shepard was next designated to superintend the building and funds, which he did until the arrival in the Colony of the Rev. Henry Dunster, a man whose reputation for learning had preceded him, and who was immediately offered the position of President of Harvard College. With Dunster's appointment, in 1640, the unbroken history of Harvard begins. The following early description of the institution is from a work published in London in 1643: "The edifice is very fair and comely within and without, having in it a spacious hall, where they daily meet at the Commons, Lectures, Exercises, and a large library with some books to it, the gifts of divers of our friends; their chambers and studies also fitted for and possessed by the students, and all other rooms of office necessary and convenient; and by the side of the College a fair Grammar School for the training up of young scholars and fitting them for academical learning, that still as they are judged ripe they may be received into the College." [2]

Under Dunster, "a learned, conscionable and industrious man," the College prospered so rapidly, that, in 1642, it held its first Commencement, and that same year (Sept. 8) the General Court passed an "Act Establishing the Overseers of Harvard College." This Act, the first relating to the goverment of the institution, deserves to be quoted, as showing the theocratical ideal of the Colonists. It runs as follows:

"*Whereas*, through the good hand of God upon us, there is a College founded in Cambridge, in the County of Middlesex, called HARVARD COLLEGE, for the encouragement whereof this Court has given the sum of four hundred pounds, and also the revenue of the ferry betwixt Charlestown and Boston, and that the well ordering and managing of the said College is of great concernment,—

"It is therefore ordered by this Court and the Authority thereof that the Governor and Deputy-Governor for the time being, and all the magistrates of this jurisdiction, together with the teaching elders of the six next adjoining towns, viz.: Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury and Dorchester, and the President of the said College for the time being shall, from time to time, have full power and authority to make and establish all such orders, statutes and constitutions as they shall see necessary for the instituting, guiding and furthering of the said College and the several members thereof, from time to time, in piety, morality and learning; as also to dispose, order and manage to the use and behoof of the said College and the members thereof all gifts, legacies, bequeaths, revenues, lands and donations, as either have been, are or shall be conferred, bestowed, or any ways shall fall or come to the said College.

"*And whereas* it may come to pass that many of the said magistrates and elders may be absent, or otherwise employed in other weighty affairs, when the said College may need their present help and counsel, it is therefore ordered that the greater number of magistrates and elders which shall be present, with the President, shall have the power of the whole. *Provided*, that if any constitution, order or orders by them made shall be found hurtful unto the said College, or the members thereof, or to the weal public, then, upon appeal of the party or parties grieved unto the company of Overseers first mentioned, they shall repeal the said order or orders, if they shall see cause, at their next meeting, or stand accountable thereof to the next General Court." [3]

This Act provided amply for the general oversight of the College, allotting that oversight to the State, on the one hand, and to the clergy on the other; but it was soon found necessary to define more exactly the duties and qualifications of its immediate officers. Accordingly, on May 31, 1650, the "Charter of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, under the Seal of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay" was granted. By this Charter the Corporation was established, to consist of "a President, five Fellows, and a Treasurer or Bursar," to be, in name and fact, "one body corporate in law, to all intents and purposes." The Corporation had the power to elect persons to fill va-

[1] Quoted by Quincy, i, 12.

[2] *Harvard Book*, i, 26.

[3] The first College seal, adopted December 27, 1643, consists of a shield with three open books (presumably Bibles), on which is the motto *Veritas*. Soon afterwards the motto was changed to *In Christi Gloriam*. About 1694 the motto *Christo et Ecclesiæ* was adopted.

cancies in its own body; to appoint or remove officers or servants of the College; and to administer its finances: but in all cases the concurrence of the Overseers was necessary. The General Court further ordered "that all the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, houses, or revenues, within this jurisdiction, to the aforesaid President or College appertaining, not exceeding the value of five hundred pounds per annum, shall from henceforth be freed from civil impositions, taxes, and rates, all goods to the said Corporation, or to any scholars thereof appertaining, shall be exempted from all manner of toll, customs, and excise whatsoever; and that the said President, Fellows, and scholars, together with the servants, and other necessary officers to the said President or College appertaining, not exceeding ten, viz.: three to the President and seven to the College belonging,—shall be exempted from all civil offices, military exercises or services, watchings and wardings; and such of their estates, not exceeding one hundred pounds a man, shall be free from all country taxes or rates whatsoever, and none others."

By an appendix to the College Charter, under date of October 14, 1657, a somewhat larger liberty was allowed to the Corporation in "carrying on the work of the College, as they shall see cause, without dependence upon the consent of the Overseers: *provided always*, that the Corporation shall be responsible unto, and these orders and by-laws shall be alterable by, the Overseers, according to their discretion."

Thus constituted, the Government of the College has existed down to the present day. The Corporation may be regarded as a sort of Senate, which shapes and executes the general policy, and administers the funds of the institution; the Overseers are a representative and consultative body, which approves or rejects the acts of the Corporation, and deals more directly with the affairs of the students. The Corporation still consists of the President and Treasurer *ex officio*, and of five Fellows, and has authority to fill vacancies in its membership; the composition of the Board of Overseers, on the contrary, has changed, and these changes, as we shall see, have marked the liberation of the College, first from clerical, and afterwards from political control.

Under President Dunster the College grew, in spite of difficulties. He urged the Court to provide more generously for the maintenance and repair of the buildings, and suggested that each family in the Colony should contribute annually one shilling for the support of the seminary. An attempt was also made to discourage graduates from returning to England—a very common practice; they ought, it was justly observed, to "improve their parts and abilities in the service of the Colonies." But the intense theological temper of that age was at last excited against Dunster's open opposition to the baptism of infants: he was indicted by the grand jury, convicted by the court, sentenced to a public admonition on Lecture Day, and required to give bonds for good behavior. Even these stern measures did not appease the wrath of the Pædobaptists, and in October, 1654, he was compelled to resign his office. The venerable President pleaded that the time was unseasonable—that his wife and youngest child were sick and could not be removed without danger—that he had exhausted his means in behoof of the College. The General Court heard his plea and reluctantly allowed him to remain in the President's house until the following March, when he removed to Scituate, and died soon afterwards.

His successor was the Rev. Charles Chauncy, formerly Professor of Greek and Hebrew at Trinity College, Cambridge. Having incurred the charge of heresy through his opposition to certain Anglican forms, he recanted. Coming to the Colony, he declared himself in favor of total immersion in baptism, and of celebrating the Lord's Supper in the evening—doctrines which clashed with Plymouth orthodoxy. But his was a yielding character, and when the Presidency of Harvard was offered to him, he accepted it, on condition of "forbearing to disseminate or publish anything on either of those tenets, and promising not to oppose the received tenets therein." He soon complained that the grant allowed by the General Court for his subsistence was insufficient: "his country pay, in Indian corn," he said, "could not be turned into food and clothing without great loss." He seems not to have got relief, for again, in 1663, he presented a petition, in which he declared that he had been brought into debt, and "that the provision for the President was not suitable, being without land to keep either a horse or a cow upon, or habitation to be dry or warm in; whereas, in English Universities, the President is allowed diet, as well as stipend, and other necessary provisions, according to his wants." The Court, in reply, asserted that "the country have done honorably towards the petitioner, and that his parity with English Colleges is not pertinent." Notwithstanding his personal straits, President Chauncy did not desert his charge, although the College also was suffering at that time from the embarrassments incident on the restoration of the Stuarts in England, which caused the colonists to fear that their liberties would be taken from them. This uncertainty so affected the prosperity of the College, that, since the General Court did not come to its rescue, the outlook was indeed black. But then, as so often since, private liberality supplied the wants due to official neglect. "The loud groans of the sinking College" came to the ears of the good people of Portsmouth, N. H., who pledged themselves to pay "sixty pounds sterling a year for seven years ensuing (May, 1659)." Subscriptions were added from all parts of the Colony, and amounted to more than £2600. In 1672 a new building was begun, but, so slow was the payment of subscriptions, ten years elapsed before the new College could be completed.

On the death of President Chauncy, Leonard Hoar, a

minister and physician and a graduate of Harvard, in the class of 1650, although of English birth, was chosen to succeed him (July, 1672.) He enjoyed a brief popularity, and was then, in 1675, dismissed by the Court "without further hearing." The cause of his dismissal is uncertain: it appears that, "some that made a figure" in Cambridge excited the students against him, and that others, stirred by envy and ambition, encouraged his enemies. The students strove "to make him odious," and four members of the Corporation resigned, among whom was the Rev. Urian Oakes, who, we remark, when importuned to take the presidency, refused, but served with the title of superintendent for four years. Then, being again elected President, he accepted, and died after a brief term in 1681. The post was evidently shunned, because we find that four persons to whom it was offered, declined it within as many years. The Rev. John Rogers served but one year, 1683–84; then, after another interregnum, the Rev. Increase Mather, was, on June 11, 1685, requested "to take special care of the government of the College, and for that end to act as President until a further settlement be made." Mather was one of the most conspicuous men in the Colony, and it was hoped that his name would strengthen the College: but, although he was sincerely interested in its welfare, he was equally interested in the political and religious disputes of the Colony, and he refused to reside in Cambridge, except for a few weeks, during all the sixteen years of his presidency. He was pastor of the North Church in Boston, which, he said, he would not give up for the sake of "forty or fifty children," and so he used to ride to and fro, the charge of shoeing or baiting his horse, or of mending his saddle, being defrayed by the College. He was among the persecutors of the witches at Salem, and when the book of one Calef condemning this persecution reached Cambridge, it was burnt in the College Yard.

In 1692 the English sovereigns, William and Mary, granted a new charter to the Colony, and Mather used his influence to such purpose, that the General Court gave a new charter to the College, whose privileges were considerably increased thereby. Mather at once proceeded to re-organize the Corporation and the affairs of the College in the interests of the Calvinist sect of which he was the leader, not waiting for the charter to receive the royal signature. But, in 1696, the decisive news came that the King had withheld his consent. There was continual difficulty among the President, the Corporation and the Legislature for several years; another charter was drafted, so distasteful to Mather in many particulars, that he proposed to go again to England and apply to the King in person; the religious dissensions already rife throughout the Colony, broke out among the Overseers and officers of the College. The struggle, briefly stated, was between the old Presbyterians and Congregationalists on one side, and those who were both more liberal in their own views, and tolerant of the views of other sects. At last, in 1701, Mather was dismissed from the Presidency, on the ground that he had persistently refused to live at Cambridge. The Rev. Samuel Willard, who had previously been appointed Vice-President, served in that capacity until his death, in 1707. He was "quiet, retiring, phlegmatic and unpretending;" well-fitted, therefore, to allay the angry passions which Mather's excitable and restless character and domineering manner had only exasperated. Thomas and William Brattle, who had been among Mather's strongest opponents, were reinstated in the Corporation, which was thenceforward composed of liberals, whereas the old orthodox party had the majority in the Board of Overseers. The charter of 1650 was revived in 1707, largely through the efforts of Governor Dudley, who, says Quincy, "of all the statesmen who have been instrumental in promoting the interests of Harvard College, was most influential in giving its constitution a permanent character."

This period, dating from 1692, marks the end of the first epoch in the history of the Massachusetts Colony, and likewise in that of the College. In the government established by the Puritans, "neither subscription to creed," says Quincy, "nor articles of belief was required, nor were they necessary. The principle that none should be a freeman of the State who was not a member of the church, sufficiently secured the supremacy of the religious opinions of the predominant party. The inquisitional power was vested in the church and its officers." But the charter of William and Mary converted the Colony into a province, and, what was all important, it "made property, instead of church membership, the qualification for the enjoyment of civil rights." In the course of seventy years Puritanism had become diversified into sectarian shades more of less intense; then, too, immigrants belonging to the Anglican Church were coming over in greater numbers: so that, at the end of the seventeenth century, New England no longer wore its original uniform aspect of Puritarism. The party which held the old Calvinist doctrines undiluted were quick to see that the royal charter which replaced theological qualifications by those of property undermined the theocratic Constitution of the State; and, although they were not able to prevent this revolution in politics, they were for a long time successful in resisting a similar change in the government of the College. It was with this purpose that Increase Mather and his son Cotton strove and intrigued, and fomented sectarian animosity; it was for this purpose that they attempted to insert a religious test in the charter of the College; and it was owing to the chagrin and alarm felt by the Calvinist sect at their failure, that Yale College was founded (1700), to be a true "school of the prophets," where the brimstone doctrines of Calvin should not be quenched by waters of liberalism. At Yale a religious test was exacted so vigorously, that it closed the doors of that institution to all but simon-pure Calvinists. At Harvard, as I have said, the Cor-

poration was thenceforth composed of those whom we may call, for lack of a better word, liberals, while the majority in the Board of Overseers was Calvinist: the struggle between them was long, and often very bitter, and produced a deadlock, so that one party could not push the College forward, nor the other drag it back. Through the decisive action of Governor Dudley, the Legislature passed, in 1707, that vote which re-established the College charter of 1650; and although, in so doing, Dudley plainly overstepped his powers, it cannot be denied but that he greatly benefited the College. The re-invalidated charter never received the royal sanction, why, we are not told; nor was it objected to by the Crown; and it has remained in force, with some changes in the clauses relating to the qualifications of Overseers, down to the present day.

We may pause here for a moment to survey the material growth of the College during its first seventy years. From the Colony it had received in grants sums amounting to about £650 sterling, and £3720 in currency. It enjoyed also exemption from taxation on property to the amount of £500, and the earnings of the ferry between Charlestown and Boston. In 1657 it received a grant of 500 acres of land; in 1653, 2000 acres, and in 1682, "Merriconeag, in Casco Bay, with 1000 acres adjoining," but the last two grants were never obtained. During the same period the donations from private sources amounted to £9302 2*s.* 11½*d.* sterling, and £6748 19*s.* 6*d.* in currency. To these sums must be added several thousand volumes of books. The gifts came not only from the Colonists and from benefactors in England, but also from other lands. It is pleasant to record, for instance, that in 1658 the inhabitants of a certain place, supposed to be Eleutheria, Bahama Islands, "out of their poverty," gave £124 sterling; and in 1642 some gentlemen of Amsterdam gave £49 "and something more toward furnishing of a printing-press with letters." This printing-press, the first that was operated in what is now the United States, was brought from England in 1638 by Joseph Glover. Glover died on the passage, but his widow settled in Cambridge, where the press was set up and worked by Stephen Daye. President Dunster married Mrs. Glover, and had charge of the press, which was run in the President's house until 1655. The first publication was "The Freeman's Oath," followed by an almanac, a Psalm-Book, a Catechism, and the "Liberties and Laws of the Colony." In 1658 was printed John Eliot's Indian translation of the Bible.

Among the other noteworthy bequests were that of Edward Hopkins, of £500 (1657); that of William Pennoyer, of £680 (1670); and that of Sir Matthew Holworthy, of £1000 (1681).

The first school building was erected, as has been stated, by Eaton in 1637. President Dunster built a dwelling for himself, which was known as the President's House. In 1682 a new hall—the first Harvard Hall—was dedicated, the cost of which was met by public subscriptions. Finally, in 1699, Governor Stoughton built at his own expense (£1000) a hall, which bore his name, and which stood near the present site of the University.

Thus it will be seen that even in the early life of the College it owed more to private benefactors than to the liberality of the State—a sure proof that its importance was recognized by the community, and an omen that by-and-by it would grow so strong that it could dispense with all official support whatsoever. But while its prosperity at the end of the seventeenth century was far greater than Winthrop or Dunster could have foreseen, the College was still hampered in its means, as the following extract will show: "At a meeting of the Corporation, April 8, 1695, *Voted*, That six leather chairs be forthwith provided for the use of the Library, and six more before the Commencement, in case the treasury will allow of it."

In 1707, on the death of Willard, the Rev. John Leverett was elected President. He had the backing of Governor Dudley, upon whom the Mathers, rankling at the defeat of their faction, heaped scandalous accusations. According to them, he was guilty of covetousness, lying, hypocrisy, treachery, bribery, Sabbath-breaking, robbery and murder; and they expressed "sad fears concerning his soul," and besought that "in the methods of piety he would reconcile himself to Heaven, and secure his happiness in this world and the world to come." The Governor, however, refused to purchase eternal salvation by humiliating himself before the Mathers, and these able but repulsive fanatics failed to get control of the College, but did not cease to foment discord.

Leverett was an energetic administrator, seconded by Thomas Brattle, the Treasurer, and by William Brattle, Ebenezer Pemberton and Henry Flynt, his coadjutors in the Corporation. The financial condition of the College was improved, but the quarrels between the Fellows and the Overseers did not cease. In 1718 the President refused to confer the second degree on a graduate named Pierpont, on the ground that he had contemned, reproached and insulted the government of the College, and particularly the tutors, for their management in the admission of scholars. Pierpont threatened to prosecute Sever, the tutor who had brought forward the charge, in the civil court. It was suspected that Pierpont had been instigated by ex-Governor Dudley and his son; the Fellows, in alarm, requested the Overseers "to take the first opportunity to discourse" with the supposed instigators. The Overseers did nothing; whereupon the Fellows appealed to Governor Shute, Dudley's successor, to summon the Overseers to a meeting. The meeting was largely attended; both Pierpont and Sever were heard—the former, according to Leverett, speaking with "confusion, impertinence and impudence," and the latter "with plainness, modesty and honesty." The Overseers secretly supported Pierpont, and Shute supported the Overseers, so that the Corporation was

left in a position "which threatened the dissolution of the College." Happily, the courts of law quashed Pierpont's case against Sever, and thus was prevented the resignation of the President and Fellows—the consummation aimed at by the Overseers in seconding the contumacious Pierpont.

The enemies of Leverett and the Corporation did not rest. At a meeting called "to petition the General Court to enlarge the building (Massachusetts Hall) they were then erecting for the College from fifty to one hundred feet," Judge Sewall rose and said: "I desire to be informed how the worship of God is carried on in the Hall, and to ask Mr. President whether there has not been some intermission of the exposition of the Scriptures of late." President Leverett replied that the question was out of order, and interrupted the special business of the meeting. The Governor supported this ruling, and the petition was passed; but the action of Sewall illustrates the persistence of the malcontents. The swift changes in politics caused the union of men who had previously been opposed. Thus Dudley, who had been, while Governor, on the side of the Corporation, joined the other faction after he was superseded by Shute. Sewall, too, was now fighting with the Calvinists, although he had formerly been quite other than friendly to the Mathers, who led the Calvinists. In his diary, for instance, under date of October 20, 1701, there is the following amusing entry: "Mr. Cotton Mather came to Mr. Wilkins' shop, and there talked very sharply against me, as if I had used his father worse than a negro. He spake so loud that the people in the street might hear him. *Mem.* On the 9th of October I sent Mr. Increase Mather a haunch of very good venison. I hope in that I did not treat him worse than a negro."

But we cannot follow the quarrels of the sectarians, nor do more than indicate wherein they affected the fortunes of the College. The next occasion on which the conflict broke out was at the endowment of a professorship of divinity by Thomas Hollis, a London merchant. Hollis is, after John Harvard, the man among the early benefactors of the College who most deserves its gratitude. Of a wise and generous character, his liberal and Christian behavior seems all the more admirable when contrasted with the narrow and bigoted sectarianism of the colonists upon whom he bestowed his gifts. He wrote to Dr. Colman, a member of the Corporation, on January 28, 1721: "After forty years' diligent application to mercantile business, my God, whom I serve, has mercifully succeeded my endeavors, and, with my increase, inclined my heart to a proportional distribution. I have credited the promise: *He that giveth to the poor, lendeth to the Lord*, and have found it verified in this life." In his own faith he was a Baptist, but in founding a professorship he was guided by no sectarian motives. All that he asked was that no one should be rejected on account of Baptist or other principles, save that the incumbent should subscribe to the belief "that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the only perfect rule of faith and manners." "I love them," he wrote to Colman (August 1, 1720), "that show by their works that they love Jesus Christ. While I bear with others who are sincere in their more confined charity, I would that they would bear with me in my more enlarged. We search after truth. We see but in part. Happy the man who reduces his notions in a constant train of practice. Charity is the grace which now adorns and prepares for glory. May it always abide in your breast and mine, and grow more and more." On February 14, 1721, he executed the instrument of endowment. Leverett and the Corporation accepted it, but the Calvinist majority in the Overseers were at first inclined to refuse the gift as being likely to encourage unorthodox doctrines; then, having accepted it, they proceeded, by action which, to speak mildly, was deceitful, to contravene the terms of Hollis's foundation. The Rev. Edward Wigglesworth was chosen to fill the new chair (1721), but he was subjected to a theological test, in which he "declared his assent: 1. To Dr. Ames' 'Medulla Theologiæ.' 2. To the Confession of Faith contained in the Assembly's Catechism. 3. To the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England. More particularly: 1. To the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. 2. To the doctrine of the eternal Godhead of the blessed Saviour. 3. To the doctrine of Predestination. 4. To the doctrine of special efficacious grace. 5. To the divine right of infant baptism." Several years elapsed during which negotiations were carried on between Hollis and the College, but it does not appear that he was treated candidly, nor that, to the day of his death, "the construction which substituted, in place of the simple declaration required by him, an examination and declaration of faith in all the high points of New England Calvinism," was ever communicated to him.[1]

Simultaneous with this controversy, there broke out another of equal violence to trouble the stormy administration of Leverett. On June 23, 1721, the Overseers received a memorial from Nicholas Sever and William Welsteed, two College tutors, claiming their right to seats in the Corporation. They based their claim on the fact that, being engaged in instruction, and receiving a stipend, they were Fellows of the College, and that the charter of 1650 designated the President, Treasurer and Fellows to be members of the Corporation. Their pretension, it will be seen, hung on the ambiguous meaning of the word *Fellow*. In 1650, when the Charter was granted, there were no Fellows in the sense in which that word is used at English Universities, which was the sense that Sever and Welsteed attached to it; and for a long time after that date it was not applied to any instructor who was

[1] Quincy i, 263.

not also a member of the Corporation. The majority of the five Fellows were non-residents, for it could not be expected, as Quincy remarks, that these officers, whose duties involved only an occasional superintendence of the affairs of the College, would agree to live in Cambridge, without salary, when the institution was still too small to require their daily presence. About the beginning of the 18th century the habit grew of calling tutors Fellows; but in order to distinguish them, the expression "of the House" was added; while the others were known as "Fellows of the College or Corporation." This distinction was clearly enough observed, for, in April, 1714, we find the record that Holyoke was chosen "a Fellow of the Corporation," and Robie "a Fellow of the House." Three years later the Corporation passed a vote "that no Tutor, or Fellow of the House, now or henceforth to be chosen, shall hold a fellowship with a salary for more than three years, except continued by a new election." Experience had shown that it was unwise to make unlimited appointments.

The Overseers heard the petition of Sever and Welsteed, which seems to have been inspired not so much by the desire to have a mootpoint settled as to oust Colman, Appleton and Wadsworth from the Corporation and to embarrass President Leverett. A committee was appointed, consisting chiefly of malcontents. Meanwhile the Overseers petitioned the General Court to make a "convenient addition to the Corporation, and therein to have regard to the resident Fellows, or Tutors, that they may be of that number." But the malcontents, perceiving that their petition, if granted, would merely introduce their partisans into the Corporation, without removing from it the members at whom the intrigue was aimed, resolved that an increase of number was undesirable, and that "it was the intent of the College Charter that the Tutors, or such as have the instruction and government of the students, should be Fellows and Members of the Corporation, provided they exceed not five in number; and that none of said Fellows be Overseers." Evidently, our pious ancestors lacked not the wisdom of the serpent on this occasion; under this seemingly innocent resolution they hid a scheme for revolutionizing the government of the College. Their report was actually accepted by the House of Representatives and by the Council; the Governor, however, refused to consent to it unless Wadsworth, Colman and Appleton should remain in the Corporation. Then it appeared, both from the action of the Legislature and from that of the Overseers, that their intent had been to get rid of those three obnoxious members. Sever and Welsteed presented two other memorials; but the matter was finally disposed of (August 23, 1723) by the refusal of the Council, which now stood by Governor Shute and the Corporation, to concur in the policy of the House of Representatives, which still sided with the Overseers.

The firmness displayed throughout the struggle by the President and three Fellows, acting solely from a sense of duty in the interests of the College, is worthy of admiration. When we remember, moreover, that the President depended upon the Legislature for the annual grant of his salary, we shall appreciate his courage the more justly. He was frequently obliged to petition that his salary should be more promptly paid, and his petitions were so often disregarded that he feared the Representatives intended "to starve him out of the service." "If such be their mind," he added, "it is but letting me know, and I will not put the House to exercise that cruelty." He died in May, 1724, after an arduous and honorable administration, leaving debts to the amount of £2000 to attest his devotion to the College and the meanness of the State, which was in honor bound to provide for his decent subsistence. His term was one of the most critical in the history of the College. As we have seen, he held office just at the time when the colony was breaking asunder the original Puritanical limits; when the effects of the change in the political constitution were beginning to appear; when a considerable part of the population no longer belonged to the Calvinist Church; when a rival college had sprung up at New Haven. Himself of a liberal cast, he struggled to stamp a more liberal policy upon Harvard, and to thwart the efforts of the more bigoted majority to regain complete control of the College and to subvert its charter. That he succeeded was due in part to the co-operation of the Governors, Dudley and Shute, but chiefly to his own wisdom and firmness and to the support of his colleagues in the Corporation.

The Corporation elected the Rev. Joseph Sewall to succeed Leverett. There were many aspirants, including the irrepressible Cotton Mather, who records in his diary: "I always foretold these two things of the Corporation; first, that, if it were possible for them to steer clear of me, they will do so; secondly, that, if it were possible for them to act foolishly, they will do so. The perpetual envy with which my essays to serve the kingdom of God are treated among them, and the dread that Satan has of my beating up his quarters at the College, led me into the former sentiment; the marvellous indiscretion with which the affairs of the College are managed, led me into the latter." Sewall declined, and the Rev. Benjamin Colman was chosen; but his experience as Fellow had warned him what harsh treatment he might receive from the Legislature, and he, too, would not take the Presidency. In June, 1725, the Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth was elected, and he consented to serve. Thus, thrice within a year Cotton Mather was painfully reminded that Satan ruled the decisions of the Harvard Corporation. The Legislature, to relieve Wadsworth of justifiable apprehension, pledged itself to pay his salary promptly, and further appropriated £1000 for the erection of a suitable dwelling for the President. This house, still called after Wadsworth, its first occupant, was not completed un-

til 1727, when the College had paid £800 beyond the State appropriation. A portion of the President's salary was derived from the rents of Massachusetts Hall (built, as stated above, in 1720), but the payment of the remainder, for which he had to look to the Legislature, was, in spite of promises, precarious.

Wadsworth was a man of "firmness, gentleness, and good judgment"—qualities which were soon put to the test by a new religious discussion which spread consternation throughout the orthodox in all parts of the Colony, and centred at the College. This time the dispute was no longer between factions of Calvinists, nor between Calvinists and Baptists, but between the orthodox and the Anglicans. As early as 1682, Edward Randolph had suggested that the doctrines of the Church of England might be propagated in the Colony by means of funds sent from the mother country; and he even went so far as to propose, in a letter to Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, "that able ministers might be appointed to perform the offices of the Church with us, and that for their maintenance a part of the money sent over hither and pretended to be expended amongst the Indians should be ordered to go towards that charge." That fund for converting the Indians had been begun soon after the founding of Harvard; a school for Indians had been built in Cambridge; some of the natives had been taught in it; but, on the whole, the effort had failed. A few Indians had entered the College, but only one, Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck, had taken the Bachelor's degree, in 1665. The others proved themselves either incapable of attaining the required standard in studies, or they fell sick and died of consumption. This was the case with Larnel a member of the Junior Class in 1714, who died at about the age of twenty, "an acute grammarian, an extraordinary Latin poet, and a good Greek one." Eliot's translation of the Bible and his mission to the Indians seem to have been the chief fruits of this endeavor to Christianize them. That Randolph should propose to pervert this fund from the intent of its contributors, and apply it to strengthen Episcopalianism in New England, might surprise us, had we not already had glimpses of the power of sectarianism to blind the honor and dull the conscience of those who were its victims. We have no evidence that Sancroft or his successor connived at this scheme; but other moneys were subscribed in England, and missionaries were sent over to the Colony, and the tenets of the Established Church were diligently spread. When King's Chapel was dedicated in Boston, the orthodox took alarm; but the membership of the Anglican Church increased, and the orthodox felt again their old dread of being persecuted by the Church which had the British Crown and State behind it. The crisis came in 1727, when the Rev. Dr. Cutler, a graduate of Harvard, in 1701, then minister of the church at Stratford, Conn. (1709), and Rector of Yale College (1719), and then a convert to Episcopalianism, presented a memorial to the Lieutenant-Governor "that he might be notified to be present at the meetings of the Overseers." He claimed that as a minister of Boston he was *ex officio*, according to the Charter of 1650, entitled to a seat in the Board. The Rev. Mr. Myles, rector of King's Chapel, presented a similar petition. The Overseers declared that Cutler and Myles had no such right. The petitioners, nevertheless, persisted: they affirmed that the orthodoxy of their church was questioned by no sound Protestant; that its members bore an equal proportion in all public charges in support of the College; that its ministers were "equally with any others qualified and disposed to promote the interests of religion, good literature, and of good manners;" that they were "teaching elders" in the sense intended by the Charter. To this the Overseers replied that the question concerning the definition of a "teaching elder" could be decided only by referring to the meaning of that term in 1650, when the Charter was granted; that then it plainly applied only to the ministers of the Congregational churches, because there were no adherents of other denominations in the Colony; that the term had never been known in the Anglican Church; and that, therefore, since it belonged only to Congregational ministers, they alone had the *ex officio* right to be Overseers. The memorial was accordingly rejected, and the Council and the Lieutenant-Governor concurred in the vote.

On the accession of George II, in 1727, the corporation sent an address of congratulation for Mr. Hollis to present to the sovereign. The address had been prepared four years before, on the discovery of a conspiracy against George I, and was now merely retouched to suit the occasion. Mr. Hollis saw that its provincial style would hardly be acceptable at court, and he recommended that it be revised. "Your compliments," he wrote, "are fifty if not one hundred years too ancient for our present polite style of court;" [yours is] "a Bible address, says one; a concordance address, says another; though I think it an honest-meaning Christian address. What have courts to do to study Old Testament phrases and prophecies? It is well if they read the Common Prayer-Book and Psalter carefully." It does not appear that the Corporation, after learning this frank advice, sent any congratulation to the King.

During Wadsworth's term the discipline of the College seems to have given a part, at least, of the Overseers grounds for finding fault. But, as the common device of the malcontents was to circulate reports that the worship of God was scandalously neglected in the Hall, we may doubt whether there was unusual laxity at this period. A Committee of visitation was appointed, however, and, after investigating, it proposed a revision and more stringent enforcement of the laws, to which I shall refer later. The recognition of the College Faculty was formally

made in 1725, although as early as December 14, 1708, its existence in fact is attested by the record that a student had been expelled by "*the President and resident Fellows*, with the advice and consent of the non-resident Fellows of this House." In the course of time, experience must have made it necessary that the President and Tutors (or resident Fellows, as they had come to call themselves) should decide matters of daily discipline and government, without consulting the Overseers, who met only occasionally; thus the Faculty came to be recognized as a distinct body, whose records date from September, 1725. Two other events of Wadsworth's administration deserve notice. Longloissorie, a Frenchman, instructor in the French language, was charged with disseminating doctrines "not consistent with the safety of the College." He asserted, the charge ran, that he saw visions, and that revelations were made to him, such as the "unlawfulness of magistracy among Christians, and consequently of any temporal punishments for evil-doers from man; [and] that punishment from God in the future state would be sure not to be eternal, nor any other, nor perhaps, more, even for a time, than what wicked men now suffer in this world, by being abandoned to the outrage of their own and others' passions." "These extraordinary things *Monsieur* did not broach all at once," but as soon as the authorities heard of them, they dismissed him and forbade all students from attending his lectures (1735).

The second incident illustrates how often at that epoch the relations between the Corporation and Overseers were strained. In June, 1736, a student named Hartshorn applied for the Master's degree. He had never received the Bachelor's, and the Corporation deemed him unqualified. Thereupon the Overseers voted him his degree, although the College law declared that "no academic degree shall be given but by the Corporation with the consent of the Overseers." At Commencement three of the Corporation rose and opposed Hartshorn's being graduated, and the President pronounced it to be illegal. Thereupon the Governor rose and declared that Hartshorn was entitled to the degree; there was a long debate, and then the Governor quitted the assembly. The Corporation won this time, but the next year they came to terms with the Overseers, and granted the degree.

In 1727, Thomas Hollis endowed a second professorship, that of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and his benefactions to the College ceased only with his death, after which his nephews and descendants continued their patronage for more than fifty years. No other family has furnished so many members to whom the College is indebted, as the Hollis family; and their assistance came at a time when it was relatively far more precious than much larger bequests later.

In spite of the untoward conditions the College grew steadily during the terms of Leverett and Wadsworth. In the thirty years, 1707–36, there were 719 Bachelors graduated, an average of nearly 24 to a class; the smallest class, that of 1713, numbered 5; the largest, that of 1725, numbered 45. The average under Leverett (1707–24) was 20; under Wadsworth it was nearly 34. In 1732 the estate of the College produced an income of £728 7*s*. (not including the income on property bequeathed for special purposes), an increase of about £100 per annum during the previous decade. President Wadsworth died in March, 1737.

Two months later the Rev. Edward Holyoke was elected to the Presidency, in which he served longer —thirty-two years—than any of his predecessors or successors. He had been minister at Marblehead, but had served in the Corporation. The Corporation and Overseers before voting joined in prayer, in order to be guided aright. Their choice first fell on the Rev. William Cooper, who immediately declined. Then they elected Holyoke unanimously, an event hitherto unprecedented. Moreover, although they deemed it necessary to catechise a candidate for the professorship of Mathematics as to his orthodoxy, they subjected the President-elect to no such test. The General Court granted him a salary of £200, in addition to the rents of Massachusetts Hall, and soothed the parish of Marblehead by a grant of £140 to his successor there. Holyoke was inaugurated Sept. 28, 1737. The ceremonies on that occasion are thus described by Quincy: "The Governor, Overseers and Corporation met in the library. At the hour appointed the Governor led the President from the library down to the Hall, preceded by the Librarian, carrying the books, charter, laws and College seal, and by the Butler, bearing the Keys; and followed by the Overseers, Corporation, students and attending gentlemen. After prayer by Dr. Sewall, a speech in Latin was made by the Governor, in the course of which he delivered to the President the charter, keys, etc. The President replied in Latin. A congratulatory oration, by Mr. Barnard, Master of Arts, succeeded, and the ceremonies were concluded by singing a part of the seventy-eighth Psalm, and a prayer by the Rev. Thomas Prince. After which there was a dinner in the Hall, and in the evening the Colleges were brilliantly illuminated." [1]

One of Holyoke's first duties was to preside at the removal of Isaac Greenwood, Hollis Professor of Mathematics. He had been graduated in the class of 1721, had gone to London and preached there with some success; had become acquainted with Mr. Hollis, and persuaded him to found immediately a Professorship of Mathematics, instead of leaving a bequest for that purpose, as had been his intention. Hollis was at first pleased with Greenwood, and inclined to recommend him to the new chair. But even before Greenwood quitted England, Hollis's doubts were excited. Greenwood had left his lodgings with-

[1] Quincy, ii, 11.

out paying his bill, had run into other debts, had spent in a short time £300 in conviviality, and, among other extravagances, had bought "three pair of pearl-colored silk stockings." Hollis communicated his doubts to the Corporation, sounded them to know whether a friend of his, a Baptist, would be accepted; but, finding sectarian prejudice still high—(although, as he asked, what had the dispute of Baptism to do with teaching mathematics?)—he consented to Greenwood's appointment. The latter was a man of keen intellect, but habitually intemperate, and after frequent relapses, admonitions from the Corporation, promises to reform, and renewed backsliding, he was removed in 1738. Three years later similar charges were preferred against Nathan Prince, Tutor and member of the Corporation. The Overseers began proceedings for his dismissal, although they therein overstepped their legal prerogatives, "their jurisdiction being appellate and not original;" but the Corporation waived the technical illegality and concurred in the examination of Prince. Among the charges proved against him were, "speaking with contempt of the President and Tutors as to learning;" "charging the President with making false records with design;" calling one Tutor a "puppy," another a "liar;" "accustoming himself to rude and ridiculous gestures;" "speaking out in time of public worship so as to excite laughter;" "negligence of his pupils;" and "intemperance in strong drink." On Feb. 18, 1741–42, it was voted to remove him, and although he appealed to the General Court, he was not reinstated. These unpleasant experiences led to two permanent results: the custom of appointing Tutors for only three years, instead of without limit, became fixed; and the custom of admitting, almost as a matter of course, the two Senior Tutors to membership in the Corporation was dropped.

Another wave of religious excitement swept at this time over the Colony, and broke upon the College. As early as 1736, Jonathan Edwards, pastor of the church at Northampton, had begun to inflame the imagination, not only of his parishioners, but of all New England, by his vivid presentation of Calvin's doctrines. In intellectual ability he surpassed any theologian who had yet been born in this country; and his intense, but narrow mind, seizing hold of the Calvinistic doctrines of original sin, predestination and similar articles of the brimstone creed, infused into them his own fire and made them terribly lifelike to his hearers. Let it suffice to quote his description of hell, as illustrative of the vehemence and vividness of his imagination: "The world," he says, "will be probably converted into a great lake or liquid globe of fire; a vast ocean of fire, in which the wicked shall be overwhelmed, which will always be in tempest, in which they shall be tossed to and fro, having no rest day or night; vast waves or billows of fire continually rolling over their heads." "They shall eternally be full of the most quick and lively sense to feel the torment . . . not for one minute, nor for one day, nor for one year, nor for one age, nor for two ages, nor for a hundred ages, nor for ten thousand or millions of ages, one after another, but for ever and ever, without any end at all, and never, never be delivered." By such language as this, Edwards frightened New Englanders into that state of panic terror which was supposed to be equivalent to Christlike devoutness and charity; and religion was in this condition when, in Sept., 1740, George Whitefield, an English itinerant preacher, began his remarkable "revivals" in New England.

He preached to the College students in the First Church at Cambridge, and was courteously received by President Holyoke. He was shocked at the lack of true godliness in the institution, declaring Harvard to be almost as corrupt as the English Universities. "Tutors," he wrote, "neglect to pray with, and examine the hearts of, their pupils. Discipline is at too low an ebb. Bad books are become fashionable amongst them. Tillotson and Clarke are read instead of Shepard and Stoddard, and such like evangelical writers." Whitefield's denunciations and eloquence "wrought wonderfully" upon the hearts of many of the students. The visiting committee of the Overseers reported, in June, 1741, "that they find of late extraordinary and happy impressions of a religious nature have been made, . . . by which means the College is in better order than usual." Tutor Flynt, who estimated Whitefield very justly as a "zealous man," "but over censorious, over rash, and over confident," says that at their revival meetings some of the students "told of their visions, some of their convictions, some of their assurances, some of their consolations. One pretended to see the Devil in the shape of a bear coming to his bedside. Others burst into a laugh when telling of the day of judgment; another did so in prayer, which they imputed to the Devil's temptation; some were under great terrors; some had a succession of clouds and comforts; some spoke of prayer and amendment of life as a poor foundation of trust, advising to look only to the merits and righteousness of Christ; some talked about the free grace of God in election, and of the decrees. . . . Many, if not all, mean well. Some have extravagancies and errors of a weak and warm imagination."

The enthusiasm, or frenzy, could not last long; within two years the reaction came; but before this the College authorities deemed it their duty to reply to the aspersions cast by Whitefield on "the school of the prophets." President Holyoke declared in a sermon that never within his memory, extending back nearly five and thirty years, had the condition of Harvard been so favorable as then. In December, 1744, "the President, Professors, Tutors and Hebrew Instructor" published a pamphlet containing testimony "against the Rev. George Whitefield and his Conduct;" and when Whitefield replied, Dr. Wigglesworth (April, 1745) answered him in an open letter.

It is our duty, he said, to examine our own heart, but it is not so clear that we ought to examine the hearts of others. Christ has said, "I am he who searches the reins and hearts;" "would you have Tutors invade His prerogative? or would you introduce the Popish practice of auricular confession?" Holyoke closed the controversy in an appendix to Wigglesworth's Letter, telling Whitefield that "whatever good was done, hath been prodigiously overbalanced by the evil; and the furious zeal with which you had so fired the passions of the people hath, in many places, burnt up the very vitals of religion; and a censorious, unpeaceable, uncharitable disposition hath, in multitudes, usurped the place of a godly jealousy."

Jonathan Edwards, too, zealot that he was, had early perceived the excesses caused by the revival, and while he endeavored "to deaden and direct the flame he had assisted to kindle," his own vehement and terrible doctrines were attacked by two liberal clergymen of Boston, Charles Chauncy and Jonathan Mayhew, who deserve to be gratefully remembered not only for their more humane and charitable tenets, but also for the courage with which they announced them. In the history of Harvard this religious controversy is important, because the Government of the College then squarely took its place on the liberal side, and at no time was there more danger lest it should relapse into the control of the more bigoted sectarians. As a result, the latter concentrated their hopes on Yale College, and strove to make it the vessel of undefiled Calvinism. And whilst these dissensions perturbed the orthodox, the Society for Propagating the doctrines of the Church of England renewed its efforts, and made many converts. It opened a Church in Cambridge, where students who were Anglicans might worship, and it proposed that a bishop should be sent over from England to take charge of the growing parishes. These indications of growth, although they must have been distasteful to the orthodox, no longer filled them with consternation; and we may say that, about the year 1760, the various sects in Boston and its neighborhood were so well established, that no one could openly persecute all the others, and that they had begun to live together in tolerance. The College, which drew its scholars from all quarters and classes, was naturally disposed to mitigate its prejudices; but for a long time to come, the dominant influence was Presbyterian, and Presbyterian of a type which would now be called extreme.

During the French War (1756–63) the number of students fell off a little, but in 1765 the graduating class had fifty-four members. On the accession of George III (1760), Governor Bernard suggested that it would be fitting for the College to congratulate the new monarch. Accordingly six prizes of a guinea each were offered for the best oration, poem, elegy on the late King and ode in Latin, and for an English poem and ode. Graduates and undergraduates competed, and a volume containing thirty-one pieces and entitled *Pietas et Gratulatio Collegii Cantabrigiensis apud Novanglos* was sent to England to be presented to the King. To this work Governor Bernard himself contributed five effusions, and President Holyoke an ode said to be "truly Horatian." So far as we can learn, George III took no notice of this, the last address the English sovereign ever received from the Corporation and students of Harvard as his subjects. In 1762 a petition reached the Legislature to grant a charter to a college to be founded in Hampshire County. The petitioners belonged to the strict orthodox sect, which regarded Harvard as too liberal. The petition passed the Legislature, and Governor Bernard had signed a bill for the incorporation of the new institution, when the Harvard Overseers in alarm drew up a long list of objections. They pointed out that there was no need of another college; that it would injure Harvard, to whose support the Colony had been pledged for nearly 130 years; that it was desirable to maintain a high standard of learning, and that this would be impossible were another institution permitted to confer degrees, because were the means now devoted to one divided between two, the standard of both would be lowered; that jealousies and dissensions prejudicial to the peace and education of the Colony would be fomented. The Governor declared that he would do nothing harmful to the interests of Harvard, but that he would refer the matter to the British ministry. To them, therefore, a strong remonstrance was sent, with the effect of defeating the grant of a charter.

Almost immediately afterwards a calamity at Harvard "turned the current of sympathy and patronage into its ancient channel." Early in 1764 small-pox broke out in Boston, and the Legislature, removing to Cambridge, held its sessions in Harvard Hall, where the Governor and Council occupied the library and the Representatives the apartment below. On the night of January 24 the Hall was burned. The following account of the "most ruinous loss the College ever met with since its foundation" is from the *Massachusetts Gazette* of Thursday, February 2, 1764: "In the middle of a very tempestuous night, a severe cold storm of snow, we were awakened by the alarm of fire. Harvard Hall, the only one of our ancient buildings which still remained, and the repository of our most valuable treasures, the public library and philosophical apparatus, was seen in flames. As it was a time of vacation, in which the students were all dispersed, not a single person was left in any of the Colleges, except two or three in that part of Massachusetts most distant from Harvard, where the fire could not be perceived till the whole surrounding air began to be illuminated by it. When it was discovered from the town it had risen to a degree of violence that defied all opposition. It is conjectured to have begun in a beam under the hearth in the library, where a fire had been kept for the use of the General Court,

now residing and sitting here by reason of the small-pox in Boston; from thence it burst out into the Library. The books easily submitted to the fury of the flames, which, with a rapid and irresistible progress, made its way to the Apparatus Chamber and spread through the whole building. In a very short time this venerable monument of the piety of our ancestors was turned into a heap of ruins. The other Colleges, Stoughton Hall and Massachusetts Hall were in the utmost hazard of sharing the same fate. The wind driving the flaming cinders directly upon their roofs, they blazed out several times in different places; nor could they have been saved by all the help the town could afford had it not been for the assistance of the gentlemen of the General Court, among whom his Excellency the Governor was very active; who, notwithstanding the extreme rigor of the season, exerted themselves in supplying the town engine with water, which they were obliged to fetch at last from a distance, two of the College pumps being then rendered useless. Even the new and beautiful Hollis Hall—though it was on the windward side—hardly escaped. It stood so near to Harvard that the flames actually seized it, and if they had not been immediately suppressed must have carried it."

The Legislature, at the instigation of Governor Bernard, resolved to rebuild Harvard Hall at the expense of £2000, granted £100 for a fire-engine for the College and indemnified students whose books and furniture had been destroyed. Donations of money, books and apparatus flowed in from all parts of the American Colonies, and from the mother country. From the list of gifts I quote two among many items: From John Greenwood, Great Britain, "two curious Egyptian mummies for the museum;" from the Hon. John Hancock, Esq., "a set of the most elegant carpets to cover the floors of the Library, the Apparatus and the Philosophy Chambers; he also covered the walls of the latter with a rich paper." The losses were, indeed, more than made good. A finer Hall rose on the ruins of old Harvard, and was completed in June, 1766, having cost $23,000; and its equipment was better than the old; but the loss which we to-day most regret, and which could not be repaired, was the destruction of John Harvard's books, whereby all personal relations, so to speak, between the founder and posterity, were swept away.

During President Holyoke's term two other buildings were added to the College. In 1741 Mrs. Holden, widow of Samuel Holden, late Governor of the Bank of England, gave £400 to build a chapel, which was erected in 1744. In 1762 the Legislature, taking into consideration the large number of students who could not be lodged in the then existing buildings, appropriated £2000 "towards building a new College at Cambridge, of the dimensions of Massachusetts Hall." This edifice was dedicated in January, 1764, just before the burning of Harvard, and was fitly named Hollis, after that family to which the College owed so much.

In 1765, by the will of Thomas Hancock, the College received a legacy of £1000 sterling, to found a professorship of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages, the first chair founded by an American. Other gifts enriched the institution and helped to make its work, under Holyoke's direction, more efficient. Of measures adopted to raise the standard of scholarship, and to improve the discipline of the students, I shall speak later.

Holyoke died in June, 1769. John Winthrop, Hollis Professor of Mathematics, and a man of unusual scientific attainments, was offered the Presidency; but he declined, as did two other members of the Corporation. Then the Rev. Samuel Locke, pastor at Sherburne, was chosen, and he accepted. He seems to have had little force and he left no impression on the development of the College. One of his contemporaries describes him as being "of an excellent spirit, and generous catholic sentiments; a friend to liberty; his greatest defect, a want of knowledge of the world, having lived in retirement, and perhaps not a general acquaintance with books." That he was a "friend to liberty," was probably one of the chief reasons for electing him; because by that time patriotic enthusiasm had already kindled the students and governors at Harvard. In 1768, the members of the Senior Class signified their hatred of British taxation, by unanimously voting "to take their degrees in the manufactures of this country;" and they appeared at commencement clad in "untaxed," home-manufactured garments. In 1778 Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson prorogued the General Court to meet at Harvard College on March 15th. It accordingly met, but when a second session was called in the month of May, the Corporation remonstrated that "Harvard College had been instituted for the sole purpose of the education of youth," and that it regarded this precedent with deep concern. But when a formal application was made for the use of the Halls on election day, it was granted, and when Hutchinson was appointed Governor (March, 1771) the Corporation presented him with a complimentary address, and gave him a flattering reception at the College. Nevertheless, sentiment at Harvard was largely with the popular cause, and for the first time the Triennial Catalogue was printed with the students' names arranged alphabetically, instead of according to the rank of their families, as had theretofore been the custom. This is but one indication of the prevailing republican feelings. In 1773, John Hancock was chosen Treasurer—an unfortunate choice, as was afterwards shown; but his popularity was so great that but little thought was given to his qualifications as a financier. Two years previous the Corporation, to show its admiration for him, had invited him to a public dinner in the Hall, "to sit with the Governors of the College,"—an honor conferred on no other private person, and all the more significant then because his avowed patriotism had made him obnoxious

to Governor Hutchinson and the Royalists. One other event, during Locke's brief term, may be mentioned. In November, 1773, the Corporation, in order to perpetuate the memory of the benefactors of the College, resolved "to enter fairly in a book" their names and gifts; "to write their names in letters of gold, and place them over the windows and on the walls of the Chapel;" to commemorate them by an oration at each Commencement; and to place on a tablet over the Hall door, the following distich from Martial:—

"Sint Mæcenates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones;
Vergiliumque tibi vel tua rura dabunt."

Only the first and third of these proposals were carried out.

In December, 1773, President Locke resigned, and after the usual attempt to induce unwilling persons to succeed him, the Rev. Samuel Langdon, of Portsmouth, was elected at a meeting "holden at Colonel Hancock's house," on July 18, 1774. From the outset he was greatly harassed, owing to the political disturbances, which interfered with the resources of the College. In 1772 the Legislature had tried to make up the deficiencies by granting a lottery for the benefit of the College, but this was so uncertain a means that the Corporation were obliged themselves to take the tickets which remained unsold. The presence of the Legislature had interfered with the usual work; now came the time when soldiers were quartered in the Halls. In April, 1775, the Massachusetts Militia was concentrated at Cambridge, and the College Government removed the library and apparatus to Andover. The Corporation were forced to meet at Fowle's Tavern, in Watertown, where they voted that, a public Commencement being impracticable, degrees should be conferred by a general diploma. A little later they ordered the removal of the College to Concord, where, it had been ascertained, one hundred and twenty-five students could be boarded. The exile lasted till June, 1776. Before that time the British troops had evacuated Boston (March 17th); and the Corporation and Overseers expressed their gratitude to General Washington "for his eminent services in the cause of his country and to this society," and they conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. In a memorial to the Legislature, the injury done to the College by the occupation of the soldiers, and by the loss of rents, including the income of the Charlestown ferry, was set forth. Indemnification for damages was finally made; among the items we find lead taken from the roof of Harvard Hall,—presumably for bullets,—brass knobs, and tacks.

The College was now fully committed to the patriotic cause. The Overseers examined the governors and instructors as to their political principles, and the few students who cherished Tory hopes took care to conceal them. Nevertheless, when General Heath, in the autumn of 1777, requested the use of the College buildings for quartering the troops surrendered by Burgoyne, the Corporation objected. But the students were dismissed from December, 1777, till the following February, after which there were no further interruptions in the College course while the Revolution lasted, although there was no public Commencement.

Internal affairs during this period of national excitement require but little mention. The Overseers clashed with the Corporation in the appointment of a steward, and, after considerable dispute, the former came to the conclusion that they had no jurisdiction in this appointment. More important was the resignation of President Langdon, in the summer of 1780. The students met and passed resolutions charging him with "impiety, heterodoxy, unfitness for the office of preacher of the Christian religion, and still more for that of President." A committee of twelve students then waited upon him with these resolutions. He seems to have been taken without warning and without having had previous intimations that he was unpopular. But he determined at once to resign. After morning prayers, two days later, he gave notice of his determination, adding that, as he "would be thrown destitute on the world," "resolutions of a favorable character might be of service to him." The students passed these as readily as they had passed the first. So far as can be learned, the undergraduates were, in this proceeding, only the instruments of Langdon's enemies, who did not dare, or care, to attack him openly. The most that was hinted against him was that he had not filled his position with so much vigor as his predecessors before the war; but, considering the difficulties he had met and his subsequent career in the New Hampshire Convention, this charge lacks verisimilitude.

Apart from his being the President of the College at the Revolutionary crisis, Langdon will be remembered as the President during whose term the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was framed (1780). That Constitution confirmed to the President and Fellows of Harvard College the enjoyment of "all the powers, authorities, rights, privileges, immunities and franchises which they now have, or are entitled to have, hold, use, exercise and enjoy;" and it contained the following article: "WHEREAS, by an Act of the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, passed in the year 1642, the Governor and Deputy-Governor for the time being, and all the magistrates of that jurisdiction, were, with the President and a number of the clergy in the said Act described, constituted the Overseers of Harvard College; and it being necessary, in this new Constitution of Government, to ascertain who shall be deemed successors to the said Governor, Deputy-Governor and magistrates,—It is declared that the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Council and Senate of this Commonwealth are and shall be deemed their successors, who, with the Pres-

ident of Harvard College for the time being, together with the ministers of the Congregational churches in the towns of Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury and Dorchester, mentioned in the said Act, shall be, and hereby are, vested with all the powers and authority belonging or in any way appertaining to the Overseers of Harvard College. *Provided*, that nothing herein shall be construed to prevent the Legislature of this Commonwealth from making such alterations in the government of the said University as shall be conducive to its advantage and the interests of the republic of letters, in as full a manner as might have been done by the Legislature of the late Province of Massachusetts Bay."

The Constitution speaks indifferently of the "College" and "the University," this being perhaps the first instance when the latter term was officially used. It declares, further, that no person holding the office of President, professor or instructor of Harvard College shall, at the same time, have a seat in the Senate or House of Representatives. Thus we see that, while the State kept its *ex officio* control over the government of the College, it prohibited officers of the College from taking part in the government of the State.

Despite the troubles and interruptions incident to the war, the College was fairly-well attended. The classes at graduation averaged 34 members, that of 1776 being the largest (43), and that of 1779 being the smallest (26). But the revenues suffered greatly, not only from stoppage of payment in some cases, but from the depreciation of currency. In 1778 exchange on France stood at 300 per cent.; in March, 1779, at 400 per cent., and the next year one ream of paper cost £150, and a quill cost $1.50 in provincial money. In November, 1780, the price of the Corporation dinner was $52.61 per person; but by that time the currency was almost worthless.[1]

At this turning-point in the history of Harvard—for the College, after the Revolution, soon ceased to look to the Commonwealth for regular grants of money—we may fitly pass in review the dealing of the Legislature with the College. Our general verdict must be that, after the first vote of the General Court, in 1636, to appropriate £400 to a school at Newtown, the Colony never gave Harvard the financial support which it deserved. The grants were irregular,—often made only after repeated entreaties, and seldom paid promptly. The Legislature erected, besides the original Hall, Massachusetts, Hollis and new Harvard Halls, and contributed £1000 out of £1800 towards Wadsworth House. It allowed the College the income of the Charlestown Ferry, which, in 1639, amounted to £50, but which in some years was less than the expenses. President Dunster's annual stipend probably did not exceed £100, paid in rates; Chauncy received the same; Hoar had £150 *per annum;* Oakes had £100 from the Colonial Treasury, and £50 in "country pay," corn, wheat, etc.; the grant to Mather was at first £100, then only £50; Vice-President Willard received from £50 to £60; Leverett's salary was fixed at £150, subsequently increased by £30, £40, and once by £50; but the average was about £180; Wadsworth was assigned a grant of £400, £360 of which to be paid by the General Court, and £40 to be derived from the rents of Massachusetts Hall; the grants to Holyoke averaged £250, *plus* the aforesaid rents. About the middle of the 18th century the Legislature began to eke out the salaries of the professors by grants; the Professor of Divinity received £100, of Mathematics, £80, and of Hebrew, £20. Quincy estimates that the total amount granted annually during Holyoke's term never exceeded £450, and often fell far short of that figure. Many of the lands granted to the College from time to time, although they aggregated several thousand acres, were never secured, owing to some flaw in the claim, or were in remote places where they produced but little.

The revenues of the College, apart from the above-mentioned subsidies, increased very slowly. In 1654, the income applicable to general purposes was only £27, of which £15 was set aside for scholarships. The receipts from all sources from 1654 to 1668, were £2,-618. In 1682 the property of Harvard was valued at £2141; in 1693 the income was £318. Under the prudent management of Thomas Brattle, who was Treasurer for twenty years (till 1713), the estate of the College was increased in value to £2952; in 1746 this had risen to £11,150, producing yearly, at six per cent., £669. Owing to the depreciation of the currency the entire stock of the College in 1770 was estimated at only £12,923, of which £6,188 was specifically appropriated; the income in that year amounted to £1513, the expenses to £1251. In 1776 the resources were valued at £16,444. Thus we see that even during the period when Harvard had every reason to look to the State for generous nurture and encouragement, the support from private benefactors exceeded many times that bestowed by the State with a niggardly and begrudging hand. This fact, so discreditable to the Legislature, furnishes, nevertheless, the best proof that the institution had taken deep roots in the respect of the community; and that, in spite of political and theological controversies, which sometimes interrupted and sometimes dried up the stream of official bounty, there were always high-minded men and women who recognized the preciousness of the higher learning, and who gave liberally to help its dissemination. The University, like the circle of authors or painters, which depends upon the favor of a prince or a parliament, may flourish for a time; to be permanent, however, it must have no patron but the public, which has no party or personal interests to serve, and only desires the untrammeled propagation of the best knowledge and the highest culture.

In December, 1781, the Rev. Joseph Willard was

[1] See Eliot's "History of Harvard College," pp. 87, 88.

elected to succeed President Langdon. He was embarrassed from the outset by the financial status of the College. In 1773 John Hancock had been chosen Treasurer. At that time he was the most popular and influential man in Massachusetts. Having inherited, from his uncle, a few years before, the largest fortune that had been amassed up to that time in New England, he had given to the College about £550 for books, and the "elegant carpets" and wall-paper before referred to. He was, moreover, the leader of the patriotic party, generally popular, except with the Royalists, and very ambitious. No doubt the Corporation believed that they would do well in entrusting the funds of the College to a man at once so rich and so conspicuous; but they soon learned that brilliancy in politics is not always accompanied by punctuality and wisdom in money matters. More than a year elapsed, but Hancock made no settlement of his accounts, and the Corporation would gladly have asked him to resign had they not been afraid of incensing him. President Langdon sent him a letter urging a statement; then a second letter, yet no answer came. To a third request, Hancock replied that he was "busily engaged," but would "soon appoint a day to attend to business." The Corporation met, but the Treasurer did not appear. Then they sent a formal communication to him, stating their "unhappiness at being disappointed as to the promised settlement; they knew his patriotic exertions in his country's cause, and were willing to allow much for this plea of delay; but it was their duty to be solicitous for the seminary; they were accountable to the Overseers and the world." They requested further that the papers of the College might be left with them during his absence; "otherwise all will be in confusion." Hancock was soon to go to Philadelphia to attend the Congress. A messenger was accordingly despatched to Concord, where he was, to ask him to deliver "the moneys, bonds and other papers belonging to the College treasury." By this messenger the following answer was returned: "Mr. Hancock presents his compliments to the Rev. President and the other gentlemen who were present yesterday at the meeting, and acquaints them that he has at heart the interest of the College as much as any one, and will pursue it. He is much surprised and astonished at the contents of the President's letter, as well as at the doings of the gentlemen present, which he very seriously resents; and however great the gentlemen may think the burden upon his mind may be, Mr. Hancock is not disposed to look upon it in that light, nor shall the College suffer any detriment in his absence, as he has already determined those matters; but if the gentlemen choose to make a public choice of a gentleman to the displacing him, they will please to act their pleasure. Mr. Hancock writes in great hurry, being much engaged, but shall write very particularly, or be at Cambridge in person as soon as the Congress rises. He leaves all his matters in the hands of a gentleman of approved integrity, during his absence, which he is not disposed to alter, and peradventure his absence may not be longer than a voyage to Machias." The Corporation evidently got small comfort from this reply. Another year passed; still they did not dare to remove the obstinate Treasurer, who persistently neglected his duties. They took measures to collect their rents and the earnings of the Ferry, but went no further.

In 1776, Hancock being then in Philadelphia, the President wrote him a very humble letter setting forth the embarrassed condition of the College; he remained silent. To a second entreaty he replied that he had just sent a messenger "in a light wagon, with orders to bring all his books and papers across the country to Philadelphia from Boston," in order that he might arrange them. So the personal property of Harvard was transferred to the Quaker City, where it remained till the following year, when the Corporation, having received no account, and being alarmed for the safety of the securities, despatched Tutor Hall to bring them back. But Hancock, although he let them go, would neither settle nor resign. Another communication, covering twenty-eight quarto pages, did not move him, if, indeed, he ever read it. At last, after much hesitation, with the concurrence of the Overseers, they elected (July 14, 1777), Ebenezer Storer, to supersede in the Treasurership, "the Honorable John Hancock, whose employment in the American Congress unavoidably prevents his attending to the business of that office."

Hancock regarded this action as a personal insult, and never forgave it, but during the remainder of his life he continued to wreak his resentment on the College, by the same spiteful and embarrassing methods. The Corporation made more than one effort to conciliate him, requesting, for example, that he would permit his portrait to be painted at their expense "and placed in the philosophy chamber, by that of his honorable uncle." In 1779 it was voted to put in suit the bond which he had filed on his appointment as Treasurer, but this vote was reconsidered. The following year he was elected Governor of Massachusetts, a position he filled continuously till 1785, and the Corporation sang another tune in a complimentary address in which they expressed "their happiness that a gentleman is placed at the head of the General Court and of the Overseers, who has given such substantial evidence of his love of letters and affection to the College, by the generous and repeated benefactions with which he hath endowed it." Blandishments, however, were as futile as threats: Hancock knew his power, and gratified his vindictive spirit by using it. In 1783 the Overseers determined to force an issue; but at their very next meeting Hancock presided, and they quailed before him. Then, as if to tantalize them further, he promised to bring in a statement; but when the time came he postponed it. Finally, on February 10, 1785, Treasurer

Storer was able to report that Governor Hancock had made a final settlement of his accounts, by which it appeared that he still owed the College £1054. This balance he delayed to pay; nor could the College, whether by entreaty or threatening to resort to law, get it from him. He died in October, 1793, and two years later his heirs made a payment of nine years' interest. The principal was paid six or seven years afterwards, but without compound interest, "whereby the College loses upwards of $526." The motives of this disgraceful conduct seem not hard to explain. Hancock was doubtless flattered by his election to the Treasurership; but he had no experience as a financier, and was soon drawn into the more exciting political life in which he shone, but which caused him to neglect his duties as Treasurer. When his neglect became apparent, through the respectful intimations of the Corporation, his vanity was piqued, and thenceforth, feeling secure of his public position, he determined to punish them by systematic harassing and delays. That he needed the College funds, or diverted them temporarily to his own use, was never charged, for his private fortune was so great (£70,000) that he could have settled his account in full at any time that he had chosen. But to ambitious men of a certain calibre, all the glory and honor they derive from success in work for which they are fitted do not atone for the pangs their pride suffers when they have been found negligent or incompetent in work undertaken by them without proper qualification.

While this unseemly and annoying conflict was in progress, the College was engaged in a financial struggle with the Legislature. Harvard had loyally converted its funds into currency early in the Revolution, but before the War closed the currency had depreciated so far that it required seventy-five dollars in paper to purchase one dollar in gold. In 1777 the fees for tuition were increased in order to make good the diminishing salaries of the instructors; and in 1780 the Legislature was petitioned to supply by grants the constantly growing deficit. Then followed a memorial asking the General Court to pledge itself to pay to the President a permanent and adequate salary; but the Court refused, preferring to keep that officer dependent upon it, for irregular and uneven grants. It appropriated £300 for the first year of President Willard's term. The Corporation then endeavored to equalize the salaries of professors, by assessments on the students; and the rents of Massachusetts Hall were doubled (to £120) for the benefit of the President. The Legislature continuing stingy, another petition was presented, which brought from it (July, 1783) grants of £156 for the President, and of about £100 each for the Professors of Divinity, Mathematics and Oriental Languages, but these grants were no longer "gratuitous," but "on account of services done, and to be done, he (the grantee) to be accountable for the same," an intimation which the beneficiaries regarded as ominous.[1] The position of the President and Professors became precarious, so that the Corporation authorized the Treasurer to lend them money at interest, until the Legislature should fulfil its pledges. But this the Legislature never did; its last subsidy to the President and Professors was on May 31, 1786, when it appropriated £480 for the former, and upwards of £240 to each of the latter. These sums enabled them to settle their indebtedness to the Treasurer, but left no provision for the future. The next year the Treasurer reported that during the past decade the College had suffered a clear loss of £13,702 6*s*. 2*d*. But the Court gave no relief, and in February, 1791, voted that it was inexpedient to make any grants to College officers. A final effort was made in the following January to bring the Court to terms; it was shown that more than £3000 had been loaned to the President and Professors, and it was prayed that the College be reimbursed; this last appeal, however, was treated like its predecessors, and thenceforth the Corporation assumed the responsibility of providing in full the officers' salaries. The notes due for advances were canceled. Happily, through the skillful management of Storer, the Treasurer, and of James Bowdoin and John Lowell, the financial resources of the College had gradually been augmented. The investments, made in uncertain times, proved lucrative, and in 1793 the Treasurer's report stated that the personal estate amounted to $182,000, of which about $82,000 were appropriated for special purposes. That was the first year in which the English system of reckoning was dropped, and the American adopted. We have now arrived at a period, therefore, when the College had to depend upon itself, but when the State, while refusing monetary support, still arrogated the right of supervisional control. But, as this was the first step toward the ultimate emancipation of Harvard from all political control, we see now that the gain far exceeded the sacrifices which it temporarily demanded.

The administration of Willard coincided with other changes which proved beneficial to the development of the College. The standard of scholarship was raised; the Medical School was founded on very humble beginnings; four professorships (E. Hersey, Alford, A. Hersey and Erving) were added to the foundations; the system of discipline was remodeled. The graduating classes between 1781 and 1804, inclusive, averaged forty, that of 1804 having sixty-one members, the largest number up to that time. In October, 1790, the College was honored by a visit from President Washington, who, in reply to an address from the Corporation, complimented the prosperous condition of the "literary republic," and hoped that

[1] At this time the College lost the revenue from the Charlestown Ferry, by the building of the Charles River Bridge (1785). The Legislature required the grantees of the bridge to pay the College an annuity until 1826.

"the muses might long enjoy a tranquil residence within the walls of this University."

President Willard died in September, 1804, and nearly two years elapsed before his successor, the Rev. Samuel Webber, Hollis Professor of Mathematics, was elected. In the interim the office had been offered to Fisher Ames, the first layman, so far as I have learned, who was elected to the Presidency of Harvard,[1]—but he declined. Mr. Webber came into office just at the outbreak of a new religious controversy, the echoes of which were heard far down the present century. It is the inherent nature of sects to become diversified; some members clinging rigidly to the letter of their creed and to tradition, while others move on to larger interpretations. Midway between these factions oscillate the moderates, who hold some of the views of each but do not approve of the extremes of either. Presbyterianism in New England was, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, on the verge of a new disintegration; the members of the advanced party, carrying freedom of inquiry to its logical conclusion, were beginning to be known as Unitarians, whom the conservatives looked upon with abhorrence as no better than skeptics or atheists. The line of demarcation was clearly defined in the controversy over the election of a successor to the chair of Divinity, which was left vacant by the death of Dr. Tappan in 1804. The corporation elected the Rev. Henry Ware, of Hingham, whose views were then deemed radical. He was stoutly resisted. The orthodox declared that "soundness and orthodoxy" were the requisites demanded by Hollis of the candidates to this professorship; that "soundness and orthodoxy" were to be found among Calvinists only; and that the candidate should submit to an examination of faith. Dr. Ware's supporters replied that such an examination "was a barbarous relic of inquisitorial power, alien alike from the genius of our government and the spirit of our people; that the College had been dedicated to Christ and not to Calvin —to Christianity and not to sectarianism; that Hollis, though agreeing with Calvinists in some points, was notoriously not a Calvinist; and that, by his statutes, he prescribed the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the rule of his Professor's faith, and not the Assembly's Catechism." At last Dr. Ware's election was concurred in by the Overseers (May, 1805), but it caused so great annoyance to the orthodox, that Dr. Pearson, Hancock Professor of Hebrew, resigned (March, 1806), giving as his reason that "events during the past year having so deeply affected his mind, beclouded the prospect, spread such a gloom over the University, and compelled him to take such a view of its internal state and external relations, of its radical and constitutional maladies, as to exclude the hope of rendering any essential service to the interests of religion by continuing his relation to it." His resignation was accepted by the Overseers who stated that "they are not apprehensive the University is in so unfortunate a state as he has represented."

In 1780 the original Stoughton Hall, which was situated at right angles to Massachusetts and Harvard, near the present site of the University, had to be demolished on account of its decay; but, with the increased number of students another dormitory was needed. This, the present Stoughton, was erected in 1805 at the expense of the college. The corporation then petitioned the Legislature for assistance to repair Massachusetts and other buildings, and, in 1806, permission was granted to them to raise $30,000 by lottery. From the proceeds of this lottery ($29,000) a new hall was built, at the cost of $24,000, and, on its completion in 1813, it was called after Sir Matthew Holworthy, to whom the college was indebted for the largest single benefaction it had received in the seventeenth century (£1000 sterling). In 1806, John Quincy Adams was appointed first Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory.

Signs of a more liberal spirit in religion were now rapidly multiplying in New England, and its effect was soon felt at Harvard. The election of James Bowdoin to the Corporation in 1792 may now be looked upon as an entering wedge, for he was the first lay Fellow (excepting previous Treasurers, Professors or Tutors) ever admitted to that body. Experience in his case suggested that a modification of the membership of the Board of Overseers would be desirable. The limitation of the original charter to the ministers and magistrates of Cambridge and five neighboring towns deprived the College of the services of suitable men; while the admission of the State Senate, by the Constitution of 1780, created a considerable number of Overseers whose knowledge of and interest in the College were slight or perfunctory, whose term was brief and uncertain, and whose time was fully occupied with politics and legislation. In March, 1810, therefore, an amendment was passed to the following effect: "The Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Council, the President of the Senate, and Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the President of the College, for the time being, with fifteen ministers of Congregational Churches, and fifteen laymen, all inhabitants within the State, to be elected as provided in the act," were constituted "the Board of Overseers of Harvard College." The fifteen laymen were to be elected by the rest of the Board, which thus perpetuated itself. The Legislature carefully respected the ancient privileges of the College, by providing that this act should not take effect until it had been accepted by the Corporation and Overseers, which they did. In July, 1810, President Webber died, and was succeeded by the Rev. John Thornton Kirkland, pastor of the new South Church in Boston.

Political partisanship then ran high, and, in 1812, the Senate complained that it had been deprived by

[1] President Leverett had fitted for the ministry, but had had no parish.

the recent act of some of its privileges, and a bill to repeal it was introduced. The Corporation testified that the College had been benefited by the change, but the act was repealed and the previous one restored. The Corporation insisted that since the act of 1810 had become valid only by their consent and that of the Overseers, it could not be annulled without their approval. The Overseers waived all opinion as to the act of 1812 until the Supreme Court should pass upon it. They organized according to the act of 1810, and another Board organized according to the Constitution of 1780; the latter body, however, exercised the functions of *de facto* Overseers until February, 1814, when, a change of parties in the control of the State Government having taken place, the act of 1810 was restored, and approved, and it remained in vigor for nearly forty years.

The Presidency of Kirkland witnessed the expansion of Harvard from a College into a University, by the creation of several departments, or schools, in addition to the Academic department. Of these—the Medical School, the Divinity School, and the Law School—some account will be given later. Five professorships were founded, or for the first time filled, during Kirkland's term. The College received its last subsidy from the State, which, in 1814, appropriated a bank tax amounting to $10,000 annually for ten years "for the encouragement of literature, piety, morality, and the useful arts and sciences," with the restriction that a fourth part of this annual sum should go "towards the partial or total reduction of the tuition fees of such students, not exceeding one-half the whole number of any class, who may apply therefor, according to the judgment of the Corporation." Of the unencumbered moneys, upwards of $21,400 were devoted to the building of the Medical School. In 1815 University Hall was completed at an expense of $65,000, partly paid from the unappropriated funds of the College, and partly from the bank tax. An act of February 12, 1814, increased the value of property exempt from taxation which the College might hold in Massachusetts, to the value of $12,000 *per annum*, in addition to what it was then authorized to hold.

In 1820 an effort was made towards the further liberalizing of the membership of the Board of Overseers, by declaring eligible to election the ministers of any Christian Church, irrespective of denomination. The Corporation and Overseers approved this reform, and a committee of delegates of the people of the Commonwealth, assembled to propose amendments to the Constitution, presented through its chairman, Daniel Webster, a favorable report. But when this amendment was submitted to a popular vote, the people of Massachusetts defeated it by 21,123 votes in the negative, to 8020 in the affirmative. All clergymen who did not belong to Congregational Churches still remained, therefore, under the ban.

Kirkland's administration was early successful, in part owing to his energy and wisdom, and in part owing to the remarkable body of men who, as members of the Corporation, assisted him with their counsel and support.[1] Previously to this time "the duties of President," says Quincy, "were limited to performing devotional services morning and evening in the chapel; expounding some portion of Scripture, or delivering some religious discourse, 'at least once a month;' presiding at meetings of the Corporation and Immediate Government [College Faculty]; acting as recording officer of each of these bodies; and executing such duties as were specifically assigned to him, usually as chairman of a committee. The general superintendence of the seminary, the distribution of its studies, the appointment of Tutors in case of any sudden vacancy, and in short all the executive powers relative to discipline and instruction, when not exercised by the Corporation itself, were carried into effect by the President, Professors and Tutors, constituting a board denominated 'the Immediate Government.' In this board the President always stood in the relation of *primus inter pares*, without other authority than that of a double vote, in case of an equivote." In 1811 and 1812 the Corporation granted to the President larger powers; authorizing him "from time to time to make such regulations respecting the instruction and the government of the students as he shall think reasonable and expedient, which regulations shall have the force of laws till the same be disallowed by the Corporation and Overseers;" but he could not alter any punishment or mode of inflicting the same. Dr. Kirkland used this enlarged authority very sparingly, and, so far as the records show, he never exercised it without consulting the Faculty; but, during the latter part of his administration he was embarrassed by discontent which manifested itself both inside and outside of the Faculty, and sprang from various causes.

In the first place, the old quarrel concerning who was eligible to be a Fellow was revived. In 1806, on the resignation of Professor Pearson and the election of Chief Justice Parsons to the Corporation, that body contained, for the first time in its history, no member of the Faculty; and as successive vacancies were filled by non-resident Fellows, the Faculty began to surmise that a precedent had been established against the election of any of their number in the future. In 1823 they protested against the disposition "to degrade them to the rank of ministerial officers, and to subject them to the discretionary government of an individual," and they attributed the unsatisfactory condition which they thought existed in the College to the fact that they had no representative in the Corporation. Learning the details of the con-

[1] From among the Fellows at this time (1810–30), I would mention Theophilus Parsons, John Lowell, John Phillips, Christopher Gore, William Prescott, Harrison Gray Otis, Joseph Story, Nathaniel Bowditch, William Ellery Channing and Charles Lowell.

troversy which had raged concerning Fellows a hundred years before, they "came to the conclusion that residence was originally a qualification for fellowship, and that, conformably to the Charter, the Corporation ought to consist of *Fellows*—that is, of resident officers of the College." The death of the Hon. John Phillips (1823) gave them the opportunity they desired, and they presented a memorial to the Corporation, setting forth their claims. This thrust a dilemma upon the Corporation: if it elected a member of the Faculty, the memorialists would infer that their claim was recognized as just, and the non-resident Fellows would thereby seem to have no legal right to their office; but if, on the other hand, a non-resident were chosen to succeed Phillips, the memorialists would urge that the policy of excluding the Faculty from representation was to be persisted in. The Corporation laid their difficulties before the petitioners, who immediately addressed the Overseers. The latter, after deliberation, resolved, that it did not appear that the resident instructors had any exclusive right to be chosen members of the Corporation; that non-resident Fellows did not therefor forfeit their offices; and that it was not expedient to express any opinion on the subject of future elections. The Hon. Charles Jackson, a non-resident, was soon afterwards nominated, and, some explanations having passed between the Corporation and Overseers, he was confirmed. Thus was finally settled a dispute that had been settled in the same way a century before.

About this time also the impression spread that the "discipline, instruction and morals" of the College needed correction. The Overseers accordingly appointed a committee of seven, of which Joseph Story was chairman, to investigate. In May, 1824, they recommended various changes, the principal being that the President should be accorded larger authority and should be relieved, as far as possible, from merely ministerial duties; that Professors and Tutors should be divided into separate departments, each department to have at its head a Professor who should superintend its studies and instructors, "with the privilege of recommending its instructors to the Corporation for appointment;" that a board of three persons, presided over by a Professor, should look after the discipline of each College Hall, a similar board to superintend students who lodged outside of the College, but no extreme punishment to be inflicted without the President's cognizance and approval; that there be two classes of studies—those necessary for a degree and those which students might elect; that each class of students should be subdivided into sections for recitations, which should be "more searching than at present;" that students should take notes at lectures, and pass an annual examination; that students should be admitted who did not wish a degree, but did wish "to pursue particular studies to qualify them for scientific and mechanical employment and the active business of life;" that fines should be abolished, and records of conduct kept and sent quarterly to students' parents; that some officer should "visit, every evening, the room of every student;" that no student under sixteen years of age should be admitted; that the expense of education should be reduced; and that the visitatorial authority of the Overseers should be more efficient, the President and Professors to report to them at a meeting every winter. This recommendation met with strong opposition, led by the Rev. Andrews Norton; but at last (June 10, 1825) the Corporation passed a new code of laws, in which the "Immediate Government" was authorized to call itself the "Faculty of the University," with power to act by committees; the President was relieved of his ministerial duties, was charged with executing the measures of the Faculty, but was not granted visitatorial power nor independent negative; departments were created; students were classified according to proficiency; the salaries of President and Professors were made to depend, in a measure, on the number of students; persons not candidates for a degree were admitted to special study; examinations were made more frequent and vigorous; fines were abolished and a scheme of punishment—the various penalties of which were caution, warning, solemn admonition, official notice to parents, rustication and expulsion—were adopted.

A third difficulty arose during this decade from the state of the College finances. The institution had expanded rapidly, but in so doing its expenditures had exceeded its revenues. More power had been allowed to President Kirkland in the disposal of the income, and he had favored the passage of a law by which a Tutor, after six years of satisfactory service, should be promoted to a professorship, with an increased salary. The price of tuition was raised, one quarter, to fifty-five dollars *per annum*, and lest this should diminish the number of students the Corporation undertook to "assist meritorious students when unable to pay the additional tuition." Professors' salaries were also augmented. The grant from the Legislature of $10,000 for ten years served, while it lasted, to maintain this more expensive system, although a large part of the grant was devoted, as has been said, to the erection of the Medical School and to other purposes. When this grant ceased, the number of students fell off. Already clamors for retrenchment had been heard, but the Corporation hoped that the Legislature would continue its subsidies. When, however, it became evident (in 1824) that the Legislature would do no more, economy had to be rigidly practiced. The Treasurer's report for the year ending June 30, 1825, showed an excess of expenses over income of more than $4000, while there were but about 200 students, as compared with upwards of 300 in 1824. A committee of the Corporation made a thorough examination of the Treasurer's books for the past seventeen years, and found no evidence of misuse; they then proposed measures for retrench-

ment, such as the union of professorships and the imposition of more work on instructors. The President was asked to discharge his secretary, whose duties were transferred to the steward. Beneficiary aid to students from the unappropriated funds of the College was cut off, and the interest on appropriated funds was reduced from six to five and one-half *per cent.* The Treasurer was required to submit every month to the Overseers a statement of his expenditures, and he was authorized to make no payments without the sanction of that Board. By these reforms the annual deficit of the College was wiped out, and "a foundation was laid for a prosperous state of its finances" (1828).

The students objected to the ordinance, referred to above, by which they were classified in sections according to proficiency, and their discontent was the cause of so frequent disorders, that the President advised that the obnoxious law be rescinded; and this was done (1827) in all departments except that of Modern Languages. Shortly afterward President Kirkland, who had previously suffered a stroke of paralysis, presented his resignation. He went out of office with the personal good-will even of those who had most strenuously opposed some of his innovations. Looking back upon his administration after more than sixty years, we can give it the praise it merits. Kirkland was the first President to show, by his acts, that he recognized the distinction between a college and a university; he showed that he believed that Harvard should and could fulfil the duties of a university; and he devoted all his energy towards her expansion. He was instrumental in the erection of Holworthy, the original Medical School, University and Divinity Hall; and he saw the addition of five professorships (Eliot, Rumford, Royall, Smith and Dane) to the endowed foundations of the College.

His successor, Josiah Quincy (1829–45), pursued, in general, the expansive policy already laid down. The number of students increased steadily, the average of the graduating class being fifty-six, besides the members of the schools. The finances were correspondingly prosperous. In August, 1840, the capital of the University was estimated at $646,235.17, of which, however, only $156,000 could be applied to the unreserved use of the College. In 1832 a Law School building was completed at the expense of Nathan Dane; and in 1839 the Library built from a legacy of Christopher Gore, at a cost of $73,000, was dedicated. In the latter year also William Cranch Bond transferred his whole apparatus to Cambridge, was appointed Astronomical Observer to the University, and was installed in suitable buildings, for which a foundation was laid by subscription. The religious tendency at this time was towards liberalism. Unitarian doctrines of what now seems a mild type had spread throughout Massachusetts and were supposed to have their nursery at Harvard; but so conservative and timorous was the majority at the College that when Ralph Waldo Emerson delivered an address before the Divinity students (July 15, 1838), the College authorities and the public were alarmed at the boldness of his ideas, which some did not hesitate to say were subversive of religion and morals. Even the Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., felt obliged to declare that the prevalence of some of Emerson's statements "would tend to overthrow the authority and influence of Christianity."[1] In 1834 the Legislature passed an act entitling clergymen of any denomination to stand as candidates for Overseers, but this did not go into operation until 1843.

The most important academic event during Quincy's term was the celebration, on the 8th of September, 1836, of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of Harvard. A pavilion of white canvas was erected in the College grounds, near the present site of the Library, covering nearly 18,000 square feet, being 150 feet long and 120 feet broad; and supported in the centre by a pillar 65 feet high, and on the sides by 44 shorter pillars. Evergreens and flowers decorated the pillars; blue and white streamers "radiated from the centre to the sides of the tent," which were erected on sloping ground, so that "the tables rose one above another in the form of an amphitheatre." The entrances to the College Halls were also decorated, and arches, bearing the names of Harvard, Dunster and Chauncy, were erected over the three principal entrances to the grounds. On the morning of the celebration a white banner, on which was emblazoned the device of the first College seal, was raised over the pavilion. A vast concourse of graduates and sight-seeers thronged the town. At ten o'clock a procession was formed in front of the University, under the chief marshalship of Robert C. Winthrop; Samuel Emery, of the Class of 1774, headed the line of graduates, the oldest living graduate, Judge Wingate (Class of 1759), being unable to attend. The procession marched to the Congregational Church, where Dr. Ripley "offered a solemn and fervent prayer;" then was sung "Fair Harvard," an ode written for the occasion by the Rev. Samuel T. Gilman (class of 1819); after which "President Quincy commanded, during two hours, the attention of the audience." The services over, the procession moved to the pavilion, where 1500 persons partook of dinner. Edward Everett, the President of the day in the absence of H. G. Otis, began the speech-making, and was followed by ex-Pres. Kirkland, Dr. Palfrey, Justice Story, Dr. J. C. Warren, Chief Justice Shaw, Governor Levi Lincoln, Daniel Webster, Leverett Saltonstall, Josiah Quincy, Jr., Robert C. Winthrop and other distinguished speakers, until eight o'clock in the evening, when the assembly was "adjourned to meet at this place on the 8th of September, 1936." The yard and buildings were then "brilliantly illuminated by the students, at the expense of the Corporation.

[1] J. E. Cabot's "Memoir of Emerson," p. 332.

The name of each of the College halls appeared in letters of light, together with the dates of their erection, and appropriate mottoes."

During Quincy's term the old Congregational Church, which stood near where Dane Hall now stands, was taken down (1833); the land belonging to it was added to the College enclosure, and the new church (now the First Unitarian) was erected. Four professorships were founded by private benefactors in the University, viz.: Natural History (Fisher), History (McLean), Eloquence (Parkman), Astronomy and Mathematics (Parkman). A fund was also subscribed for the purchase of books for the new Library. President Quincy resigned in August, 1845, leaving behind him the reputation of having been "the Great Organizer of the University." He was succeeded by the Hon. Edward Everett, whose varied achievements in politics and literature had qualified him, it was thought, to direct the rapidly expanding University. But after three years of service he resigned, having found that the innumerable petty duties which were then thrust upon the President, from the oversight of "the spots on the carpet in a pew of the Chapel to the reception of the King's son on an occasion of ceremony," were "more than his flesh and blood could stand." Yet, during his brief term, he furthered the interests of Harvard. College House (1846), the Observatory (1846) and the Lawrence Scientific School (1848) were added during his administration, and one professorship, that of Anatomy (Parkman), was founded. The resources of Harvard were still quite inadequate to its needs, and in 1849 the State was petitioned for an appropriation; but to no purpose. The annual income from funds applicable to the College was but $26,633, whereas the expenses amounted to more than $40,000, so that the deficiency had to be made up from the tuition fee of the students, which was then (1848) $75.[1] Some persons interested in the College objected strongly to the efforts to convert it into a University—this title had been formally adopted by Pres. Everett—declaring that the real purpose of the institution should be to furnish a solid literary education, and not to provide mere smatterings in many departments. One critic condemned the rage for extravagance in buildings; the new Library, he said, had cost $73,000, while the fund for supplying it with books was only $21,000; whence he inferred that the Corporation set a value of seventy-three on stone and mortar and of only twenty-one on books. He protested also against increasing the cost of education, especially since Cambridge was an expensive place to live in.[2]

At this time the constitution of the Board of Overseers became again the object of much discussion. Many alumni favored the complete separation of the College from the State, and proposed a new system of election, whereby the Overseers should be a representative instead of an *ex officio* body. The full Board numbered eighty-three members—far too many for the speedy and efficient transaction of business. In 1850 a Committee of the Legislature investigated the College, and reported that it failed "to answer the just expectations of the people of the State," owing to the fact that its organization and instruction were adapted to the conditions of a quarter of a century before. The next year an act was passed remodeling the Board of Overseers, which was to consist of "the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, President of the Senate, and Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth, the Secretary of the Board of Education, and the President and Treasurer of Harvard College, for the time being, together with thirty other persons." Those thirty other persons were to be elected by the General Court, none of whose members was eligible; they were to be divided into three classes of ten each, the first class to go out of office on the day of the next annual meeting of the General Court, "and so on in rotation, to be determined by lot." After the Board should be wholly renewed in this manner, it was to be divided into six classes of five each, each class to serve six years from the date of its election. No person was eligible for re-election for more than one term immediately succeeding that for which he was first elected. This was a great step in advance; the number of Overseers was reduced within reasonable limits, and the number of its *ex officio* members was now only five (not counting the President and Treasurer). But the pernicious influence of politics was still felt in the election of the Overseers by the Legislature. Party intrigues and preferences, which should have no weight in an institution consecrated to Truth,—which has never been the chief concern of politicians,—often determined the success or defeat of candidates, who were nominated in party caucuses at the State House. A bill was therefore introduced in the Senate in 1854, to take the election out of the Legislature and to entrust it to the alumni of the College, but this bill was not enacted. Earlier than this, in 1851, the State politicians thought to improve matters by tampering with the organization of the Corporation. They proposed to increase that Board to fifteen members, to be elected by the Legislature, in three classes of five each, one class to go out every two years. Fortunately, this proposal, which would not only have introduced politics into the Corporation, but also have made that body unstable and transitory, was not adopted. The scheme of 1854, by which State interference was to be abolished, depended on the raising of a fund of $200,000, the income from which, in sums of $100, was to be devoted to the assistance of one hundred worthy students.

The internal affairs of the College progressed but slowly during the decade 1850–60. Jared Sparks, the historian, was President from 1849 to 1853, and was

[1] See S. A. Eliot's Sketch of Harvard College, p. 116.

[2] See article by Francis Bowen in the *North American Review*, Jan., 1850.

followed by the Rev. James Walker (1853–60). The Elective System, of which an account will be found elsewhere, was not encouraged; but the efforts to improve discipline and to check hazing were vigorous, and the standard of learning was perceptibly raised. Three professorships were endowed, one of Astronomy (Phillips, 1849); one of Christian Morals (Plummer, 1855), and one of Clinic (Jackson, 1859). Appleton Chapel was erected in 1858, and the (Old) Gymnasium in 1860. Mr. Everett was the last President to live in Wadsworth House; President Sparks dwelt at the corner of Quincy and Kirkland Streets, and President Walker at No. 25 Quincy Street. In 1860 a fund given by Peter C. Brooks in 1846 had accumulated sufficiently to pay for the erection of a new residence for the President. Doubtless the most important addition to the University during this period was due to the energy and genius of Professor Louis Agassiz, by whom valuable collections in natural history had been patiently made, and through whose enthusiasm money was raised for the erection of the first division of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy in 1859.

Professor Cornelius Conway Felton, eminent as a Greek scholar, was elected President in 1860, upon the resignation of Walker, and served until his death, in 1862, being succeeded by the Rev. Thomas Hill. This was a gloomy crisis in the history of the nation, and Harvard did not escape from its effects. The cost of living was considerably increased owing to the Civil War; nevertheless, the number of students did not diminish to the degree that might have been expected. The number of Seniors upon whom degrees were conferred between 1850 and 1859, average 82. The class of 1860 graduated 110—the largest up to that date; 1861, 81; 1862, 97; 1863, 120; 1864, 99; 1865, 84. President Hill's administration is memorable on two accounts: he initiated changes in the methods of instruction with a view to convert the College into a University, and he witnessed the final severing of the College from all interference by the State. On April 26, 1865, the Legislature passed a bill providing for the election of Overseers by "such persons as have received from the College a degree of Bachelor of Arts, or Master of Arts, or any honorary degree." The voting was fixed between the hours of ten A. M. and four P. M. at Cambridge, on Commencement Day; no member of the Corporation, or officer of government and instruction was elegible as an Overseer, or was entitled to vote; and Bachelors of Arts were not allowed to vote until the fifth Commencement after their graduation. The Board of Overseers, as thus constituted, consists of thirty members, divided into six classes of five members each, every class serving six years. In case of a vacancy, the remaining Overseers can supply it by vote, the person thus elected being "deemed to be a member of and to go out of office with the class to which his predecessor belongs." Among the other noteworthy events of President Hill's term were the building of Gray's Hall (1863), and the introduction of a series of University Lectures (1863) by specialists. These courses, rather popular in their nature, were open to all members of the University, and to the public on the payment of five dollar. The Academic Council, composed of the Professors and Assistant Professors in the various Faculties, was founded with a view to suggest the subjects to be lectured upon and to recommend lecturers.

President Hill resigned September 30, 1868; Charles William Eliot (class of 1853), at that time a member of the Board of Overseers, was chosen to succeed him, May 19, 1869. President Eliot's administration, which has now extended over twenty-one years, has been unquestionably the most memorable in the history of the University. Changes more numerous and more radical have been wrought than in any previous period of the same length; and they have affected most deeply not only Harvard itself, but the higher education of the whole country. It is still too soon to pass final judgment on many of these changes, but it is not too soon to state that they mark the transformation of the College into a University. Foremost among them is the unreserved adoption of the Elective System, long and stubbornly opposed; its privileges were handed down from class to class, until at last they reached the Freshmen. As a corollary to this, voluntary attendance at College exercises has been accorded to undergraduates, the experiment being tried first with the Seniors in 1874–75. The Law School has been completely reorganized; its course has been lengthened from two years to three, and its instruction has been made methodical and progressive. A similar improvement has been effected in the Medical School, whose standard was raised above that of any other in the country, and whose course has been fixed at three years, with an extra year for those who care to avail themselves of it. The Divinity School, long on the verge of dissolution, has been resuscitated, and although it cannot yet be said to flourish, this is due to the general temper of the age in religious matters, rather than to the inadequacy of the facilities of the School itself. Attempts have likewise been made to increase the efficiency of the Scientific School, but that institution seems to be inevitably tending towards absorption in the College. The School of Veterinary Medicine, the Bussey Institution, the Arnold Arboretum, the Peabody Museum of American Archæology, and the transference of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy to the College, are landmarks in the extension of the University in different directions during the past twenty years.

To this period belongs also another wise reform—the abolition of compulsory attendance at religious services. In 1869 the Faculty ceased to require those students who passed Sunday at home to attend Church, except as their guardians or parents desired; and it reduced the number of services to be attended

by those who remained in Cambridge, from two to one. After much discussion and many petitions, attendance at prayers as well as at Sunday services, was left to the choice of the student. The old system of regulations was completely recast: the Faculty recognized that it had a more useful work to perform than to inspect the frogs and buttons on the student's coats, or to fix the hour for going to bed. The decorum of the undergraduates has improved in proportion as their independence has widened. Hazing has disappeared, and cases of serious disorder have been rare. Cribbing at examination, which a majority of students deemed venial when studies were prescribed, has almost passed away, since studies have been elective.

In 1869 the semi-annual exhibitions, which used to be held when a committee of the Overseers visited the College, were abandoned, since it was found that they no longer served their original purpose of stimulating the ambition of students. In the following year the system of conferring "honors" on students who had passed a successful special examination in some one department—as the Classics, or Mathematics—at the end of their Sophomore or Senior year, was introduced. In 1872 the Academic Council was remodeled, to suggest candidates for the higher degrees, A.M., Ph.D. and S.D., and these degrees acquired a real value from the fact that they represented a specified amount of graduate work. Indeed, the policy of the University has been to abolish the old custom of conferring meaningless degrees. Even those which are purely honorary in their nature (LL.D. and D.D.) have been bestowed more sparingly. The venerable practice of conferring the degree of Doctor of Laws on the Governor for the time being of Massachusetts—a practice which arose when that dignitary was *ex officio* the President of the Board of Overseers—was broken up in 1883, when Benjamin F. Butler was Governor of the Commonwealth, and it is probable that the precedent will never be revived.

The salaries of the teachers was raised in 1869—that of professors being fixed at $4000, that of assistant professors at $2500, and that of instructors at $1000; but these figures represent the maximum, and not the average sums received in the respective grades. In the current year (1890) another small increase has been made; but the smallness of the teachers' stipends, when compared with the income which successful doctors, lawyers and clergymen receive for intellectual work of relatively the same quality, indicates that public sentiment still holds educators dangerously cheap. Fine dormitories, spacious halls, vast museums and costly apparatus do not make a university; men, and only men of strong intellect, of wisdom and spirituality, can make a university; and they can be secured only by paying them an adequate compensation. Until society recognizes that the ideal educator is really beyond all price, it will go on suffering from evils and losses which a proper education might prevent. To lighten the work of the Harvard professors, the Corporation have granted them a leave of absence for one year out of every seven. Further, a subscription has recently been opened to a fund to provide a pension for those professors who, after a long service, are incapacitated from either age or feebleness. In 1872 the experiment of conducting "University Lectures" was found to be unsuccessful; but it was still maintained with good results in the Law School till 1874. Summer courses in Chemistry and Botany were offered to teachers and other students (1874), and they have constantly grown in usefulness, so that similar courses in other departments have been added. In 1875 spring examinations for the University were held in Cincinnati, and this scheme, too, proved so beneficial that it has been extended to several other distant cities, and to some of the preparatory schools. In that same year Evening Readings, open alike to the public and students, were introduced; and they were repeated from year to year. Latterly, more formal lectures, College Conferences, etc., have partly superseded them.

The method of instruction is now by lectures and not by recitations in all those courses where lectures can be given to greater advantage. The marking system—a survival from the old seminary days, when marks were sent home regularly every quarter—has been overhauled and reduced to the least obnoxious condition. Formerly, the maximum mark for any recitation was eight; the students were ranked for the year on a scale of 100, but, though the scale was the same, no two instructors agreed in their use of it. Some were "hard" and some were "soft" markers; some frankly admitted that it was impossible to get within five or ten per cent. of absolute exactness; others were so delicately constituted that they could distinguish between fractions of one per cent. One instructor was popularly supposed to possess a marking "machine;" another sometimes assigned marks *less than zero*. These anomalies were long recognized before a simple and more rational scheme was adopted, in 1886. "In each of their courses students are now divided into five groups, called A, B, C, D and E; E being composed of those who have not passed. To graduate, a student must have passed in all his courses, and have stood above the group D in at least one-fourth of his college work; and for the various grades of the degree, honors, honorable mention, etc., similar regulations are made in terms of A, B, C, etc., instead of in per cents. as formerly."[1] The increase in the number of instructors in the various departments has also brought about what was first proposed in President Kirkland's time—the autonomy of each department over its own affairs, subject, of course, to the approval of the governing boards.

Examinations are now held twice a year, at the

[1] W. C. Lane in the Third Report of the Class of 1881.

end of January and in June, lasting about twenty days at each period. The examinations, except in courses involving laboratory work, are nearly all written, of three hours' length each. President Eliot, then Tutor in Mathematics, was the first to introduce written examinations, in the course under his charge, in 1854-55. Before that tests were oral. The College calendar was reformed in 1869, previous to which date a long vacation had been assigned to the winter months, chiefly for the benefit of poor students who partly supported themselves by teaching school for a winter term. As re-arranged, the College year extends from the last Thursday in September to the last Wednesday in June, with ten days' recess at Christmas and a week at the beginning of April.

The remarkable expansion of the University during the past twenty years—to which expansion these changes bear witness—has been as great in material and financial concerns, as in policy. In 1869 the resources of Harvard amounted to $2,257,989.80, and the income to $270,404.63; in 1889 the capital was $6,874,046.25, and the income was $913,824.72. Five large dormitories have been erected, viz.:—Thayer Hall, the gift of Nathaniel Thayer, in 1870; Holyoke, erected by the Corporation, in 1871; Matthews Hall, the gift of Nathan Matthews, and Weld Hall, the gift of William F. Weld, in 1872; and Hastings Hall, the gift of Walter Hastings, in 1889. An addition to the Library, by which its capacity was more than doubled, was completed in 1877. Austin Hall, the new Law School, was built from plans by H. H. Richardson in 1883; the same architect designed Sever Hall (lecture and recitation rooms) in 1880. In 1871 a mansard roof was added to Boylston Hall, the Chemical Laboratory; and College House was enlarged during the same year, when also the lecture-room and laboratory of the Botanic Garden were completed. The Jefferson Physical Laboratory (for which Thomas Jefferson Coolidge was the chief contributor), was finished in 1883; that year the new Medical School in Boston was first occupied. The Museum of Comparative Zoölogy has grown by successive additions, the cost of which has been largely defrayed by Alexander Agassiz, until it now (1890) covers the two sides of the quadrangle originally proposed by Louis Agassiz; and on the third side the Peabody Museum of Archæology, begun in 1876 and added to in 1889, has almost reached the point of junction. The Bussey Institution (1870), the School of Veterinary Medicine (1883) and the Library of the Divinity School (1886) are further monuments of President Eliot's administration. For athletic purposes several buildings have been erected during this period: the University Boat House (1870), the Hemenway Gymnasium (1879), the Weld Boat House (1890) and the Cary Athletic Building (1890).

One other edifice, Memorial Hall, deserves a more extended notice. In May, 1865, a large number of graduates held a meeting in Boston to discuss plans for erecting a memorial to those alumni and students of Harvard who lost their lives in behalf of the Union during the Civil War. A Committee of eleven were appointed, consisting of Charles G. Loring, R. W. Emerson, S. G. Ward, Samuel Eliot, Martin Brimmer, H. H. Coolidge, R. W. Hooper, C. E. Norton, T. G. Bradford, H. B. Rogers and James Walker. At another meeting, in July, they presented a report, in which was the following resolution: "*Resolved*, That in the opinion of the graduates of Harvard College, a 'Memorial Hall' constructed in such manner as to indicate in its external and internal arrangements the purpose for which it is chiefly designed; in which statues, busts, portraits, medallions and mural tablets, or other appropriate memorials may be placed, commemorative of the graduates and students of the College who have fallen, and of those who have served in the army and navy during the recent Rebellion, in conjunction with those of the past benefactors and distinguished sons of Harvard now in her keeping,—and with those of her sons who shall hereafter prove themselves worthy of the like honor,—will be the most appropriate, enduring and acceptable commemoration of their heroism and self-sacrifice; and that the construction of such a hall in a manner to render it a suitable theatre or auditorium for the literary festivals of the College or of its filial institutions will add greatly to the beauty, dignity and effect of such memorials and tend to preserve them unimpaired, and with constantly increasing association of interest to future years." At Commencement this resolution was brought before the alumni. After considerable discussion, in which some speakers proposed that a simple monument or obelisk would be more appropriate than a building, the matter was referred to a Committee of Fifty, which, on September 23d, reported in favor of a memorial hall. Messrs. Ware & Van Brunt, architects, were requested to submit plans, which were formally adopted at the following Commencement. It was also voted that the biographies of the Harvard men who served in the war be printed. Subscriptions were immediately solicited and the College conveyed the land known as the Delta for the site of the new edifice. The corner-stone was laid October 6, 1870, with a prayer by the Rev. Phillips Brooks, addresses by the Hon. J. G. Palfrey, the Hon. William Gray, the Hon. E. R. Hoar, a hymn by Dr. O. W. Holmes and a benediction by the Rev. Thomas Hill. The dedication ceremonies took place July 23, 1874. The total sum raised was $305,887.54. Sanders Theatre, to whose erection was devoted the accumulations from a bequest by Charles Sanders (of the class of 1802), was completed in 1876, in time to be used for the Commencement exercises of that year. The portraits and busts belonging to the College were placed in Memorial Hall, which has since been used by the Dining Association.

Thus has the University augumented its resources during the past twenty years. The gifts have been most generous, but as they have for the most part been designed by their donors for especial purposes, the unrestricted means at the disposal of the Corporation have not increased in proportion with the needs. Two curious bequests may be cited to show how unwise are benefactions subject to restriction. In 1716 the Rev. Daniel Williams left an annuity of £60 for the support of two preachers among the "Indians and Blacks," and in 1790 Mrs. Sarah Winslow gave £1367 in support of a minister and schoolmaster in the town of Tyngsborough: the Treasurer of the College is still paying the income from these donations for the benefit of the nondescript Marshpee Indians and for the schooling of the children of Tyngsborough. The great fire in Boston in 1872 seriously affected the revenue of the College, but the deficit caused thereby was made good by a subscription. The only other untoward event was the burning of the upper part of Hollis Hall in 1876.

It is impossible to specify more particularly the bequests which have enriched Harvard during the past two decades. The income now at the disposal of the College for beneficiary purposes amounts to more than $45,000 *per annum*—a sum sufficient to warrant the assertion made in the College Catalogue "that good scholars of high character but slender means are very rarely obliged to leave College for want of money." Nor can space be spared to enumerate the various prizes for essays, speaking, reading, etc., which are annually awarded. Mention should be made, however, of a few matters upon which it would be pleasant to enlarge. In 1870–71 the Corporation negotiated with the Trustees of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for the consolidation of the Institute with the Scientific Department at Harvard—the united institution to be called the Technological School, and to have its seat in the Institute's building in Boston. After several propositions and much deliberation, however, the two bodies could reach no satisfactory agreement, and the project was abandoned. Another scheme which may be realized hereafter—the admission of women to the privileges of the University—has been agitated from time to time during the past twenty years. In 1869 one woman asked to be admitted to the Divinity School, and another to the Scientific School, but the Corporation refused. In 1873, however, at the solicitation of the Woman's Educational Association, they consented to hold entrance and final examinations, and to give certificates to those candidates who passed creditably. The number of women who have availed themselves of this concession has never been large; but in 1880 an association for the Collegiate Education of Women opened in Cambridge an institution, popularly known as the "Annex," where courses are offered similar to those given in the College, and are conducted by Harvard professors and instructors. From this unofficial connection, it is possible that the co-education of the sexes may ultimately be introduced into the University.

In 1880 an act passed the Legislature amending the College Charter so as to allow persons who are not inhabitants of Massachusetts, but who are otherwise qualified, to be eligible as Overseers. This change was due to the fact that in New York there is a large body of alumni who wished to have a representation on the Board of Overseers. In 1884 an Overseer was elected from Philadelphia. The question of allowing graduates of the Law and Medical Schools to vote for Overseers has recently been discussed, but it has not yet met the approval of the governing boards. In 1889 an amendment was passed modifying the counting of votes. The celebration, in 1886, of the 250th anniversary of the founding of the College, is still too recent to require a detailed notice.

In concluding this portion of this historical sketch it may be well to give a few statistics, from which the remarkable recent expansion of the University can be more clearly seen:

Membership.

	1869.	1889.
Undergraduates	563	1271
Graduate Scholars	2	. .
Resident Graduates	4	93
Divinity School	36	35
Law School	120	254
Scientific School	43	65
School of Mining	9	. .
Medical School	306	290
Dental School	16	35
Bussey Institution	. .	2
Veterinary Department	. .	20
Non-resident Graduates	. .	10
	1084	2097
University Courses	13	. .
Summer Schools	. .	220

In 1869 the corps of instructors numbered 84; in 1889, 217. The College Library in the former year had 121,000 volumes, and the libraries of the other departments, 63,000 volumes; in 1889 the College Library had 268,551 volumes, and 256,737 pamphlets, and the other departments had 86,868 volumes and 29,041 pamphets.

THE MEDICAL SCHOOL.—In the year 1780, Drs. Samuel Danforth, Isaac Rand, Thomas Kast, John Warren and some others formed an association called "The Boston Medical Society." On November 3, 1781, this Society voted, "that Dr. John Warren be desired to demonstrate a course of Anatomical Lectures the ensuing Winter." Dr. Warren was the younger brother of Joseph Warren who fell at the battle of Bunker Hill. His course was popular, and led President Willard, and some of the Fellows of Harvard, who had attended his lectures, to discuss the organization of a Medical School to be attached to the College. Dr. Warren drew up a scheme, which was placed before the Corporation September 19, 1782. Twenty-two articles were adopted, among which was one establishing "a Professorship of Anatomy and Surgery; a Professorship of the Theory

and Practice of Physic; and a Professorship of Chemistry and Materia Medica." It was further required that each professor should be a "Master of Arts, or graduated Bachelor or Doctor of Physics; of the Christian Religion and of strict morals." The first professors were Dr. John Warren (Anatomy and Surgery), Dr. Aaron Dexter (Chemistry and Materia Medica) and Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse (Theory and Practice of Medicine). They lectured in Cambridge in 1783; a few medical students, and such Seniors as had obtained their parents' consent, attended. Three years of study, involving attendance on two courses of lectures—which was reduced in some cases, to attendance on one course, the longest being only four months—were required of those who presented themselves as candidates for a degree. Students who were not graduates of the college had to pass a preliminary examination in the Latin Language and in Natural Philosophy. The degree of Bachelor of Medicine was first conferred in 1785; that of M.D. in 1788, upon John Fleet.

The facilities for instruction were of the scantiest: one anatomical specimen; only such clinical cases as were offered by the private patients of the professors; merely elementary chemical apparatus. And yet, thanks to the skill and energy of Dr. Warren and his two coadjutors, the School, despite its barren beginnings, slowly grew. Dr. Waterhouse deserves to be remembered not only for his lectures, but also for establishing a Botanical Garden at Cambridge; for procuring the first collection of minerals, and for introducing the practice of vaccination into this country. The graduates during the first twenty years were few —sometimes only one or two a year. In 1806 Dr. John Collins Warren was appointed Assistant Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, under his father; three years later, Dr. John Gorham was appointed Adjunct Professor of Chemistry and Materia Medica. In the latter year Dr. J. C. Warren opened a room for the study of Practical Anatomy, at No. 49 Marlborough Street, Boston, and in the Autumn of 1810 the first course of lectures to members of the Harvard Medical School was given at that place in Boston. Furthermore, in 1810, Dr James Jackson was appointed Lecturer on Clinical Medicine; he succeeded to Dr. Waterhouse's professorship in 1812, and gave his students clinical instruction by taking them with him on his visits to the patients at the almshouse.

In 1813 thirteen diplomas were conferred, and the need of a special building was so urgent that a grant therefor was obtained from the Legislature. In 1816 this building—a plain, two-story edifice with an attic —was opened in Mason Street, under the name of the "Massachusetts Medical College." In 1821 the Massachusetts General Hospital was opened in Allen Street, largely through the efforts of the Medical School professors who thus secured ample material for study. In 1815 Dr. J. C. Warren succeeded his father as Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, and Dr. Walter Channing was appointed Professor of Obstetrics and Medical Jurisprudence. Dr. Warren held his position for thirty-two years, until his resignation, in 1847, holding the highest rank among the New England surgeons of his time, and contributing by his learning and enthusiasm to the steady growth of the School, to which he bequeathed a valuable anatomical collection. In 1831 the Faculty of the Medical School, distinct from that of the College, was organized. Assistant professorships and lectureships had to be added from time to time to meet the increased demands, and in 1847 Dr. George C. Shattuck endowed a chair of Pathological Anatomy. The preceding year, the old building on Mason Street had been sold to the Boston Natural History Society, and a larger building was erected in North Grove Street, on land given for that purpose by Dr. George Parkman. The chemical laboratory, affording room for 138 students, occupied the basement of this new building; the physiological and microscopic laboratories were in the attic, and the other stories were devoted to rooms for lectures and demonstrations.

The standard of the School has been steadily raised. At first, as we have seen, a student was required to attend only one or two courses of a maximum duration of four months during three years. Then, down to 1859, he was expected to attend two winter terms of four months, and to produce a certificate from some physician that he had studied under him during the rest of the required three years. In 1859 the Winter Course was supplemented by a Summer Course. During the next dozen years a better, but still an imperfect curriculum was adopted. The student was "expected to attend 'two courses of lectures,' taking tickets for all the branches, and being, of course, expected to attend daily five, six, or more lectures on as many different subjects, inasmuch as he had paid for them as being all of equal importance to him. In addition to this, he was expected to devote a considerable portion of his time to practical anatomy, if not to other special work in the laboratories of different branches. It was a great feast of many courses to which the student was invited, but they were all set on at once, which was not the best arrangement either for mental appetite or digestion."[1] In 1871, however, a reform was made, the essential provisions of which still obtain. "The whole academic year is now devoted to medical instruction. It is divided into two terms, the first beginning in September and ending in February; the second, after a recess of a week, extending from February to the last part of June. Each of these terms is more than the equivalent of the former winter term. The most essential change of all is that the instruction is made progressive, the students being divided into three classes, taking up the different branches in their natural succession, and passing through the entire

[1] Dr. O. W. Holmes, in *The Harvard Book*, i, 248.

range of their medical studies in due order, in place of having the whole load of knowledge upset at once upon them. Practical instructions in the various laboratories have been either substituted for, or added to, the didactic lectures, and attendance upon them is expected of the student as much as on the lectures."[1] Since 1877 those candidates for the Medical School who have not already a Bachelor's degree, have been obliged to pass an entrance examination.

The stricter requirements, the more difficult course, and the raising of the tuition fee to $200, prevented the membership of the School from increasing rapidly. But the value of first-rate training in this profession—which has made greater advances than any other during the past half-century—was gradually recognized, and the slow but healthy growth in membership called for more room and greater facilities. In 1883 a new School building on the Back Bay, near Copley Square, was completed. In 1880 an extra year was added to the regular course, but students were not required to take it. Between 1881 and 1887, 487 degrees were conferred. In 1888 the Elective System was partially introduced, and the experiment proved successful. Summer courses, chiefly clinical in character, were also added, and have been largely attended. In that year the receipts of the School were $78,791.57, and the expenditures $68,032.71.

The Law School.—In 1815 a professorship of Law was endowed by a bequest from Isaac Royall, its incumbent being required to give a course of lectures to the Seniors. In 1817 the University established a Law Department, the only professor being the Hon. Asahel Stearns. In 1829 Nathan Dane endowed another chair, which was filled by the Hon. Joseph Story, and, in 1832, the same benefactor gave a Hall, called by his name, to the University. Previous to the erection of this, the Old Law School, the quarters of the School had been in what is now College House. In 1829–30 there were thirty-two students; thirty years later there were 152. But the instruction was irregular and unsatisfactory, although among the instructors were men of ability. There was neither an entrance nor a final examination. The course, nominally of two years, really permitted the student to acquire no more than he could have acquired in one year's systematic study. This disorderly condition lasted until 1870, when radical reforms were introduced, through the co-operation of the new Dean, Professor C. C. Langdell. Residence during the Academic year was made obligatory; diplomas were conferred on only those candidates who had passed a satisfactory examination; the tuition fee was raised from $100 to $150; but no entrance examination was yet required. In 1877 the standard of the School was again raised, by extending the course from two to three years, and in that year entrance examinations were established, the candidate being examined in Cæsar, Cicero, Vergil, and in Blackstone's *Commentaries*. Since that time the increase in the number of students who were also graduates of a college has been steady—an indication of the wider recognition of the advantages of a collegiate education as a base for professional success. In 1883 a new building for the Law School was erected after the plans by H. H. Richardson, from a bequest by Edwin Austin. Three years later the alumni of the Law School formed an Association, which has contributed to the prosperity of that department. The students have several law clubs, a mock court, etc., from which they derive much profit, outside of their regular work. The receipts of the School in 1889 were $45,714.15; the expenses were $38,851.27. At the present time (1890) there are 254 students. The *Harvard Law Review*, founded in 1887, is published by the School. The instruction consists of the following courses: *First year.*—Contracts (three lectures per week); Property (two); Torts (two); Civil Procedure and Common Law (one); Criminal Law and Procedure (one). *Second year.*—Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes (two); Contracts (two); Evidence (two); Jurisdiction and Procedure in Equity (two); Property (two); Sale of Personal Property (two); Trusts (two). *Third year.*—Agency (two); Constitutional Law (two); Jurisdiction and Procedure in Equity (two); Partnership and Corporation (two); Suretyship and Mortgages (two); Jurisdiction and Practice in United States Courts (one); Law of Persons (one); Conflict of Laws (one hour for half year); Points in Legal History (one hour for half year).

Museum of Comparative Zoölogy.—This important department of the University is the monument of the genius and zeal of one man—Louis Agassiz. Born at Motiers, Switzerland, in 1807, he came to this country to lecture in 1846. In the following year Abbott Lawrence founded the Scientific School, and the Professorship of Zoölogy was offered to Agassiz, who accepted it and entered on its duties in 1848. As the College possessed no collections of natural history, Agassiz began to make them at his own expense, and a wooden building—now the Old Society Building on Holmes Field, but first called Zoölogical Hall—was put up to shelter them. In 1852 friends of the College raised $12,000, and purchased the collection, to which Agassiz continued to add. In 1858 Francis C. Gray left $50,000 to the Corporation for the establishment of a Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, and the Massachusetts Legislature, at the instance of the indefatigable naturalist, appropriated (1859) one hundred thousand dollars, payable from sales of lands in the Back Bay district, towards the erection of a suitable museum. By private subscription $71,125 were also raised. The College ceded about five acres, and on June 17, 1859, the corner-stone was laid. Agassiz's plan was for a building 364 feet long by 64

[1] Dr. O. W. Holmes, in *The Harvard Book*, i, 248.

feet wide, with two wings, each 205 feet in length and 64 in width. Two-fifths of the north wing were first completed, and sufficed for the then existing collection. The War of the Rebellion checked both public and private munificence, except that, in 1863, the Legislature granted $10,000 for the publication of an "Illustrated Catalogue of the Museum," but specimens were steadily accumulated. In 1865 Professor and Mrs. Agassiz and several assistants made an expedition to Brazil at the expense of Nathaniel Thayer, and returned after more than a year, with very large and rare collections. More room being needed, the Legislature, in 1868, appropriated $75,000, further increased from private sources, and the north wing was completed (1871). In 1871 Agassiz was appointed Director of a Deep-Sea Exploring Expedition, fitted out by the United States Coast Survey Bureau, and in the small steamer, the "Hassler," he explored the West Indies, skirted the Eastern Coast of South America, rounded Cape Horn and ascended the Pacific Coast to San Francisco. The fruits of this expedition were added to the collections at the Museum. In 1873 Mr. John Anderson, of New York, gave to the Trustees of the Museum the Island of Penikese, together with $50,000, to found a summer School of Natural History. On December 14, 1873, Agassiz died. As a fitting memorial to the great naturalist a subscription fund was raised, amounting to $310,674, of which $50,000 was voted by the State, and $7594 was subscribed in small amounts by 87,000 school teachers and school children throughout the country. This fund was devoted to the maintenance of the Museum. In 1876 the institution was formally handed over to the University, but on the express condition that its Faculty should retain their privileges of independence. The Curator alone is appointed by the Harvard Corporation. Alexander Agassiz has been the Curator since 1875, and it is owing chiefly to his personal munificence and solicitude that the great edifice planned by his father has been brought almost to completion. The floor area of the natural history portion of the Museum is four acres, distributed as follows: Lecture-rooms, laboratories, general and special, and professors' room, 51,500 sq. ft.; exhibition-rooms (open to the public) 49,432 sq. ft.; storage-rooms, including work-rooms for specialists, 41,978 sq. ft.; library and reading-room, 5300 sq. ft.; photographic-room, coal and boiler-room, packing-room and Curator's rooms, 4884 sq. ft.; hall and stairs, partly available for specimens, 21,220 ft. For many years past the Museum authorities have published occasional *Bulletins*.

OTHER DEPARTMENTS.—*Divinity School.*—For almost the whole of the first two centuries instruction in Divinity was a part of the regular academic course. In 1815, however, the proposal was made to found a separate school, which was organized in 1819. In 1826 Divinity Hall was built, through the efforts of the Society for the Promotion of Theological Education in Harvard University. Originally Unitarian in its teachings, the School declined after the first enthusiastic period of Unitarianism had been spent. In 1879 a subscription was opened to save the institution from collapsing, and the result was so satisfactory that since that time the School has been able to resume its activity. The instruction is non-sectarian, extending over three years; and students are at liberty to elect courses in other departments of the University. The tuition fee is only $50 a year, but President Eliot, in his report for 1888–89, wisely recommended that it be raised to the level of that of the other Cambridge departments. "The Protestant ministry," he says, "will never be put on a thoroughly respectable footing in modern society until the friar or mendicant element is completely eliminated from it. There are no good reasons why Protestant students of theology should be taught fed and lodged gratuitously; students of law, of medicine or of the liberal arts are not." The receipts of the Divinity School in 1889 were $27,938.85; the payments were $27,513.63. The students in 1890 number thirty-five.

The Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology was founded by George Peabody, of London, in 1866, with a gift of $150,000, of which $60,000 were set aside for a building fund, and the remainder was devoted to the purchase of collections and specimens. Jeffries Wyman was Curator of the Museum till 1874. The collections were stored in Boylston Hall till 1876, when, the building fund having accumulated to $100,000, a building was begun. A large addition was made to it in 1889. Besides acquiring collections by purchase and exchange, the officers of the Museum have conducted explorations in several parts of the American continent. The institution, although forming a part of the University, is under the direction of a Board of Trustees, originally appointed by Mr. Peabody, and renewed from time to time, when vacancies occurred, by themselves.

The Bussey Institution, a school of agriculture and horticulture, was founded by James Bussey, who died in 1861. Property in Jamaica Plain, valued at $413,000, was transferred to the University; one-fourth of the income was, according to the terms of Mr. Bussey's will, applied to the Divinity School, and one-fourth to the Law School. In 1871 a building was erected; sheds and green-houses soon followed. In 1870 James Arnold bequeathed $100,000 for the encouragement of agriculture and horticulture, and with this sum nurseries were established in connection with Bussey Institution, where a park, open to the public, has been laid out, the City of Boston cooperating with the Harvard Corporation for its maintenance. In 1879 a professorship of agriculture was founded.

In 1882 the Faculty of the *Veterinary School* was

organized; the following year a hospital was built, and nine students attended. The course, covering three years, embraces instruction in anatomy, physiology, chemistry, botany, materia medica, therapeutics, the theory and practice of veterinary medicine, surgery and allied subjects. The School still lacks a proper endowment.

The *Dental School*, organized in 1867, confers diplomas upon students who have studied medicine or dentistry three whole years, at least one continuous year of which must have been spent at the School. The instruction of the first year is identical with that of the Medical School; then follow courses in dentistry. The fees for the first year are $200; for the second, $150, and for any subsequent year $50. In the present year (1890) the school has 35 members. The school was located at No. 50 Allen Street, Boston, from 1870 till 1883, when it removed to the old Medical School quarters in North Grove Street.

The Botanic Garden, founded in 1805, contains about seven and a half acres. Besides the professor's house, there are a herbarium (the best in the country), with library, laboratory and lecture-room, and a conservatory. To the distinguished botanist, Asa Gray, who for many years was its head, this institution owes much of its success.

The *Astronomical Observatory* dates from 1839, and had its first home in the Dana House, under the direction of William Cranch Bond. In 1843 a fund was raised with which part of the present observatory was built in 1846. Edward Bromfield Phillips bequeathed, in 1849, $100,000 for the maintenance of the institution, the purchase of books, instruments, etc. The west wing was added in 1851. A *Bulletin* of the observatory is published at intervals.

The *Lawrence Scientific School* was founded by a gift of $50,000 from Abbott Lawrence in 1847, to furnish instruction for students, who wished to present themselves as candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Science. Half of the donation was immediately applied to the erection of a suitable building; the other half to the establishment of a professorship of Civil Engineering. Mr. Lawrence gave further assistance until his death, in 1855, when he bequeathed $50.000 for the general purposes of the school. In 1865 Samuel Hooper endowed a chair of geology, and John B. Barringer, in 1872, left about $35,000 to encourage the study of chemistry. But, with the large laboratories of Chemistry and Physics on the one hand, and the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy on the other,—not to mention the facilities afforded by the College for the study of the higher mathematics,—the especial work possible for the Scientific School has become more and more restricted, and it seems probable that its separate existence will terminate by merging its courses with those of the College.

II. PROGRESS OF EDUCATION.

Having thus followed the corporate and material growth of Harvard, let us now briefly review the course of education, and compare, so far as the records allow, the studies and methods which at different periods were supposed to be necessary and sufficient to bestow a liberal culture upon the students. At the outset, since Harvard was pre-eminently a theological seminary, the studies were chiefly theological, and tended to the training of ministers for the Puritan Colony. According to the laws passed in President Dunster's time, the following was required of candidates to the Freshman Class: "When any scholar is able to read Tully or such like classical Latin author *extempore*, and make and speak true Latin in verse and prose *suo* (*ut aiunt*) *Marte*, and decline perfectly the paradigms of nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue, then may he be admitted into the College, nor shall any claim admission before such qualification." The scholars read the Scriptures twice a day; they had to repeat, or epitomize the sermons preached on Sunday; and were frequently examined as to their own religious state. "The studies of the first year," says Quincy, "were logic, physics, etymology, syntax and practice on the principles of grammar. Those of the second year, ethics, politics, prosody and dialects, practice of poesy and Chaldee. Those of the third, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, exercises in style, composition, epitome, both in prose and verse, Hebrew and Syriac. In every year and every week of the College course every class was practiced in the Bible and catechetical divinity; also in history in the winter, and in the nature of plants in the summer. Rhetoric was taught by lectures in every year, and each student was required to declaim once a month."[1] Another rule, dating from Dunster's administration, was: "The scholars shall never use their mother tongue, except that in public exercises of oratory, or such like, they be called to make them in English." It is presumable that the ordinary student acquired a fair knowledge of Latin, while those who were destined for the ministry learned a sufficiency of Greek and Hebrew. The teaching was conducted by the President and two Tutors, who were occasionally assisted by a graduate candidate for a higher degree.

In 1650 the Overseers first ordered a visitation; "Between the 10th of June," runs their vote, "and the Commencement, from nine o'clock to eleven in the forenoon, and from one to three in the afternoon of the second and third day of the week, all scholars of two years' standing shall sit in the Hall to be examined by all comers in the Latin, Greek and Hebrew tongues, and in Rhetoric, Logic and Physics; and they that expect to proceed Bachelors that year to be examined of their sufficiency according to the laws of the College; and such as expect to proceed Master of Arts to exhibit their synopsis of acts required by the laws of the College." The qualifications for Bachelors were as follows: "Every scholar

[1] Quincy, i, 191.

that, on proof, is found able to read the original of the Old and New Testament into the Latin tongue, and to resolve them logically, withal being of honest life and conversation, and at any public act hath the approbation of the Overseers and Masters of the College, may be invested with his first degree." The undergraduate course was originally three years; in 1654 it was extended to four years. The candidate for Master of Arts was required to study an additional year or till such time as he "giveth up in writing a synopsis or summary of Logic, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Arithmetic, Geometry and Astronomy, and is ready to defend his theses or positions, withal skilled in the originals, as aforesaid, and still continues honest and studious, at any public act, after trial, he shall be capable of the second degree."

This was the general nature of the College curriculum during the seventeenth century. In 1726 Tutors Flynt, Welsteed and Prince made the following report, which is interesting because it mentions not only the subjects studied, but also the text-boooks used:

"1. While the students are Freshman they commonly recite the Grammars, and with them a recitation in Tully, Virgil and the Greek Testament, on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays, in the morning and forenoon; on Friday morning Dugard's or Farnaby's Rhetoric, and on Saturday morning the Greek Catechism; and towards the latter end of the year they dispute on Raum's Definitions, Mondays and Tuesdays in the forenoon.

"2. The Sophomores recite Burgersdicius's Logic and a manuscript called New Logic in the mornings and forenoons; and towards the latter end of the year, Heereboord's Meletemata, and dispute Mondays and Tuesdays in the forenoon, continuing also to recite the classic authors, with Logic and Natural Philosophy; on Saturday mornings they recite Wollebius' Divinity.

"3. The Junior Sophisters recite Heereboord's Meletemata, Mr. Morton's Physics, More's Ethics, Geography, Metaphysics, in the mornings and forenoons; Wollebius on Saturday morning; and dispute Mondays and Tuesdays in the forenoon.

"4. The Senior Sophisters, besides Arithmetic, recite Allsted's Geometry, Gassendus's Astronomy, in the morning; go over the Arts towards the latter end of the year, Ames's Medulla on Saturdays, and dispute once a week."

At this time Monis, a converted Jew, gave instruction in Hebrew, and all students, except Freshmen, were required to attend his recitations four times a week. One exercise was "the writing the Hebrew and Rabbinical," and the others were copying the grammar and reading, reciting it and reading, construing, parsing, translating, composing, reading without points. The foundation, by Thomas Hollis, of a chair of Divinity, added a professor to the small corps of teachers. The Hollis Professor had charge of the instruction in theology, and was directed to begin each exercise with a short prayer. He gave both public and private lectures, and prepared students in Divinity for the ministry. In 1735 many of the students were permitted by the Faculty to take lessons in French of a certain Longloisserie, who had, however, no official connection with the College; this permission was revoked when charges of heresy were preferred against the Frenchman. The endowment by Hollis of a professorship of Mathematics, placed mathematical and scientific study on a surer basis, although Theology and the Classics were still esteemed the chief sources of learning. The philosophical apparatus, destroyed by the burning of Harvard Hall in 1764, was sufficiently extensive for conducting the experiments and illustrating the laws of science as taught at that time. There were, among other things, two complete skeletons and anatomical cuts, a pair of globes of the largest size, machines for experiments in Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics and Optics, microscopes, telescopes (one of twenty-four feet), "a brass quadrant of two feet radius, carrying a telescope of a greater length, which formerly belonged to the celebrated Dr. Halley."[1]

In 1756 the Overseers, desirous of raising the standard of elocution, suggested that the Corporation should take measures for that purpose. Accordingly, it was voted "that the usual declamations in the Chapel should be laid aside, and in their stead the President should select some ingenious dialogue, either from Erasmus's 'Colloquies,' or from some other polite Latin author, and that he should appoint as many students as there are persons in such dialogue, each to personate a particular character and to translate his part into polite English, and prepare himself to deliver it in the Chapel in an oratorical manner." The Overseers themselves occasionally attended the performance of these dialogues, and sometimes "expressed their acceptance and approbation." An effort was likewise made at this time to encourage greater diligence in the study of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and to promote "disputations in English in the forensic manner," but the effort was not very successful.

In 1760 we have a recommendation which seems to be the origin of the regular examination system: it was voted "that twice in a year, in the Spring and Fall, each class should recite to their Tutors, in the presence of the President, Professors and Tutors, in the several books in which they are reciting to their respective Tutors, and that publicly in the College Hall or Chapel; and that the two senior classes do once every half year, in the same presence, but under the direction of the Mathematical Professor, give a specimen of their progress in philosophical and mathematical learning." In 1761 the Overseers made sug-

[1] A complete list of the apparatus destroyed may be found in Quincy's History, ii, 482-483.

gestions with a view to the improvement of the students in Latin, recommending "that more classical authors should be introduced and made part of the exercises, and that Horace should be earlier entered upon." From these various recommendations the custom arose of holding public exhibitions before visiting committees of the Overseers; but the visitors soon found it irksome to listen to recitations and sophomoric eloquence, which, they said, although creditable, "did not afford sufficient scope for the display of genius." In May, 1763, a report was made "that Horace is more in use than it has been, that Cæsar's 'Commentaries' has been recently introduced, and that the several classes translate English into Latin once every fortnight.' We learn from Nathaniel Ames's diary that, at this time, "Watts's Logick" was studied by the Freshmen, and that Homer and Euclid were begun early in the Sophomore year; also, that at the forensic disputes such subjects as "The Soul is not Extended" and "The Future State is Revealed by the Light of Nature" were discussed.

In 1766 semi-annual exhibitions became a regular part of the College work. At the same time the system of teaching was re-organized. Theretofore each Tutor had taught "all the branches to the class assigned to him throughout the whole collegiate course;" now each Tutor had charge of a special department, and taught that subject to the classes in turn: one Tutor had Greek; another, Latin; another, Logic, Metaphysics and Ethics; and the fourth, Natural Philosophy, Geography, Astronomy and the elements of Mathematics. On Friday and Saturday each class was instructed in Elocution, English Composition, Rhetoric, "and other parts of the Belles-Lettres," by another Tutor. The Divinity Professor had charge of all the instruction in Divinity. All scholars attended "the Tutors on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays three times a day, and once a day on Fridays and Saturdays." Senior Sophisters ceased to attend recitations at the end of June; the lower classes worked until Commencement week.

This general scheme was preserved down to the present century. In 1790 annual examinations were formally established, "to animate the students in the pursuit of literary merit and fame, and to excite in their breasts a noble spirit of emulation." The examination was oral, and if any student neglected or refused to attend, he was liable to a fine not exceeding twenty shillings, or to be admonished or suspended. The students at first rebelled, and one of them was expelled "upon evidence of a little boy" that he threw a stone through the window of the Philosopher's room—where the examiners were in session—and struck the chair occupied by Governor Hancock.

Instruction in science during the third quarter of the eighteenth century was given by Professor John Winthrop, a friend of Franklin, and one of the ablest scientific investigators of his time. He conceived a theory of earthquakes, observed the transits of Mercury (1740) and that of Venus (1761), explained the nature of comets, and experimented in many branches of what was then called "natural philosophy." When some of the orthodox had scruples against using lightning-rods, because, they said, thunder and lightning were tokens of the Divine displeasure, and that "it was a degree of impiety to endeavor to prevent them from doing their full execution," Professor Winthrop rejoined in an essay that "Divine Providence did not govern the material world by immediate and extraordinary interposition of power, but by stated general laws;" wherefore, it is as much "our duty to secure ourselves against the effects of lightning, as from those of rain, snow or wind, by the means God has put into our hands." In 1783 the appointment of John Warren and Benjamin Waterhouse to be respectively Professor of Anatomy and Surgery and Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic extended the instruction of the College into a new field. In 1792 a Chair of Chemistry and Materia Medica was added. But these three professorships were really the nucleus of the Medical School, and the courses given through them hardly belonged to the College proper.

Of the modern languages French received the earliest attention. In 1735, as stated above, Longloisserie had been granted permission to teach that language. In 1780 similar permission was accorded to Simon Poullin; although he received no official appointment, "he was allowed the same privileges with Tutors as to the Library and Commons, and a chamber in the College," and his tuition fees were charged in the quarter by bills. Two years later Albert Gallatin was allowed to teach on the same terms, and in 1787 Joseph Nancrède was regularly appointed instructor. In 1816 Francis Sales taught both French and Spanish. In 1825 Charles Folsom was instructor in Italian, and Charles Follen instructor in German; and the next year Portuguese appears on the list of studies.

In 1784 the attendance of Resident Graduates, Seniors and Juniors, who were not preparing for the ministry, upon a part of the exercises of the Professor of Divinity, was no longer required; but the two upper classes had to recite once a week from Doddridge's "Lectures," and to attend the Professor's weekly lecture "on some topic of positive or controversial divinity." At this time, also, Sallust and Livy were introduced into the Latin department, and in the Greek Xenophon's *Anabasis* was substituted for his *Cyropædia*. In 1787 Horace, Sallust, Cicero (*De Oratore*), Homer and Xenophon took the place of Vergil, Cicero's *Orations*, Cæsar and the Greek Testament, and the number of recitations was increased. The Classics formed the backbone of instruction during the first three years: in addition,

the Freshmen studied rhetoric, the art of speaking, and arithmetic; the Sophomores had algebra, and other mathematical branches; the Juniors had Livy, Doddridge's *Lectures*, and the Greek Testament; the Seniors had logic, metaphysics, and Ethics. For the two lower classes Hebrew [1] was prescribed, for which French might be substituted. All the classes had instruction in declamation, chronology and history. Blair's *Rhetoric* was introduced as a text-book in 1788. In 1805 a professorship of Natural History was founded by subscription.

In 1803 the standard of admission to the Freshmen Class was raised. A candidate was now required to pass a satisfactory examination in Dalzel's *Collectanea Græca Minora*, the Greek Testament, Vergil, Sallust and Cicero's *Select Orations;* he must have a thorough acquaintance with the Greek and Latin grammars, including prosody; he must be able to translate these languages correctly, and be proficient in arithmetic to the rule of three, and in geography.

In 1820 a chair of Mineralogy and Geology was established. By this time the foundations of a real University had been laid; the Medical, Law and Divinity departments were growing up, and in the College itself several of the branches had so increased in importance that more than one teacher was needed to direct them. The erection of new buildings, the creation of new professorships, and the increase in the number of students, all indicated expansion, and called for corresponding improvements in methods. Doubtless, too, the influence of foreign methods in University education began to appear at Harvard, to which Edward Everett and George Ticknor, as teachers, returned after pursuing a course of higher study in Europe.

In May, 1824, a committee appointed by the Overseers to report upon the state and needs of the College, presented, through its chairman, Joseph Story, a report recommending "that the College studies shall be divided into two classes; the first embracing all such studies as shall be indispensable to obtain a degree; the second, such in respect to which the students may, to a limited extent, exercise a choice which they will pursue." It was further recommended that students who were not candidates for a degree be admitted to pursue particular studies to qualify them for scientific and mechanical employments and the active business of life. The first suggestion was the germ of the Elective System; the second suggestion, only recently given a fair trial, opened the facilities of Harvard to special and graduate students. Both were strongly opposed by the Faculty. It is a noteworthy fact that the habitual attitude of the leading colleges in England and America has been stubbornly conservative. The great pioneers in literature, philosophy and morals were not college professors: this is perhaps not surprising, because the professorial mind is acquisitive and critical rather than creative and original. The teacher, whose work is largely a work of repetition and routine, comes to rely upon methods; whereas, it is a sign of originality to scorn methods. In the Continental Universities of the Middle Age the foremost men of the time were often to be found in the corps of lecturers; as at Paris, to cite a single instance, during the thirteenth century. And in our own century, the Universities in France, Germany and Italy have had among their lecturers men who represented the most progressive thought in each of these countries. But in England and America, with occasional exceptions, this was rarely the case. Conservatism, one of the strongest traits of the Anglo-Saxon race, has had no stronger fortresses than the American and English seats of learning. So our professors of one generation have been expounding the views of thinkers whom the professors of the preceding generation frowned upon.

So radical a change, therefore, as the proposed election by students of the courses which they would study filled the conservative Faculty of Harvard with alarm. The theory of education which then obtained regarded all youths between the ages of fifteen and twenty as having the same tastes and the same capacities; each to be dosed with learning similar in kind and quantity to that prescribed to his fellows. The Bachelor's degree was the proof that the Faculty had succeeded, after a four years' trial, in pouring a certain number of similar facts into the brains of all those who received it. The Elective System, on the other hand, recognized that each youth differed from every other, and that the subject best fitted to develop the mental powers of one might have no such effect on another. Admitting this, it proposed, so far as possible, to find out the peculiar capacities of each student, and to provide the instruction most congenial to them.

In spite of the opposition of the Faculty, the Overseers and Corporation adopted the recommendations, but these were carried out very imperfectly. In 1824 all studies were required, except that Juniors might "choose a substitute for thirty-eight lessons in Hebrew, and the Seniors had a choice between Chemistry and Fluxions." French and Spanish being extras, attendance on them was voluntary. By the revised Statutes, in 1826, "a student could attend in modern languages after the first third of the Freshman year in place of certain specified courses in Greek, Latin, topography, Hebrew, and natural science, and a Senior might also substitute natural philosophy for a part of intellectual philosophy." In practice, the one department in which the Elective System was fairly tried was in the French and Spanish Languages and Literature, then under the charge of Professor George Ticknor. The force of teachers was too small to enable the College to offer many elective courses, even had the prevailing sentiment been in favor of so doing; but in the department of Modern Languages there were

[1] A Hebrew Commencement part was delivered as late as 1817.

five instructors—quite enough for the demands made upon them. Above all, Professor Ticknor was an earnest advocate of the reform, and bent his energy to show its superiority over the traditional methods. In 1833 he reported: "The system of volunteer study was begun in this department in 1826 with thirteen students. The number of students embracing it has constantly increased every year; and now exceeds the number of regular students. The teachers are particularly gratified with the proficiency of their volunteer students." The number of volunteer students in modern languages in 1833 was 103 out of 210 who took these courses. In his report for 1830–31, President Quincy announced that the system had been introduced, under very favorable auspices, by Dr. Beck in the Latin, and by Mr. Felton in the Greek departments. In 1834 regulations were adopted "which established a minimum in mathematics, Greek, Latin, modern languages, theology, moral and intellectual philosophy, logic and rhetoric, level to the capacity of faithful students in the lowest third of a class, and provided that students who had attained the minimum in any branch might elect the studies which they would pursue in place thereof, being formed into sections of not less than six members, without regard to classes, and having additional instruction provided for them. The minimum covers about all the instruction regularly provided by the College in the departments named."

Nevertheless, the innovation made but little progress except in Professor Ticknor's department. "I have succeeded entirely," he wrote in 1835, "but I can get these changes carried no further. As long as I hoped to advance them, I continued attached to the College; when I gave up all hope I determined to resign. . . . If, therefore, the department of Modern Languages is right, the rest of the College is wrong." Professor Longfellow, who succeeded Mr. Ticknor, was fortunately imbued with his ideas, and continued his methods. In 1838 Professor Benjamin Peirce proposed that mathematics should be dropped at the end of the Freshman year, any student who so dropped them to be allowed to substitute natural history, civil history, chemistry, geography, Greek or Latin, in addition to the prescribed course; but the College lacked the means to provide instruction in several of those branches. In 1839, upon the recommendation of Professors Beck and Felton, the Corporation ordered "that those students who continue the study of Greek or Latin, shall choose as a substitute one or more of the following branches: natural history, civil history, chemistry, geology, geography and the use of the globes, popular astronomy, modern languages, modern oriental literature, or studies in either Greek or Latin which may not have been discontinued in addition to the prescribed course in such branch. The times and orders of these studies will depend on the convenience of the instructor and the decision of the Faculty, and each student will be required to engage in such a number of studies as shall in the judgment of the Faculty be sufficient reasonably to occupy his whole time." When this plan was submitted to the Overseers, Theophilus Parsons wisely declared that upon their decision hung the question "whether Harvard College shall or shall not become a University. In no institution intended to answer the purposes of a University, and to be called by that name, is it attempted to carry all the scholars to the same degree of advancement in all the departments of study. The reason of this is, obviously, that any such attempt must greatly retard the advancement of the whole." Already Professors Beck and Felton in the Classical branches, and Professor Peirce in the mathematical had testified to the complete success of the experiment. In 1840–41 French was a required study,—a noteworthy fact, as President Eliot remarks, "for changes in the selection of studies held to be essential, and therefore required of all, are quite as important as additions to the list of studies which it is agreed should be optional." [1]

The following scheme, adopted in the year 1841, shows concisely the extent to which the Elective System had advanced:

Freshman Year.	Prescribed: Mathematics, Greek, Latin, History. Elective: None.
Sophomore Year.	Prescribed: English Grammar and composition, rhetoric and declamation, one modern language, history. Elective: Mathematics, Greek, Latin, natural history, history, chemistry, geology, geography, the use of the globes, and any modern language; so far as the means of such instruction are within the resources of the University.
Junior Year.	Prescribed: English composition, one modern language, logic, declamation, physics, psychology, ethics, forensics, history. Elective: Same as in Sophomore Year, and a more extended course in psychology and ethics.
Senior Year.	Prescribed: Rhetoric, English composition, political economy, constitutional law, forensics, theology, history, declamation. Elective: Political ethics, a more extended course in physics, and any of the elective studies above enumerated.

Elective studies were thus generally countenanced, but they were not yet deemed equivalent, so far as the scale of marks showed, to the prescribed courses; for the Faculty decreed that "in forming the scale of rank at the end of a term, there shall be deducted from the aggregate marks given for an elected study one-half of the maximum marks for each exercise in such elected study; so that a student by only obtaining one-half of the maximum marks adds nothing to his aggregate, and by obtaining less than half is subject to a proportionate reduction."

Professors Beck, Felton, Peirce and Longfellow continued to be the advocates of this broad system of instruction, and they reported from year to year the advances made in their respective departments; but

[1] An exhaustive account of the Elective System at Harvard will be found in President Eliot's Report for 1881-85.

the opposition was still strong, either from the conviction of some of the Faculty that the system was bad in itself, or from the inability of the College to provide a sufficient number of courses to make the system equally serviceable in all directions. In 1847 it was no longer in vogue in philosophy; two years earlier the Faculty prohibited any student, unless for especial reasons, to study more than one modern language at a time. Mr. Longfellow protested against this exclusiveness, but, although he appealed to the Corporation, the rule was maintained. In 1846 "chemistry was a required study in the Freshman year instead of an elective study from the beginning of the Sophomore year; no modern language was required in either the Sophomore or the Junior year; the elective course in geology was confined to the Senior year, instead of being accessible from the beginning of the Sophomore year; no elective course in geography was provided; Story's Constitution was a required study for Juniors instead of Seniors; psychology and ethics were elective instead of required for Juniors; and political ethics were required instead of elective for Seniors." "If the number of elective studies had been large," says President Eliot, in criticising these regulations, "the scheme would have been a very liberal one, for election began early and the number of studies prescribed in the last three years was not large. The number of elective studies was, however, so small as practically to confine the choice of the students within narrow limits." The Faculty then consisted of only eleven members, and there were but six instructors in addition; the students then (1846) numbered 279. President Everett requested the opinions of the Faculty as to the advisability of continuing the system of elective studies. The opinions were evenly divided, but those professors who had given it the best trial were in favor of it. A new scheme was adopted (Dec. 29, 1846), which, with many modifications, lasted twenty years. "It allowed every Senior to select three from the following studies, namely, Greek, Latin, Mathematics, German, Spanish, and Italian, and every Junior to select three from the same studies, Italian excepted. All other studies were prescribed; but among the prescribed studies were natural history for Freshmen and Sophomores, and French and Psychology for Sophomores." Thus every Senior and Junior who did not select mathematics had to study three languages during the last two years, as well as during the Sophomore year. The number of exercises was also increased; Freshmen had sixteen and Seniors twenty-three per week. In 1849 this excess was relieved by requiring only two instead of three elective studies from Seniors and Juniors.

President Sparks was hostile to the elective system, and soon introduced changes which narrowed its scope. No Junior or Senior might take more than one elective; if he took more than one, it was regarded as an "extra," and did not count. Professor Peirce vigorously opposed this retrograde step, and he was seconded by Professors Beck and Longfellow. "The voluntary system, as it has been called," wrote President Sparks in his last Report (1851–52), "is still retained to a certain extent, rather from necessity than preference. The number and variety of the studies for which the University has provided instruction are so large that it is impossible for any student, within the period of four years, to give such a degree of attention to them as will enable him to acquire more than a limited and superficial knowledge from which little profit can be derived." "The last sentence is," to quote President Eliot, "an unanswerable argument for an elective system in a University." In 1856–57 a further curtailment was made; French was again optional; Juniors were required to take two out of the three studies, Latin, Greek and Mathematics, and a half-year's course in molecular physics was required of them. In 1858 chemistry was made elective for Juniors; in 1862 patristic and modern Greek was added to the free list. German, Spanish and elementary Italian were also included among the Senior and Junior electives, but as the highest mark attainable in any of them was only six, instead of eight—the maximum in required studies—"students who had any regard for College rank were debarred from pursuing these undervalued elective studies."

In 1865, however, the advocates of the Elective System were once more in the majority. The Faculty, although still small in number, and overworked through the custom of dividing classes into small sections, voted "that botany be made an elective study in the Junior year, that Greek in that year be an elective instead of a required study, and that Juniors be allowed two elective studies instead of one; that German should be introduced as a required study into the second term of the Sophomore year, and that Roman history, Greek history and philosophy, and German should be added to the elective studies of the Junior year. Subsequently, Greek poetry was added." In 1867 a new scheme was drawn up, according to which all the work of the Freshman year was required; the Sophomores had seven hours a week *required*, and six hours *elective*; the Juniors and Seniors had six hours *required*, and six or nine hours *elective*. But slight changes occurred until 1870, when, by raising the tuition fee from $104 to $150 per annum, the increase of income enabled the employment of a larger force of instructors and the consequent extension of the Elective System. Year by year the number of required studies was lessened. In 1872 the Seniors were free to choose all their courses; in 1879 this privilege reached the Juniors; in 1884 it was extended to the Sophomores. In the latter year the Freshmen had nine hours a week of electives and seven hours of required studies. But for all the classes a certain number of themes and forensics was prescribed.

In 1885 the Elective System was brought to its

logical conclusion by being extended to Freshmen. At the present time (1890) the only prescribed work is: *Freshmen*, Rhetoric and English Composition, three hours a week; Chemistry, lectures once a week, first half-year; Physics, once a week, second half-year; German, or French, three hours a week, for those who do not present themselves for examination on the study at entrance. *Sophomores*, twelve Themes, *Juniors* and *Seniors* a forensic, a thesis, and an examination in argumentative composition in each year.

The two leading objections to the Elective System—first, that students (particularly Freshmen) cannot be trusted to select the studies best fitted for their development; and second, that some students will begin too early to specialize, and so fail to derive a liberal education from their College training—have been equally disproved by the experiment at Harvard up to the present time. The number of those who, through idleness or injudicious choice, have failed, has been very small, and is constantly kept down by the checks which the Faculty has provided—frequent examinations, and the appointment of a member of the Faculty to consult with and overlook each student. In 1889 the Overseers, fearing that too many of the students might abuse the privilege of voluntary attendance at lectures, suggested that a more strict method of marking absences and of registration should be adopted; and this has been done. But even such restrictions as these must sooner or later be abandoned, when the idea of what a University should be triumphs—not a reform school, nor a seminary, nor a substitute for paternal superintendence, but a treasury of learning from which every properly qualified person may draw in proportion to his ability. Our American public and most of our educators are still too tightly bound by the traditions dating from a time when colleges were but higher boarding-schools, to realize as yet the significance and the superiority of the University ideal towards which we have seen, in this brief review, Harvard steadily approaching.

With the growth of the Elective System there has grown up a class of special students, not candidates for a degree, and of graduate students who either desire to take a higher degree or to pursue for a time some special branch of advanced study. Of the former, the average annual number between 1828 and 1847 inclusive was only three, and little attention was paid to them. In the latter year the Scientific School was opened, and for three years all its members were designated "special students." In 1850 the School was put on a better basis, examinations for admission were required, and the "specials" no longer attended. It was not until 1876 that the College was again officially opened "to persons not less than twenty-one years old, who shall satisfy the faculty of their fitness to pursue the particular courses they elect, although they have not passed the usual examinations for admission to College, and do not propose to be candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts." In 1881 the restriction as to age was annulled, and prescribed as well as elective courses were offered to these students, then called "unmatriculated" and (since 1882) "special."

The Graduate Department has likewise grown very rapidly. It is attended not only by Harvard graduates, but also by those from other colleges, who come here to complete their training. The work done by them is, in fact, the kind of work which belongs to a University, and to this department the best efforts of the professors will inevitably be more and more devoted as the general standard of learning is raised. The higher degrees (Master of Arts, Doctor of Science and Doctor of Philosophy) are conferred after one or two years of successful graduate study. In early times candidates for the Master's degree were required to spend a year in the College after their graduation, and to pass a satisfactory examination. In 1844 this custom was abandoned, and for nearly thirty years any one who had taken the Bachelor's degree was entitled to the Master's degree on the payment of five dollars three years after graduation. This, of course, deprived the degree of A.M. of all scholastic value; but since 1872 no person has received it at Harvard unless he has fulfilled the requirements above stated, and the Master's degree is now a certificate that one year of graduate work has been well performed. During the academic year 1888–89 there were ninety-nine graduate students connected with the University, of whom ten were non-residents. Of the latter, nine were holders of fellowships, by the terms of which the incumbents are allowed to pursue their studies abroad under the direction of the Academic Council.

Thus have the methods and courses of instruction been slowly liberalized and improved. The Classics and Mathematics, before which, as before Gog and Magog, educators fell down and worshipped, declaring them to be the only true agents of culture, have gradually been placed in their proper position—not degraded nor laid on the shelf, but prohibited from excluding proper reverence for Science, History and the Modern Languages, which are now recognized as being important means to culture. And the work done in Greek and Latin and Mathematics, being no longer obligatory, is more earnest than in the days of compulsion, and productive of more good. The old superstition that the degree of A.B. will be unintelligible, unless all who receive it have taken the same courses, still befogs the eyes of some conservatives; but experience will certainly dissipate this, together with other ancient delusions, and the deliberations now (1890) in progress to shorten the academic course from four to three years, by entitling a student to his degree whenever he shall have passed satisfactorily the required number of studies, prove that the last stronghold of the conservatives will soon fall.

The raising of the standard of admission to Harvard has naturally wrought a complete change in the teaching of the preparatory schools. In 1827 the

candidate for the Freshman Class must be thoroughly acquainted with Latin and Greek Grammar, including prosody; he must be able to construe and parse Jacob's Greek Reader, the Gospels in the Greek Testament, Vergil, Sallust and Cicero's Select Orations, and to translate English into Latin; he must be well versed in Ancient and Modern Geography, in the fundamental rules of Arithmetic, in vulgar and decimal fractions, in proportion, simple and compound, in single and double fellowship, in alligation, medial and alternate, and in algebra to the end of simple equations, comprehending also the doctrine of roots and powers, and in arithmetical and geometrical progression. Now, however, many of the studies formerly taken up in College are embraced in the ordinary preparatory school curriculum. Seventy years ago boys entered Harvard at the age of fourteen; now the average at entrance is nearly nineteen. There are two classes of studies—*elementary* and *advanced*—on one of which the candidate for admission is examined. The former class (in 1889) comprised, 1, a short composition on some classic English author, and the correction of specimens of bad English. 2, Greek. The translation at sight of simple Attic prose, with questions on the usual forms and constructions. 3, Latin. As in Greek. 4, German, and 5, French. Translation at sight of ordinary prose. 6, History, including Historical Geography. Either the History of Greece and Rome, or the History of the United States and England. 7, Mathematics. Algebra, through quadratic equations, and Plane Geometry. 8, Physical Science. Either Astronomy or Physics, or a course of experiments in mechanics, sound, light, heat and electricity, not less than forty in number, actually performed at school by the pupil. The examinations in *Advanced Studies* comprise, 1, Greek. Translation at sight of average passages from Homer, or of ten difficult passages from Homer and Herodotus, with questions on construction and prosody. 2, Latin. Translation of average passages from Cicero and Vergil. 3, Greek and Latin Composition. 4, German. One work of Lessing, Schiller, Goethe, Chamisso and Freytag, with Grammar and Composition. 6, French. One work of George Sand, Sandeau, Scribe and Legouvé, Henri Gréville, La Fontaine, Molière, Racine and Corneille, with grammar and composition. 6, Mathematics. Logarithms; Plane Geometry, with its application to Surveying and Navigation; either Solid Geometry or the Elements of Analytic Geometry. 8, Physics. A course of at least sixty experiments in addition to those of the elementary physics. 9, Chemistry. Sixty experiments performed by the pupil. The candidate is also permitted to take optional examinations, and thus to qualify himself to pursue more advanced courses. He may, for example, be examined in the prescribed Freshman work or in any elective open to Freshmen.

This account of the progress of education cannot be more appropriately concluded than by appending the following table, in which is shown the number of Elective courses provided by the College for the year 1888–89:

Semitic	11	Romance Philology	4½
Sanskrit and Zend	4	Philosophy	11½
Greek	14	Political Economy	6½
Latin	12	History	17½
Greek and Latin	1	Roman Law	1
English	8	Fine Arts	3½
German	8	Music	3½
Germanic Philology	2	Mathematics	15
French	8	Physics	13
Italian	3	Chemistry	12½
Spanish	3	Natural History	19½
			182

There were besides four and a half prescribed courses.

A word should also be said concerning the constantly increasing usefulness of the College Library In 1860 the system of "card catalogues" was introduced, and since the completion of the new wing, in 1876, the books have been wholly re-arranged. Mr. Justin Winsor, who succeeded Mr. John L. Sibley as Librarian in 1877, has initiated many improvements. The plan of reserving the works needed by students in the various courses has proved so satisfactory that the Reading Room is no longer large enough to accommodate all the students who would use it. In special cases permission is also granted to go directly to the stacks and alcoves. For several years past the Library has issued an occasional *Bulletin*. One of the assistants prepares the *University Catalogue*, which has been published annually in pamphlet form since 1819. Before that, from 1803, the list of students was printed on a broadside. The Catalogue of Alumni, issued triennially[1] from 1700 to 1880, and quinquennially since the latter date, is edited by another assistant at the Library. This year (1890) it will appear for the first time in English instead of Latin. Two interesting facts may be recorded here: Ko Kun Hua, a mandarin, was instructor of Chinese in the College from 1879 to 1882, and in 1881 members of the Greek department gave a satisfactory performance of the *Œdipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles in the original language at Sanders Theatre, the music being composed by Professor J. K. Paine.

III. STUDENT LIFE.

COMMONS.—An adequate account of the life of the students at Harvard, from generation to generation, would be very interesting, but sufficient material is lacking. I shall attempt to present, however, as briefly yet satisfactorily as possible, the records I have found, and I shall present them chronologically and topically, so that the reader who so desires can trace the growth of undergraduate conditions, and compare

[1] The earliest known catalogue of graduates is dated 1674; the next, 1682. Down to the Revolution Masters of Arts were called "Sirs," and so appear in the early catalogues. The terms Senior and Junior *Sophisters* were dropped in 1850.

those of one period with those of another. The development of the College, as we have seen, has been from a state of subservience to civil and religious authority to a state of independence; a similar process is illustrated in the development of student life. Students were originally treated like school-boys; they are now treated like men, hampered as little as is practicable by academic police regulations; and one of the most valuable lessons they now learn at the University is that of self-dependence, whereby they build up their character and fit themselves for their battle with the world.

But the designers of the "schoole at Newtowne" had no such ideal in view. They were themselves members of an austere community, and undertook collectively to admonish, correct and punish any individual member who might be deemed delinquent; and they imposed on their seminary a system similar to that by which adult lives were guided. If we bear in mind that Harvard was, for many years after its founding, a theological seminary, in which the scholars were mere boys, we shall understand the principles by which its discipline was framed. In the great European universities of the Middle Age, at Bologna, Padua and Paris, the students were often the masters, and the Faculty were the servants; but at Harvard the relations were reversed; the Faculty stood *in loco parentis* to the undergraduate, and brooked no question of their authority. The Faculty provided not only lodging and board for the student, but directed his worship and his recreation with the same severity as his studies; he was a member of a large family, in which the President or Tutor assumed the rôle of father, and believed, like most fathers at that time, that the child should not be spoiled from too sparing an application of the rod.

First in importance in an account of student life, excepting of course, education, which has already been sketched, is the history of Commons. And from the very beginning of Harvard College, complaints of bad fare reach us. When Eaton and his wife were examined in regard to their conduct at this Seminary (1637–39) the latter confessed that she had provided very scantily for the students. Their breakfast, she deposed, "was not so well ordered, the flower not so fine as it might, nor so well boiled or stirred." Beef was allowed them, but she never gave it, and she was stingier in her husband's absence than in his presence. She denied them cheese when they sent for it, and although she had it in the house; "for which," she said, "I shall humbly beg pardon of them, and own the shame, and confess my sin. . . . And for bad fish, that they had it brought to table, I am sorry that there was that cause of offence given them. I acknowledge my sin in it. And for their mackerel, brought to them with their guts in them, and goat's dung in their hasty pudding, it's utterly unknown to me; but I am much ashamed it should be in the family, and not prevented by myself or servants. . . . And that they made their beds at any time, were my straits never so great, I am sorry they were ever put to it. For the Moor his lying in Sam Hough's sheet and pillow-bier, it hath a truth in it; he did so one time, and it gave Sam Hough just cause of offence. . . . And that they eat the Moor's crusts, and the swine and they had share and share alike, and the Moor to have beer, and they denied it, and if they had not enough, for my maid to answer, they should not, I am an utter stranger to these things, and know not the least footsteps for them so to charge me. . . . And for bread made of heated sour meal, although I know of but once that it was so, since I kept house, yet John Wilson affirms it was twice; and I am truly sorry that any of it was spent amongst them. For beer and bread, that it was denied them by me betwixt meals, truly I do not remember that ever I did deny it unto them; and John Wilson will affirm, that generally, the bread and beer was free for the boarders to go unto. And that money was demanded of them for washing the linen, it's true it was propounded to them, but never imposed upon them. And for their pudding being given the last day of the week without butter or suet, and that I said it was miln of Manchèster in Old England, it's true that I did say so, and am sorry they had any cause of offence given them by having it so. And for their wanting beer betwixt brewings, a week or half a week together, I am sorry that it was so at any time, and should tremble to have it so, were it in my hands to do so again." [1]

Eaton and his wife were discharged and heavily fined, but the students still continued to live at Commons, where the fare improved. Parents paid for their sons' schooling in produce and kind, whereby the larder was better stored. On the Steward's book we have entries of "a barrel of pork," "a old cow," "turkey henes," "two wether goatts," "a bush. of parsnapes," "a ferkinge of butter," "a red ox," "appelles," "a ferking of soap," "rose watter," "three pecks of peasse," "beaffe," "fouer shotes from the farm," "tobacko," etc.; which were doubtless applied to the use of the students.

The Laws, Liberties and Orders of Harvard College (1642–46), adopted under President Dunster, state that no scholar shall "be absent from his studies or appointed exercises above an hour at morning bever, half an hour at afternoon bever, an hour and a half at dinner, and so long at supper." The "morning bever" was eaten in the buttery, or in the student's chamber; the "afternoon bever" came at about four o'clock, between dinner and supper, which were served in the hall. Dunster also drew up (1650) a series of rules for the regulation of the students' diet. The Steward was required to give notice to the President when any student was indebted for more than £2 for his board, in order that the youth might be

[1] *Harvard Book*, ii, 78, 79.

sent to his friends, "if not above a day's journey distant." The Steward was also forbidden "to take any pay that is useless, hazardful or imparting detriment to the college, as lean cattle to feed." It was decreed further that "WHEREAS young scholars, to the dishonor of God, hindrance of their studies and damage of their friends' estate, inconsiderately and intemperately are ready to abuse their liberty of sizing [extra food or drink ordered from the buttery] besides their commons; therefore the Steward shall in no case permit any Students whatever, under the degree of Masters of Art, or Fellows, to expend or be provided for themselves or any townsmen any extraordinary commons, unless by the allowance of the President, or two of the Fellows, whereof their Tutor always to be one, or in case of manifest sickness, pre-signified also unto the President, or in case of a license, of course granted by the President to some persons whose condition he seeth justly requires it."

The steward and cook must keep their utensils "clean and sweet and fit for use;" but they were not "bound to keep or cleanse any particular scholar's spoons, cups or such like, but at their own discretion." A scholar who "detained" any vessel belonging to the College was fined three pence. No scholars were permitted to go into "the butteries or kitchen, save with their parents or guardians, or with some grave and sober strangers; and if they shall presume to thrust in, they shall have three pence on their heads." At meals the scholars must sit orderly in their places, and none must rise or go out of the Hall without permission before thanksgiving be ended. Finally, the Butler should receive ten shillings on September 13th, and ten more on December 13th, "toward candles for the Hall for prayer time and supper, which, that it may not be burdensome, it shall be put proportionably upon every scholar who retaineth his seat in the buttery."

In early times the position of Steward and Butler were both filled by graduates; and some of the students waited on table, for which they were paid. William Thomson, for instance, of the Class of 1653, received quarterly one pound "for his services in the Hall;" Zechariah Brigden (Class of 1657) was given for "ringinge the bell and waytinge, £1 2*s*.;" and John Hale, of the same class, received for "waytinge and his monitor-work £2 11*s*."

Dunster's rules remained in vigor, with occasional modifications, down to 1734. Judge Sewall states that in 1674 a student was punished for "speaking blasphemous words," by being obliged "to sit alone by himself uncovered at meals during the pleasure of the President and Fellows;" from which we infer that it was then customary to have the head covered while eating. Order was maintained by the presence of the Tutors at Commons; and the Corporation, or Overseers, frequently fixed the price which the Steward and Butler might charge for their food and liquors. Thus, in October, 1715, the latter was prohibited from taking more than two pence a quart for cider until the 1st of February.

That students lodged outside of the College buildings seems to have been an early practice, necessitated by the lack of sufficient accommodations in the Halls; and that some of those who lodged in the Halls boarded outside is evident from the order passed in 1724 to compel all such scholars, graduates and undergraduates to eat at Commons, unless the President and a majority of the Tutors granted them leave to do otherwise. This rule was the source of much trouble, and was long resisted. A visiting committee of the Overseers reported, in 1732, that this rule ought to be enforced; that students and graduates should be prevented "from using punch, flip and like intoxicating drinks," and "that Commons be of better quality, have more variety, clean table-cloths of convenient length and breadth twice a week, and that plates be allowed."

New laws, consonant with these recommendations, were passed in 1734. Students, in order to "furnish themselves with useful learning," must "keep in their respective chambers, and diligently follow their studies, except half an hour at breakfast, at dinner from 12 to 2, and after evening prayers till nine of the clock." Breakfast, or "morning bever," was still served at the buttery, and eaten usually in the student's chamber. No resident in the College might "make use of any distilled spirits or of any such mixed drinks as punch or flip in entertaining one another or strangers;" and no under-graduate might "keep by him brandy, rum or any other distilled spirituous liquors," or send for them without leave from the President or a Tutor. The clean linen cloths, of suitable length and breadth, and pewter plates were furnished by the College; but the plates were to be maintained at the charge of the scholars. Section 3, Chapter V, of these laws runs as follows: "The waiters, when the bell tolls at meal-times, shall receive the plates and victuals at the kitchen-hatch, and carry the same to the several tables for which they are designed. And none shall receive their commons out of the Hall, except in case of sickness or some weighty occasion. And the Senior Tutor or other Senior scholar in the Hall shall crave blessing and return thanks. And all the scholars, while at their meals, shall sit in their places and behave themselves decently and orderly, and whosoever shall be rude or clamorous at such time, or shall go out of the Hall before thanks be returned, shall be punished by one of the Tutors not exceeding five shillings."

The buttery came to be a recognized department of the College, where students could purchase provisions, beer, cider and other extras, in order that they might have no excuse for frequenting the public-houses and taverns in the town. The butler was authorized to sell his wares at an advance of fifty per cent. beyond the current price, and from this profit he derived a

part, if not all, of his salary. He and the cook were enjoined to keep their utensils clean, to scour the kitchen pewter twice every quarter, and the drinking vessels once a week or oftener. Among the other duties of the butler, he was required to "wait upon the President at the hours for prayer in the Hall, for his orders to ring the bell, and also upon the Professors for their lectures, as usual;" to "ring the bell for Commons according to custom, and at five o'clock in the morning and nine at night;" to "provide candles for the Hall," and to "take care that the Hall and the entry adjoining be swept once a day and washed at least once a quarter, and that the tables and forms be scoured once a week (except in the winter season, when they shall be scoured once in three weeks, or so often as the Tutors shall require it)."

Despite these explicit regulations and the fines mulcted for the infringement of them, there were frequent cases of grumbling and disobedience on the part of the students, and of neglect or of undue parsimony on the part of the butler and steward. Before 1747 permission to board in private families was generally granted, whereat the Overseers were displeased and voted that it would be "beneficial for the College that the members thereof be in Commons." After a struggle lasting more than two years the Steward, to whose mismanagement and "scrimping" the students' discontent was attributed, was discharged and a new one appointed. That same year (1750) the Corporation voted "that the quantity of Commons be, as hath been usual, viz.: two sizes of bread in the morning; one pound of meat at dinner, with sufficient sauce (vegetables), and half a pint of beer; and at night that a part pie be of the same quantity as usual, and also half a pint of beer; and that the supper messes be of four parts, though the dinner messes be of six." The Overseers persisted in their recommendation that all students be compelled to board at Commons; the Corporation, on the contrary, deemed that so sweeping a law would be unwise. But the former, in 1757, passed a resolution that it would contribute to the health of the students, "facilitate their studies and prevent extravagant expense," if they "were restrained from dieting in private families;" and as an inducement, it was further voted "that there should be pudding three times a week, and on those days their meat should be lessened." In 1760 the Corporation prohibited students "from dining or supping in any house in town, except on an invitation to dine or sup *gratis*;" but this law could hardly be strictly enforced, because many students had still, through lack of accommodations in the Halls, to lodge outside, and some of these probably continued to "diet" at private houses. In July, 1764, the Overseers recommended that no student should be allowed to breakfast in the town; that breakfast be thenceforth furnished at Commons; that either milk, tea, chocolate or coffee be provided; and that students, if they preferred, might prepare their breakfast in their own chambers, but might not eat it in one another's chambers. The completion of Hollis Hall, in 1764, enabled most of the students to lodge in the College, and they, together with all Professors, Tutors and graduates, were obliged to board at Commons. There was a rebellion in 1766, caused partly by the refusal of the College officers to grant excuses for absence from prayers, and partly by the poor quality of the food; among other grievances the Steward had served bad butter for many weeks past.

Of the fare previous to this time, Dr. Holyoke (Class of 1746) said: "breakfast was two sizings of bread and a cue of beer; evening Commons were a pye." Judge Wingate (Class of 1759) wrote: "As to the Commons, there were in the morning none while I was in College. At dinner we had, of rather ordinary quality, a sufficiency of meat of some kind, either baked or boiled; and at supper we had either a pint of milk and half a biscuit, or a meat pye or some other kind. [Commons] were rather ordinary, but I was young and hearty and could live comfortably upon them. I had some classmates who paid for their Commons and never entered the Hall while they belonged to the College. We were allowed at dinner a cue of beer, which was half a pint, and a sizing of bread, which I cannot describe to you. It was quite sufficient for one dinner." Before breakfast was regularly served at Commons, there was much disorder in getting the morning or the evening "bever" at the buttery-hatch. In the mêlée the bowl of milk or chocolate might be upset, and "sometimes the spoons were the only tangible evidence of the meal remaining."

During the Revolutionary War new difficulties interfered with the satisfactory management at Commons. This was one of the grievances adduced by the students when they petitioned the General Court to be moved back from Concord to Cambridge. In August, 1777, the Corporation, in order "that the charge of Commons may be kept as low as possible, *Voted*, that the Steward shall provide at the common charge only bread or biscuit and milk for breakfast; and, if any of the scholars choose tea, coffee or chocolate for breakfast, they shall procure these articles for themselves, and likewise the sugar and butter to be used with them; and if any scholars choose to have their milk boiled, or thickened with flour, if it may be had, or with meal, the Steward, having seasonable notice, shall provide it; and further, as salt fish alone is appointed . . . for the dinner on Saturdays, and as this article is now risen to a very high price, and through the scarcity of salt will probably be higher, the Steward shall not be obliged to provide salt fish, but shall procure fresh fish as often as he can." In 1783 the Faculty voted that in future no students should "size" breakfasts in the kitchen, nor take their dinner from the kitchen on Lord's Days.

In 1790 a new code of College Laws was published, in which the old prohibition against dining or sup-

ping with townspeople (except *gratis*) was reiterated and, among other things, students were required to give notice to the Steward on the first Friday of each month what they wished for breakfast during the month. The fine for eating out of Commons was one shilling, raised, in 1798, to twenty cents. At Commons the students sat at ten tables, in messes of eight on each side. The Tutors and Seniors occupied a platform raised eighteen or twenty inches. Down to 1771 the custom prevailed of placing students according to the rank of their families, the lists, written in a large German text, being hung up in the Hall, and those students who belonged to the "first" families had the privilege of helping themselves first at table. The waiters were students, paid for their services, and generally respected by their classmates. Boiled meat was served on Monday and Thursday, roast meat on the other days; each person had two potatoes, which he must peel for himself. "On 'boiling days' pudding and cabbage were added to the bill of fare, and, in their season, greens, either dandelion or the wild pea." Cider had taken the place of beer at meals, each student being allowed as much as he wished. "It was brought to the table in pewter quart cans, two to each mess. From these cans the students drank, passing them from mouth to mouth, as was anciently done with the wassail bowl."[1]

Of course, complaints never ceased. At one time the butter was "so bad that a farmer would not take it to grease his cart-wheels with." At other times, when the Steward had furnished, for the sake of economy, nothing but veal or lamb for weeks together, the students would assemble outside the buttery and set up a concerted bleating and baaing, as a hint for him to vary their diet. In 1790 the Steward became one of the financial officers of the College, and his purveyor's duties were transferred to the Butler and Cook.[2] In order to prevent the students from "resorting to the different marts of luxury, intemperance and ruin," the Buttery was made "a kind of supplement to the Commons," where they could procure, "at a moderate advance on the cost, wines, liquors, groceries, stationery, and in general such articles as it was proper and necessary for them to have occasionally, and which, for the most part, were not included in the Commons fare. The Buttery was also an office where, among other things, records were kept of the times when the scholars were present and absent." In 1801 the Buttery was abolished, it having for some time previous "ceased to be of use for most of its primary purposes. The area before the entry doors . . . had become a sort of students' exchange for idle gossip, if nothing worse. The rooms were now redeemed from traffic, and devoted to places of study. . . . The last person who held the office of Butler was Joseph Chickering, a graduate of 1799."

The handing out of supper from the kitchen-hatch was the source of constant disturbances; but the Faculty made a long struggle to preserve this ancient custom. At last, however, after repeated failures, they desisted, and from the year 1806 supper was served regularly at Commons in the Hall. A record of the Faculty for August 31, 1797, is worth quoting: "The time of the Butler's Freshman being greatly taken up with the public duties of his station, and with the private concerns of the Buttery, and his task being laborious, *Voted*, That in the future the Butler's Freshman be excused from cutting bread in the kitchen, and that it be cut by the servants in the kitchen." In 1807 discontent over Commons led to one of the liveliest rebellions in the history of the College; among other violent acts a student named Pratt at dinner did "publicly in the Hall insult the authority of the College by hitting one of the officers with a potatoe." That same year the Professors, Tutors, the Librarian, graduates and undergraduates were required to take all their meals at Commons, but the fare seems not to have improved. In 1819 a row occurred in Commons between the Sophomores and Freshmen, which caused many suspensions, and furnished the theme of the mock-heroic poem, *The Rebelliad*. Four years earlier Commons had been removed from Harvard Hall to the just-completed University Hall, where they were held till their abolition in 1849. In 1818 the wages of the waiters were reduced; each waiter received board *gratis* for three-quarters of the time during which he was in service. In 1823 the "Master of the Kitchen" was directed to furnish no more cider at breakfast or supper; and the next year wine was denied at the Thanksgiving Dinner. In 1825 students who obtained permission might board at a private house; but they might not lodge outside of the College unless the Faculty approved. President Quincy purchased in England plate to be used at Commons, each article having the College seal: during the Civil War this service was sold, being bought chiefly by the alumni, who thus secured mementoes of an obsolete phase of Harvard life. After 1842 the College renounced responsibility for Commons, which was assumed by a contractor, who rented the rooms in University and provided the food. At length, in 1849, Commons were abolished, as they had come to be patronized by less than one-sixth of the whole number of students residing at the University. "This state of things," says President Sparks, in his report for that year, "afforded a clear indication that, whatever advantages may have been derived from this arrangement in former times, it was no longer necessary. It was resolved, therefore, . . . to leave the students to procure their board in such private houses as they might select. . . . The experiment has now been tried for one term, and with such success as to make

[1] Hall's "College Words and Customs," 1850, p. 75.

[2] In 1872 the title of Steward, who had long been the Treasurer's agent at Cambridge, was changed to Bursar.

it improbable that the Commons will again be revived."

It cannot be denied, however, that the system, in theory at least, was a good one, for it provided food at moderate rates to a large number of students. The trouble was that, in the effort to economize, the quality of the food was poor, and the quantity scanty; so that while poor students might tolerate it for the sake of getting a college education, those who came from more prosperous families were inevitably dissatisfied. And with the increase of prosperity throughout the country the number of well-to-do students naturally exceeded that of the poor. For fifteen years, therefore, the students boarded at private houses, either singly or in clubs, except that in 1857 the College conducted a restaurant at the old Brattle House. In 1864 Dr. A. P. Peabody interested Nathaniel Thayer in the subject of students' board, which now cost more than some of those whose means were small could well afford to pay, and he offered $1000 towards the re-organization of Commons. The old railroad station (situated near the site of the present Law School) had been bought by the College, one of its rooms being then occupied by the *Regina Bonarum*, or "Queen of the Goodies," as the head bedmaker was nicknamed by the students. The Corporation consenting, this building was properly fitted up, and the Thayer Dining Club ate in it, beginning in 1865. The number of students who desired to partake of the Club's Commons soon exceeded the capacity of the rooms; and Mr. Thayer contributed $5000 (to which some other subscribers added $2000) to build an addition. The management of the Club was left to its members, under the supervision of a Faculty committee of three. Upon the completion of Memorial Hall the Thayer Club was expanded into the Dining Association, and, in the autumn of 1874, Commons were removed to Memorial Hall, where they have ever since been held. The Association consists of a President, Vice-President and of two directors from each School and each College Class; the President and Vice-President are elected by a general vote, the directors by a vote of the members of their School or Class who belong to the Association. No wine, beer or other alcoholic drinks, and no tobacco may be used in the Hall. Dinner, originally served at 2 P.M., is now served from 5.30 to 6.30; breakfast, from 8 to 9; lunch, from 12.30 to 1.30. The price of board is charged on the students' term-bills. The number of boarders at Memorial Hall is about 700, and as there are usually many more applicants than can be seated these must wait for vacancies to occur. The food is unquestionably much better than was ever supplied by the old Commons, and, although grumbling is frequently heard, the majority of the students appreciate the advantages they enjoy. Thus the difficult problem of feeding the students has been successfully solved; they control the management of Commons, and can therefore provide such fare as the majority desire, while the College, as is right, keeps the accounts. In 1889 the Foxcroft Club was organized, where students can procure plain food at even cheaper rates than at Memorial Hall—thirty-five cents a day being sufficient to satisfy an economical student of small appetite.

In conclusion, I will set down for purposes of comparison, the price of food at Commons at different periods. In 1664–65 it was about 75 cents per week; in 1765, $1.22; in 1805, $2.24; in 1806, $1.89; in 1808, $1.75; in 1833, $1.90; in 1836, $2.25; in 1840, highest, $2.25, lowest, $1.75; in 1848, highest, $2.50, lowest, $2; from 1864 to 1890 the price at Memorial Hall has varied from about $3.75 to $4.25; Foxcroft Club (1890), lowest about $2. The cost of board in private houses, or at "Club tables," has always been dearer than at Commons. A member of the Class of 1846 tells me that in his time excellent fare was furnished for three dollars per week, and more than four dollars was considered an extravagant price. At the present time private board may be had at from five dollars to eight dollars per week.

PRAYERS.—The history of the religious services in the College, like the history of Commons, deals with a very interesting side of student life. Enforced attendance at prayers was the cause of almost as many rebellions and protests as was scanty food in the Hall. The writer on this subject in *The Harvard Book*, states thus concisely the various places where the religious exercises at Harvard have been held: "Originally religious services were held by each class in their Tutor's room; afterwards all the students came together in Commons Hall or the Library; and later an apartment in the old Harvard Hall was used as a chapel. In 1744 Holden Chapel was erected, which was a building of one story, entered by the door at the western end, the seats of which, with backs, were ranged one above another, from the middle aisle to the side walls. Soon after 1766 a room on the lower story of the new Harvard Hall was taken for devotional exercises. Here likewise the seats rose one above another, the Freshmen occupying those in front, the Sophomores sitting behind them, the Juniors and Seniors coming next; while on either side of the desk, which was at the end nearest the street, were seats for the instructors and others." While the College was in exile at Concord (1775–76), recitations were held there in the court-house, and prayers in the meeting-house. On the completion of Massachusetts Hall, services were held in the Chapel in the upper part of that building, until 1858, when Appleton Chapel was erected, and has since served for both the week-day and Sunday worship of the College.

From the earliest time the students had attended the First Parish Church on Sundays. This was rebuilt in 1756 (on the southwest corner of College Yard, near the present site of the old Law School), and an agreement was made between the Corporation and the First Parishioners, by which the front gallery was re-

served for students, and a pew on the floor for the President and his family; and the College, having agreed to pay one-seventh of the cost of the building and all future repairs, had also the right to use it on Commencements and public occasions. It was soon found that the students put so little into the contribution box that in 1760 the Corporation voted "that the box should not be offered (ordinarily) on the Lord's Day to the Scholars' gallery, but that instead they should be taxed towards the support of the ministry, in each of their quarterly bills, nine pence lawful money." In 1816 the connection between the College and the First Parish Church was severed, and the Sunday worship of the students was conducted in the Chapel in University Hall by officers of the Divinity School. The Church was taken down in 1833, when its successor, the present First Church, was erected.

Since the College was originally a seminary, founded by a church-going people for the especial purpose of training up youths to become ministers, it is not surprising that the rules concerning prayers and worship were strict. In President Dunster's time it was required that, "Every Scholar shall be present in his Tutor's chamber at the 7th houre in the morning, immediately after the sound of the Bell, at his opening the Scripture and prayer, so also at the 5th houre at night, and then give account of his owne private reading. Every one shall so exercise himselfe in reading the Scriptures twice a day, that he shall be ready to give such an account of his proficiency therein, both in Theoreticall observations of the Language, and Logick, and in Practicall and Spiritual truths, as his Tutor shall require, according to his ability; seeing the entrance of the word giveth light, it giveth understanding to the simple. *Psalm* cxix, 130." *The Laws, Liberties and Orders* adopted at that time (1642–46) also state, § 5: "In the public church assembly, they shall carefully shun all gestures that show any contempt or neglect of God's ordinances, and be ready to give an account to their Tutors of their profiting, and to use the helpe of storing themselves with knowledge, as their Tutors shall direct them. And all Sophisters and Bachelors (until themselves make common place) shall publicly repeat sermons in the Hall, whenever they are called forth." And again, § 14: "If any Scholar, being in health, shall be absent from prayers or lectures, except in case of urgent necessity, or by leave of his Tutor, he shall be liable to admonition (or such punishment as the President shall think meet), if he offend above once a week."

The President himself conducted the daily services in the Hall. The undergraduates translated in the morning the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek, and in the evening, they translated the New Testament from English or Latin into Greek; but Freshmen were allowed to use the English Bible. After this reading the President expounded the passages read, and then closed with prayer. Once President Rogers's prayer was much shorter than usual. "Heaven Knew the Reason!" wrote Cotton Mather; "the scholars, returning to their Chambers, found one of them on fire, and the Fire had proceeded so far, that if the Devotions had held three Minutes longer, the Colledge had been irrecoverably laid in Ashes, which now was happily preserved." The translating was not popular, and students shirked it as often as they dared. In 1723 it is reported that the attendance by Tutors and graduates at prayers was good, but not at the readings; but that the undergraduates attended both. In 1795 it was ordered that the students during the prayer and at the blessing should stand facing the desk, but that they should sit during the reading from the Scriptures.

The morning service was for a long time the occasion when students made a public confession of misconduct, and when the President announced the names of those who were to be punished by degradation, admonition or expulsion. Many records of these confessions are preserved. I quote a few: President Leverett's *Diary*, under date of November 4, 1712, reads: "A. was publickly admonish'd in the College Hall, and there confessed his Sinful Excess, and his enormous profanation of the Holy Name of Almighty God. And he demeaned himself so that the Presid^{t}. and Fellows conceived great hopes that he will not be lost." Again, March 20, 1714, Leverett says of Larnel, an Indian who had been dismissed: "He remained a considerable time at Boston, in a state of penance. He presented his confession to Mr. Pemberton, who thereupon became his intercessor, and in his letter to the President expresses himself thus: 'This comes by Larnel, who brings a confession as good as Austin's (St. Augustine), and I am charitably disposed to hope it flows from a like spirit of penitence.' In the public reading of his confession, the flowing of his passions were extraordinarily timed, and his expressions accented, and most peculiarly and emphatically those of the grace of God to him; which indeed did give a peculiar grace to the performance itself, and raised, I believe, a charity in some, that had very little I am sure, and ratified wonderfully that which I had conceived of him. Having made his public confession, he was restored to his standing in the College." Tutor Flynt writes in his *Diary*, November 4, 1717: "Three scholars were publicly admonished for thieving and one degraded below five in his class, because he had been before publicly admonished for card-playing. They were ordered by the President into the middle of the Hall (while two others, concealers of the theft, were ordered to stand up in their places, and spoken to there). The crime they were charged with was first declared, and then laid open as against the law of God and the House, and they were admonished to consider the nature and tendency of it, with its aggravations; and all, with them, were warned to take heed and regulate themselves, so that they might

not be in danger of so doing for the future; and those who consented to the theft were admonished to beware, lest God tear them in pieces according to the text. They were then fined, and ordered to make restitution two-fold for each theft." President Wadsworth relates that the public confession of B., who had been engaged in disorder, was read in the Hall, after morning prayer, June 29, 1727. "But such a disorderly spirit at that time prevailed, that there was not one undergraduate in the Hall besides B., and three Freshmen; there were also the President and the two Senior Tutors, but not one Graduate Master or Bachelor besides them. When the Scholars, in thus absenting from the Hall, refused to hear a confession of, or admonitions against, the aforesaid disorders, it too plainly appeared that they had more easy and favorable thoughts of those disorders themselves than they should have had; the Lord, of his Infinite grace in Christ, work a better temper and spirit in them." As late as May 26, 1786, there is record of a public confession in the Chapel.

Prayer was held at six in the morning. In 1731 a schedule of fines for absences, tardiness and misbehavior at Chapel was adopted. Rebellions frequently broke out, but the regulations were enforced. After prayer there were recitations until breakfast, at half-past seven—a rule which caused some of the students to take their text-books to Chapel, and to study them clandestinely during the service. In 1773, it appearing that the custom was slighted of repeating on the "Lord's Day evening" the heads of the sermons on the previous day, the Overseers proposed that one of the students should read aloud a discourse, which would not only foster piety, but also encourage "just and graceful elocution." Then declamations were made after evening prayers, as appears by an entry in the *Diary* of J. Q. Adams: "March 24, 1786. After prayer I declaimed, as it is termed; two students every evening speak from memory any piece they choose, if it be approved by the President."

At the beginning of the year the first three members of the Sophomore Class read on successive Mondays, after evening prayers, the so-called "Customs" to the Freshmen, who were required to listen with decency. J. Q. Adams, in his *Diary* for March 26, 1786, says: "After prayer, Bancroft, one of the Sophomore Class, read the Customs to the Freshmen, one of whom (McNeal) stood with his hat on all the time. He, with three others, were immediately *hoisted* (as the term is) before a Tutor and punished. There was immediately after a class meeting of the Freshmen, who, it is said, determined they would hoist any scholar of the other classes, who should be seen with his hat on in the Yard, when any of the Government are there."

Practical jokes were played upon the minister from an early period. In 1785 the College Bible was missing, and also two Indian images which stood on the gate-posts of a Cambridge resident. All these were found by a Tutor in a room of a student, who was reading the Bible in loud tones to the images. "What is the meaning of this noise?" asked the Tutor angrily. "Propagating the gospel among the Indians, sir," was the student's calm reply. In winter the pulpit was lighted by candles, and sometimes mischievous students bored holes in these, and filled them with powder, which, when the flame reached it, put out the lights. At another time, flat pieces of lead inserted in the candles, produced the same result. Many were the assaults made on the College bell, in the endeavor to prevent its ringing for prayers; once the monitor who marked absences was locked in his room, but he found out the culprits, and marked them only as absent. When Ashur Ware, who hesitated in his speech, conducted the service, the students used to sneeze, making the sound *A-a-shur, A-a-shur-ware.* "Pull-crackers" being fastened to the lids of the Bible, they exploded when it was opened, whereupon President Kirkland reproved the students so earnestly, that many of the students went out saying, "That's right," "The President's right." Dr. Kirkland used to be summoned to prayers by the Regent's Freshman, who rang the bell morning and evening. Once, when Edward Everett was President, the gate which led from the enclosure of Wadsworth House was nailed up, so that he had to go round in order to reach the Chapel in University. He was so incensed, that he lectured the students, using as a text Dante's appeal to Florence, "What have you done to me?" Everett's lack of humor, which prevented him from seeing the disproportion between the annoyance he had suffered and the treatment Dante received from the Florentines, was not lost on some of his hearers. Many efforts were made to secure more reverence at the services, but they often failed. And no wonder, when we remember that, besides the usual ceremony, it was the custom for each Divinity student, who was a beneficiary of the Hopkins Fund, to read four theological dissertations, each ten minutes long, after evening prayers. "In one year the undergraduates were required to listen to thirty-two such dissertations, among which were an English essay on 'Ejaculatory Prayer,' and a Latin disquisition on 'The Hebrew Masoretic Points.'" Absences were announced in Latin every Saturday, and excuses were given in Latin. Common excuses were, "*semel aegrotavi,*" "*bis invalui,*" "*detentus ab amicis,*" "*Ex oppido,*" and "*tintinnabulum non audivi.*" One Freshman, charged with three absences, replied, "*Non ter, sed semel abfui; Carolus frater locked me up in the Buttery.*" Once (April 18, 1821) only three students appeared at prayers, which were, nevertheless, conducted as usual: the rest of the College had gone the preceding evening to see Kean act in Boston, and a heavy snow-storm had prevented their return.

President Quincy was absent from prayers only twice during the sixteen years of his administration, and then he was detained in court as a witness. He

sat directly in front of the organ, on the west side of the University, opposite the minister; and whenever, after the services, he had an address to make, he would read it from manuscript. Henry Ware, Sr., then conducted morning, and his son evening prayers. In 1831 a charge of sectarianism was raised against the form of services, but a member of the Corporation replied that the "objection is not that they *contain* sectarianism, but that they *omit* sectarianism." Statistics prepared in 1830 show that during the preceding year, absences, excused and unexcused, of the Senior Class averaged only two a week for each individual. Excuses were then granted by the President, but in 1844 President Quincy required that every minor must "bring a written excuse from his parent, guardian or physician. This brings him continually under domestic surveillance, and gives the Faculty of the College evidence of the reality of his excuse of the most unquestionable authenticity." From that time, therefore, we may probably date the first flow of that stream of "doctor's certificates" and parental excuses, which flooded "the office" every Monday morning, until, by the abolition of compulsory attendance, the need of those documents ceased. Disturbances were usually greater at evening than in the morning, perhaps because the spirit of mischief was not wholly aroused in those who got out of bed, drew on boots and overcoat, and ran to Chapel at six o'clock A. M. That was the hour for prayers, except in winter, when they came at seven o'clock. No occasion was lost for shuffling or stamping with the feet, until at last the long seats were replaced by settees, so that the monitors could see who made the noise. The Bible was stolen in 1831 and in 1852, and again in 1863. In 1852 it was sent by express to the Librarian of Yale College, who had it returned to Harvard. On one of the fly-leaves the following inscription was found: *Hoc Biblvm raptvm vi a pvlpite Harvard Coll. Chapelli Facvltati Yali ab Harv. Coll. vndergradvatibvs donatvr rewardvm meriti et lenitatis in expellando sophomores XXV fvr et receptor idem in vestro librarivncvlo retinete: coveres servamvs in vsvm chessboardi pro Helter Skelter Clvb.*

During President Walker's term (1853-60) evening prayers were discontinued; at the morning service a choir was introduced, and a "Service Book," prepared by Prof. Huntington, was used. The experiment of holding prayers after breakfast did not succeed. The bell was still the object of many futile attacks; once, indeed, some students succeeded in cutting out the tongue, but the Janitor, Mills, beat the strokes with a hammer. Attempts to plug the keyholes of the Chapel doors likewise failed; the alert watchman always frustrated them in time. Once the seats allotted to the Freshmen were painted green, mottoes were daubed on the walls, and the building was wantonly defaced; later (in 1870), stripes like those on a barber's pole were painted on the columns in the porch of the Chapel. When President Hill, in the absence of Dr. A. P. Peabody, conducted the exercises, a lighted bunch of fire-crackers was thrown into the pulpit, but he calmly put his foot on the fuse before the crackers exploded. When the news came of the capture of Richmond, President Hill announced it after the services, and the students went out singing "Old Hundred."

After President Eliot's accession (1869) the choir was discontinued, and the whole body of students, led by the Glee Club, sang, using a book of "Melodies and Hymns," compiled in 1870. Each student was allowed fifty unexcused absences during the year; the number being reduced to forty in the case of those who were excused on Mondays. Each unexcused absence counted three censure marks; each tardiness counted eight. The "prayer line" included all students who roomed within a third of a mile of the Chapel. When the unexcused "cuts" amounted to ten, the student was privately admonished; at twenty "a public admonition" was given, but no longer in public; after forty cuts, the student was suspended. These punishments were regulated by the Dean. Parents who objected on religious ground to their sons' attendance at Chapel, could have them permanently excused.

But already public sentiment began to show itself against compulsory attendance at religious services. It was argued that a student who, after a hasty toilet, goes to Chapel and listens perfunctorily to the reading of the Scriptures and to prayers and hymns, could not be expected to derive much good therefrom; an empty stomach does not conduce to a devotional frame of mind. But the conservatives for a long time opposed any change; it was necessary, they said, to have some means for getting the students up in the morning, and prayers subserved this end exactly. The would-be reformers replied that it was hardly decorous to convert an avowedly religious ceremony into a mere academic roll-call. Then the conservatives insisted that to abolish compulsory attendance would be to justify those critics of the College who were continually charging Harvard with irreligion. The reformers retorted that it was Pharisaical to pretend that the majority of the students attended Chapel in a worshipful spirit, and that it would be better honestly to allow each student to choose for himself. But the conservatives long prevailed.

From September, 1872, to February, 1873, morning prayers were discontinued while alterations were making in Appleton Chapel. President Eliot, in his Report for that year, said: "The Faculty thus tried, quite involuntarily, an interesting experiment in College discipline. It has been a common opinion that morning prayers were not only right and helpful in themselves, but also necessary to College discipline, partly as a morning roll-call and partly as a means of enforcing continuous residence. It was therefore interesting to observe that the omission of morning prayers for nearly five months, at the time of year when the days

are shortest and coldest, had no ill effects whatever on College order or discipline. There was no increased irregularity of attendance at morning exercises, no unusual number of absences, and, in fact, no visible effect upon the other exercises of the College, or upon the quiet and order of the place. The Professors and other teachers living beyond the sound of the prayer-bell would not have known from any effect produced upon their work with the students that morning prayers had been intermitted." In spite of this practical experiment, however, the Overseers clung to the old custom, and vetoed a vote of the Corporation to make attendance at prayers voluntary. In November, 1874, Sunday morning prayers were abolished, Sunday evening prayers having been discontinued in 1766. But the agitation was not abandoned, and finally, in October, 1886, attendance at daily prayers and Sunday services ceased to be compulsory. Since that time the services have been performed in rotation by the Plummer Professor, or by one of the five preachers to the University appointed annually from among conspicuous clergymen of various denominations. The services are short, and the average attendance of students who go of their own accord has been satisfactory. The preacher for the time being meets any students who wish to confer with him every morning during his term. Exercises, with a sermon, are also held on Sunday evenings in Appleton Chapel; and during the winter months a "Vesper Service" is held every Thursday at five o'clock, at which the singing is performed in part by the congregation, and in part by a choir of boys and by soloists especially engaged. The cost of maintaining these various religious exercises was $7555.33 for the year 1888–89.

Discipline.—In the foregoing pages I have given an account of some of the laws by which the students were formerly governed, and of some of the ways in which the ever-fertile undergraduate mind evaded or contravened them. I propose now to describe a little more fully the various codes of College discipline, and some of the famous instances when the students, throwing over all restraint, lived in open rebellion with their governors. One fact is impressed upon us in reviewing this department of college life: discontent and rebellion were vehement just in proportion to the burden of repression. College students are men "in the making;" they are endowed with a large amount of human nature—a truth which Faculties have often overlooked; they can usually be led more easily than they can be driven; and as they have been permitted larger liberty, they have behaved with greater decorum.

At the outset, Harvard being a seminary which scholars entered at thirteen and left at seventeen, the discipline was stern, of the Puritan type of sternness. The *Laws, Liberties and Orders* of 1642 announced that "§ 2. Every one shall consider the main end of his life and studies to know God and Jesus Christ, which is eternal life; John xvi, 13." § 6. "They shall eschew all profanation of God's holy name, attributes, words, ordinances, and times of worship; and study, with reverence and love, carefully to retain God and his truth in their minds." § 7. "They shall honor as their parents, magistrates, elders, tutors and aged persons, by being silent in their presence (except they be called on to answer), not gainsaying; showing all those laudable expressions of honor and reverence in their presence that are in use, or bowing before them, standing uncovered, or the like." § 8. "They shall be slow to speak, and eschew not only oaths, lies, and uncertain rumors, but likewise all idle, foolish, bitter, scoffing, frothy, wanton words, and offensive questions." § 9. "None shall pragmatically intrude or intermeddle in other men's affairs." § 11. "None shall, under any pretence whatsoever, frequent the company and society of such men as lead an unjust and dissolute life. Neither shall any, without license of the Overseers of the College, be of the artillery or trainband. Nor shall any, without the license of the Overseers of the College, his Tutor's leave, or, in his absence, the call of parents and guardians, go out to another town." § 12. "No scholar shall buy, sell, or exchange anything, to the value of sixpence, without the allowance of his parents, guardians, or Tutors; and whosoever is found to have sold or bought any such thing without acquainting their Tutors or parents, shall forfeit the value of the commodity, or the restoring of it, according to the discretion of the President." § 17. "If any scholar shall transgress any of the laws of God, or the House, out of perverseness, or apparent negligence, after twice admonition, he shall be liable, if not *adultus*, to correction; if *adultus*, his name shall be given up to the Overseers of the College that he may be publicly dealt with after the desert of his fault; but in greater offenses such gradual proceeding shall not be exercised."

A little later (May 6, 1650) the Overseers passed an order prohibiting students, without permission, from being "present at or in any of the public civil meetings, or concourse of people, as courts of justice, elections, fairs, or at military exercise, in the time or hours of the college exercise, public or private. Neither shall any scholar exercise himself in any military band, unless of known gravity, and of approved sober and virtuous conversation, and that with the leave of the President and his Tutor. No scholar shall take tobacco, unless permitted by the President, with the consent of their parents and guardians, and on good reason first given by a physician, and then in a sober and private manner." On October 21, 1656, the General Court ordered "that the President and Fellows of Harvard College, for the time being, or the major part of them, are hereby empowered, according to their best discretion, to punish all misdemeanors of the youth in their Society, either by fine, or whipping in the Hall openly, as the nature of

the offence shall require, not exceeding ten shillings or ten stripes for one offence." A record of the Corporation for June 10, 1659, after stating that "there are great complaints of the exorbitant practices of some students of this College, by their abusive words and actions to the watch of the town," declares that the watch, "from time to time, and at all times, shall have full power of inspection into the manner and orders of all persons related to the College, whether within or without the precincts of the said College houses and lands." But it is forbidden "that any of the said watchmen should lay violent hands on any of the students, being found within the precincts of the College yards, otherwise than so they may secure them until they may inform the President or some of the Fellows. Neither shall they in any case break into their chambers or studies without special orders from the President or Fellows. . . . Also, in case any student . . . shall be found absent from his lodging after nine o'clock at night, he shall be responsible for and to all complaints of disorder of this kind, that, by testimony of the watch or others, shall appear to be done by any student . . . and shall be adjudged guilty of the said crime, unless he can purge himself by sufficient witness." Another record of the Corporation (March 27, 1682) declares that "*Whereas* great complaints have been made and proved against X., for his abusive carriage, in requiring some of the Freshmen to go upon his private errands, and in striking the said Freshmen; and for his scandalous negligence as to those duties that by the laws of the College he is bound to attend; and having persisted obstinately in his will, notwithstanding means used to reclaim him, and also refused to attend the Corporation, when this day required; he is therefore sentenced, in the first place, to be deprived of the pension heretofore allowed him, also to be expelled the College, and in case he shall presume, after twenty-four hours are past, to appear within the College walls, that then the Fellows of the place cause him to appear before the civil authority."

From these records of the seventeenth century we can form some idea of the discipline and punishments to which the first two generations of Harvard students were subjected. By the character of a law we infer the nature of the offense which it is intended to prevent. Those early students were awed by the religious menaces which their misdemeanors brought down upon them; and when, in spite of theological terrors, they disobeyed, they were flogged; finally, if stripes and expulsion failed, they might be handed over to the civil authorities. We wonder how many students presented a doctor's certificate that the use of tobacco, "in a sober and private manner," would benefit their health, and how often the town watchman was beaten or harassed. We may be sure that the Tutors were restrained by no softness of heart from applying salutary doses of birch to delinquents who could not be cured by milder remedies: the Puritan master, like the Puritan father, believed that he whipped Satan when he whipped a refractory boy, and he was only too piously glad to smite the arch-enemy who lurked beneath the skin of an undergraduate. From Judge Sewall's *Diary* we get a description of one of these floggings, in 1674. The culprit, who had been guilty of "speaking blasphemous words," was sentenced to be "publicly whipped before all the scholars," to be "suspended from taking his bachelor's degree," and "to sit alone by himself uncovered at meals during the pleasure of the President and Fellows." The sentence was twice read before the officers, students and some of the Overseers, in the library: the offender knelt down; the President prayed; then came the flogging; after which the President closed the ceremonies with another prayer. In a preceding section I have alluded to another form of punishment—the public confession of their sins by guilty students.

While all the undergraduates were subjected to this austere correction from above, the lot of the Freshman was peculiarly hard, for he was amenable not only to the College officers, but also to the upper classmen. Indeed, down to the present century, he occupied a position similar to that of a "fag" at the English public schools. "The Ancient Customs of Harvard College" contain the following provisions: "1. No Freshman shall wear his hat in the College yard, unless it rains, hails or snows; provided, he be on foot, and have not both hands full. 2. No Undergraduate shall wear his hat in the College yard when any of the Governors are there; and no Bachelor when the President is there. 3. Freshmen are to consider all the other Classes as their Seniors. 4. No Freshman shall speak to a Senior with his hat on; or have it on in a Senior's chamber, or in his own if a Senior be there. 6. All Freshmen (except those employed by the Immediate Government) shall be obliged to go on any errand (except such as shall be judged improper by some one in the Government) for any of his Seniors, Graduates or Undergraduates, at any time, except in studying hours or after 9 o'clock in the evening. 7. A Senior Sophister has authority to take a Freshman from a Sophomore, a Middle Bachelor from a Junior Sophister, a Master from a Senior Sophister, and any Governor of the College from a Master. 8. Every Freshman, before he goes for the person who takes him away (unless it be one in the Government), shall return and inform the person from whom he is taken. 9. No Freshman, when sent on an errand, shall make any unnecessary delay, neglect to make due return, or go away until dismissed by the person who sent him. 10. No Freshman shall be detained by a Senior when not actually employed on some suitable errand. 11. No Freshman shall be obliged to observe any order of a Senior to come to him or go on any errand for him, unless he be wanted immediately. 12. No Freshman, when

sent on an errand, shall tell who he is going for, unless he be asked; nor to tell what he is going for, unless asked by a Governor. 13. When any person knocks at a Freshman's door, except in studying time, he shall immediately open the door without inquiring who is there. 14. No scholar shall call up or down, to or from, any chamber in the College, nor (15) play football or any other game in the Yard, or throw anything across the Yard. 16. The Freshman shall furnish the batts, balls and footballs for the use of the students, to be kept at the Battery. 17. Every Freshman shall pay the Butler for putting up his name in the Buttery. 18. Strict attention shall be paid by all the students to the common rules of cleanliness, decency and politeness. The Sophomores shall publish these customs to the Freshman in the Chapel whenever ordered by any in the Government; at which time the Freshmen are enjoined to keep their places in their seats, and attend with decency to the reading."

In early times discipline was supervised not only by the President and Tutors, but also by the Corporation and Overseers. As the College grew in numbers, however, and petty offences demanding prompt attention came up frequently, and as the convening of either Board required some delay, the conduct of the undergraduates fell more and more to the charge of the officers of Immediate Government, whose independent records date from September, 1725. Just a century later (June, 1825) the Immediate Government received the official title of "Faculty of the University." That the early students, notwithstanding the severity of the regulations which hemmed them about, did not submit meekly, we have good reason to suppose, although the records that exist are few. We may remember, however, that the Undergraduates, instigated by persons unknown, raised so great a commotion against President Hoar that he deemed it prudent to resign (1675). Hints reach us of occasional excesses at the end of the seventeenth century, and during the long struggle of the Mathers to control the College, accusations of immorality, ungodliness and disorders were rained upon it by those Draconic moralists and their friends. Cotton Mather, whose information concerning the acts and plots of Satan were always recent and precise, not only saw "Satan beginning a terrible shake in the churches of New England," but that he had taken up his quarters at Harvard College, whence he could be dislodged only by the election of Cotton Mather to the Presidency; which his Diabolical Majesty took care to prevent by sowing guile and lies against Mr. Mather in the hearts of the Governors of that seminary. Discontent thus fomented rose to such a point that the Overseers sent a committee to visit the College. It reported that although there was a considerable number of virtuous and studious youth, yet there had been a practice of several immoralities—particularly stealing, lying, swearing, idleness, picking of locks and too frequent use of strong drink. Private lectures, it was alleged, were much neglected; the scholars, also, too generally spent too much of the Saturday evenings in one another's chambers, and Freshmen, as well as others, were seen in great numbers, going into town on Sabbath mornings to provide breakfasts. In 1732 another visiting committee pronounced the government of the College to be "in a weak and declining state;" and proposed remedies for restoring discipline. By this time flogging, although not abolished, had begun to be disused, and fines to be imposed, except for misdemeanors of the gravest sort. In 1734 the code of Laws was revised. I quote the list of punishable offences and the mulcts attached to them as the best and briefest means of illustrating the favorite forms of mischief at this period, and the valuation which the Faculty set upon them. The most heinous crime, "Undergraduate tarrying out of town one month without leave," was punished by a fine not exceeding £2 10*s*. The other offenses, with the penalties in shillings and pence attached to them, were as follows:

	s.	*d.*
Tardiness at prayers		1
Absence from prayers, tardiness at Professor's public lecture		2
Tardiness at public worship		3
Absence from Professor's public lecture		4
Absence from chambers, sending for prohibited liquors, going to meeting before bell-ringing, going out of College without proper garb		6
Absence from public worship, neglecting to repeat sermons, sending freshman in studying time		9
Rudeness at meals, keeping guns, going on skating	1	
Undergraduates tarrying out of town without leave, not exceeding *per diem*	1	3
Ill behavior at public worship, prayers or public divinity lectures, not declaiming or not giving up a declamation, absence from recitation, bachelors neglecting disputation, lodging strangers without leave, entertaining persons of ill character, frequenting taverns, undergradnates playing any game for money, selling and exchanging without leave, lying, drunkenness, having liquors prohibited under penalty (second offence, 3*s*.) keeping or fetching prohibited liquors, going upon the top of the College, cutting off the lead, concealing the transgression of the 19th Law, tumultuous noises (second offence, 3*s*.), fighting or hurting any person	1	6
Respondents neglecting disputations. . . . from	1*s*. 6*d*. to	3
Profane cursing, firing guns or pistols in College Yard, undergraduates playing cards or going out of town without leave	2	6
Profanation of the Lord's day, neglecting analysing, neglecting to give evidence		3
Graduates playing cards, opening doors by picklocks		5
Butler and cook to keep utensils clean		5
Undergraduates tarrying out of town one week without leave		10

The student of penology will observe that in this tariff, transgressions of arbitrary academic or theological requirements are punished more severely than misbehavior which indicates real moral defects: thus "neglecting analysing" is twice as wicked as lying; absence from recitation is as blameworthy as drunkenness; opening doors by picklocks is nearly three times as reprehensible as entertaining persons of ill character. But such discrepancies as these are common to all codes of conduct based on theology and not on morality.

In 1735 the Overseers recommended the Corporation "to restrain unsuitable and unseasonable danc-

ing in the College." Degradation to the bottom of the class, striking the name from the College lists, and expulsion were the highest punishments, after fines, admonition and public confession failed; and though flogging was less frequently administered, the Tutors still kept up the old custom of "boxing." The new Laws seem to have been effective, for in 1740 a visiting committee pronounced the condition of Cambridge to be satisfactory. The Whitefield revival excited many of the students to a stricter observance of their duties, but the improvement was only temporary; still, the sweeping accusations brought against Harvard by Whitefield and Jonathan Edwards had no better inspiration than theological zeal. Charles Chauncy declared that in his experience, extending over more than twenty years, the College was never "under better circumstances in point of religion, good order and learning than at this day" (1743). But, says Quincy, "the changes which occurred in the morals and manners of New England about the middle of the eighteenth century unavoidably affected the College. 'Profane cursing and swearing,' 'habits of frequenting taverns and alehouses,' 'the practice of using wine, beer and distilled liquors by undergraduates in their rooms,' greatly increased. Tutors were insulted, and combinations to perpetrate unlawful acts were more frequent. Laws were made, penalties inflicted, recommendations and remonstrances repeated, without either eradicating those evils or materially diminishing them."[1] In 1755 two students were expelled for gross disorders. Discontent with the fare provided at Commons was one of the chief perplexities which President Holyoke had to encounter. In 1766 broke out a rebellion which raged for a month. Two years later "great disturbances occurred; the Tutors' windows were broken with brickbats, their lives endangered, and other outrages committed." The Faculty expelled three of the perpetrators and rusticated others. Some of the students, who had withdrawn from the College in order to escape punishment, petitioned to be reinstated; the Faculty refused to entertain their petition before twelve months should elapse. They then applied to the Overseers, who referred them to the Corporation, which, in view of the fact that "many who have been great friends and benefactors to the society have condescended to intercede in their behalf," recommended the Faculty to re-admit them, provided they should make a public humble confession. So they came back, thanks to the influence of their intercessors, but against the official protest of President Holyoke.

The patriotic spirit now ran high in the College, but some of the Tory students, to show their loyalty to the King, brought "India tea" into Commons and drank it, to the incensement of the Whigs. The Faculty, to prevent trouble, advised the tea-drinkers to desist from a practice which "was a source of grief and uneasiness to many of the students, and as the use of it is disagreeable to the people of the country in general." During the Revolution, discipline was unusually lax, owing either to the spirit of independence which showed itself among the sons not less than among the fathers, or to the unavoidable excitement and interruptions, or to the weakness of President Langdon. We have already related how, in 1780, the students held a mass-meeting, and passed resolutions demanding his resignation, and how he complied.

In 1790 the Laws of the College were revised, and among the new requirements the students were to submit to an annual public examination "in the presence of a joint committee of the Corporation and Overseers," and other gentlemen. The Seniors and Juniors asked for exemption, but were refused. Accordingly, some of them, on the morning of April 12, 1791,—the day appointed for the examination,—put 600 grains of tartar emetic in the kitchen boilers. The officers and students came in to breakfast, but very soon, all but four or five, were forced to rush from the Hall. The conspirators hoped to escape detection by drinking more coffee than the rest; but after awhile they were discovered. Three were rusticated, one to Groton for nine months, and one to Amherst for five months. A memorandum of April 6, 1792, states that twenty-three Sophomores were fined two shillings apiece for supping at a tavern. Fines continued to be exacted down to 1825, after which date they were nearly all abolished, except in cases where College property was injured. But it is evident that this system was never very effectual in preventing mischief, because the penalty was never paid by the student, but was charged in the term-bill for his father to pay.

The condition of Freshmen slowly improved, although the Corporation, as late as 1772, having been recommended to abolish the custom requiring Freshmen to run on errands for upper classmen, voted that, "after deliberate consideration and weighing all circumstances, they are not able to project any plan in the room of this long and ancient custom, that will not, in their opinion, be attended with equal, if not greater, inconveniences." During the present century the instinctive antagonism between Freshmen and Sophomores found a vent in rushes between those classes; and fagging was gradually replaced by "hazing." The terrors and torments to which the callow Freshman was subjected on "Bloody Monday" night, at the beginning of the autumn term, were often carried far beyond the bounds of fun and sometimes resulted in the bodily injury of the victim. The Faculty strove by the most strenuous penalties to put an end to hazing, but it only disappeared about fifteen or twenty years ago, through the influence of the Elective System, which broke down class barriers, and above all through the increased age of the students, who, being no longer boys when they came to College, were no longer amused by boyish deviltry.

[1] Quincy, ii, 90, 91.

Among the famous "rebellions," I have already mentioned that of 1768, when, says Governor Hutchinson, "the scholars met in a body under and about a great tree, to which they gave the name of the tree of liberty!" "Some years after, this tree was either blown or cut down," and the name was given to the present Liberty Tree, which stands between Holden Chapel and Harvard Hall, and is now hung with flowers for Seniors to scramble for on Class Day. The next important rebellion occurred in 1807, when the three lower classes protested against the bad food at Commons. Without waiting for the President to investigate and correct, they indulged in disorders. Two students were publicly admonished for "smoking segars," and "occasioning great disturbance!" at the evening meal. The troubles increased, and with them the alarm of the Faculty. Three Sophomores were suspended, whereat Eames, one of their classmates, "did openly and grossly insult the members of the Government, by hissing at them, as they passed him, standing with the other waiters in the Hall." Eames was accordingly suspended, but three students went to the President and guaranteed that the rest would behave properly at Commons, if Eames were pardoned. The pardon was granted. A few days later the four classes marched out in a body from dinner, complaining of the fare. The Faculty immediately voted "that no more Commons be provided till further orders, and that all students have leave to diet out at proper houses, till further orders." The Corporation met, and ordered the President to attend Commons "on Sunday morning next," adding that "in consideration of the youth of the students, and hoping that their rash and illegal conduct is rather owing to want of experience and reflection than to malignity of temper or a spirit of defiance, [the Corporation] are disposed to give them an opportunity to certify in writing to the President, as he shall direct, their admission of the impropriety of their conduct, their regret for it, and their determination to offend no more in this manner." Seven days were allowed for this confession to be made, but, although the time was extended, some of the students refused, and, on April 15th, seventeen of the recalcitrants were dismissed. The so-called "Rebellion Tree," which stands to the east of the south entry of Hollis Hall, got its name, if we may credit tradition, from the fact that the students used to assemble under it during the troublous episode just described.

In 1819 a row at Commons between the Sophomores and Freshmen led to another rebellion. Three Sophomores were suspended, which caused another outbreak, and the suspension of two more. Both classes joined in the revolt. The Faculty, unable to disperse the rebellious gatherings in the Yard, rusticated six Sophomores. The whole Sophomore Class then withdrew from the College; but after an absence of a fortnight, they sought re-admission, which was granted to all save those who had been rusticated or suspended. This affair was the theme of the best-known of college satires—*The Rebelliad; or, Terrible Transactions at the Seat of the Muses*, by Augustus Peirce, of the Class of 1820.

In April, 1823, "a very remarkable uprising among the Seniors took place." A student, X., was about to graduate at the head of his class. It was reported that a certain Z. had informed the President that X. had spent money in dissipation. X. denied the charge, and offered to show his account-book. Nevertheless, he was deprived of the scholarship he had hitherto enjoyed, and was forbidden to deliver his oration at the Spring Exhibition. Z. was one of the speakers on that occasion, and was vehemently hissed. X. was held responsible for the disturbance and dismissed. The Seniors immediately resolved not to attend any College exercise at which Z. was present; and when he came to the Chapel to declamation, they hustled him down-stairs. The Faculty expelled four of those concerned in this disorder; but the Seniors held a meeting and voted to repeat their violence if Z. came to evening prayers. He entered "after the service had begun, whereupon the class rose up as before and drove him from the place, the President loudly calling them to order and refusing to go on with the exercises. After tea the bugle was sounded under the Rebellion Tree; and when the students had assembled Dr. Popkin addressed them, advising them to disperse, and reminding them of the consequences of their not doing so. 'We know it will injure us *in a degree*,' was the reply. A majority of the class then resolved that they would not return to their work until the four expelled members were recalled and Z. was sent away from College; that they would attend prayers the next morning for the last time, and if Z. appeared that they would put him out and punish him severely; but if he did not appear, that they would leave the Chapel themselves. Z. did not come, having left Cambridge on the previous evening; and accordingly the class rose quietly in a body and marched out of the Chapel, while the President again discontinued the services. After breakfast, thirty-seven, comprising all who had engaged in or who approved of the proceedings,—the so-called 'White List,' in distinction from the others, who were styled the 'Black List,'—were dismissed, and thus prevented from graduating at Commencement."[1] Many years later the College gave them their degrees. X. was afterwards a member of the Examining Committee in Greek; Z., who confessed before his death that his suspicion was unfounded, became a clergyman, and was elected to the Massachusetts Legislature.

The last and most violent of the rebellions was that of 1834. Dunkin, an Englishman, who tutored in Greek, requested M., a Freshman, to read certain Greek proper names. M. replied that he did not care

[1] "Harvard Book, ii, 130, 131.

to do so; the Tutor insisted that he would be obeyed. The Freshman declared that he was of age, and that he would not be dictated to. The matter was reported to President Quincy, who asked M. to retract; but the latter preferred to break his connection with the College. That night Tutor Dunkin's recitation-room, in the northeast corner of Massachusetts, was broken into, the furniture and windows were smashed. At prayers the next morning there was whistling, groaning, and squeaking of concealed toys. The following morning torpedoes were thrown in the air and exploded on the floor of the Chapel. Finally the President expostulated with the Freshmen who had been engaged in these proceedings, and threatened to prosecute them in the civil courts. Whereat the Freshmen were exasperated, and showed their exasperation by renewed rioting. One of them, B., from South Carolina, was dismissed. His classmates petitioned for his recall, because many of their number were guiltier than he. Then the mutiny spread to the Sophomores, all but three of whom absented themselves from prayers on three consecutive occasions. The Faculty dismissed all but those three—an unprecedented measure. But the Sophomores appeared at prayers the next morning and drowned the President's voice in cries of "Hear him! hear him!" The service was discontinued, and the unruly class was ordered by the President to remain; but out it marched from the Chapel. The Freshmen's petition was not granted, and they plunged into new insubordination, which resulted in the dismissal of two of them and of one Junior. The Juniors resented this, voted "to wear crape on the left arm for three weeks, to publish an article in the newspapers and to burn the President in effigy." The Faculty, with the consent of the Corporation, now brought legal proceedings against members of the Sophomore Class—one for trespass and one for assault on the College watchman. The President (June 4th) published an open letter in the newspapers, giving an account of the rebellion. A week later the Seniors, to whom the infection had penetrated, drew up a rejoinder, and sent it to the public press. Every Senior was thereupon required to confess what he had had to do with this document; eight were concerned with its preparation and circulation, two approved of it, fourteen had no concern in it and two were absent. On June 30th there were more tumults, followed by three suspensions. On Class Day, July 16th, the Class Poet, Royall Tyler, instead of his poem, read a formal prohibition from the President against his reading the poem. Then came a burst of groans and hisses; but in the evening the poem was delivered before an enthusiastic audience at a supper at Murdock's (afterwards Porter's) Hotel. Thus during more than two months the work of the College was interrupted, and many of the Seniors who lost their degrees that year did not receive them until several years later.

In 1805 the office of Proctor was established. The Proctors lived in the College buildings, and preserved order, forming the "Parietal Committee," over which the Regent presided. The Regent had charge of weekly lists of absences, monitors' bills, petitions for excuses and similar duties. Like the President, he had a meritorious Freshman to assist him. From time to time the Laws of 1790 were revised, and although in practice more liberty was allowed than formerly to the students, the statute-book was still very severe. Thus, in 1848, the following were designated as "high offences:" "Keeping any gun, pistol, gunpowder, or explosive material, or firing or using the same in the city of Cambridge; being concerned in any bonfires, fireworks or unauthorized illuminations; being an actor or spectator at any theatrical entertainment in term time; making or being present at any entertainment within the precincts of the University, at which intoxicating liquors of any kind are served; going to any tavern or victualling-house in Cambridge, except in the presence of a parent, guardian or Patron." Among simple misdemeanors are set down: Keeping a dog, horse, or other animal without leave of the Faculty, and playing at cards or dice. The Patron here referred to was "some gentleman of Cambridge, not of the Faculty," appointed by the Corporation to have charge of the expenses of students who came from places outside of the Commonwealth, if their parents desired. He received a commission of two and a half *per cent.* of the amount of the term bill of the students whose money was entrusted to him. The last Patron was appointed in 1869.

Sitting on the steps of the College buildings, calling to or from the windows, lying on the ground, collecting in groups—these also were punishable offences not very long ago. Bonfires were prohibited; "any students crying fire, sounding an alarm, leaving their rooms, shouting or clapping from a window, going to the fire, or being seen at it, going into the College Yard, or assembling on account of such bonfire, shall be deemed aiding and abetting such disorder, and punished accordingly," say the Laws of 1848. Violations of decorum were (1849) "smoking in the streets of Cambridge, in the College Yard, the public rooms or the entries, carrying a cane into the Chapel, recitation rooms, library or any public room." "Snowballing, or kicking football, or playing any game in the College Yard" were added to this list in 1852. No student might be absent over-night, and to each class was assigned a Tutor, who granted excuses from Chapel (1849). Sitting out of alphabetical order at any Chapel exercise became punishable in 1857; cheering—except on Class Day—or "proclaiming the name of any person whatever in connection with the cheering on that or any other occasion" appeared on the list of prohibitions the previous year.

But despite these restrictions we have heard from persons who were undergraduates during the middle decades of this century tales that indicate that the

students often enjoyed a larger freedom than was allowed them by the "College Bible." To serve as "supe" in one of the Boston theatres, when some celebrated actor or singer performed, was not uncommon, but doubtless the risk of being found out enhanced the enjoyment of this and other unlawful mischief. When a line of horse-cars was opened between Harvard and Bowdoin Square (1856) it became impossible to prevent the students from making frequent trips to town. Previous to that the means of communication had been an omnibus once an hour. So custom, which is stronger than laws, gradually established the right of students to visit Boston when they chose, provided they obeyed the rules when within the College precincts. The billiard-room in the basement of Parker's was patronized by almost enough collegians to justify Artemas Ward's witticism. There were still sporadic cases of hazing which called for severe measures from the Faculty. The silence of the Yard was from time to time startled by an exploded bomb or lighted by a sudden bonfire in the dead of night. Once a huge turkey was found hanging on the College bell when the janitor came to ring for morning prayers; once a pair of monstrous boots dangled from the Chapel spire, and once there was a life-and-death struggle in the Chapel between the watchman and a desperate student. But the explosions grew fainter, and the fires, except on Commencement night, burnt lower and lower, and the inscriptions in paint or lampblack on the walls of the University were few and far between. Almost the last serious mischief—the blowing up of a room in Hollis—took place nearly twenty years ago; and of late years the College drain has performed its humble duties undisturbed by gunpowder. And whenever any of these last spasms of an expiring era did occur, they no longer met the approval or excited the laughter of the majority of the students. The reason is plain—such pranks and disorders were the legacies of a time when the average Senior at graduation was not older than the Freshman is now at admission.

Upon President Eliot's accession (1869) the office of Dean was created to relieve the President from many disciplinary duties. The Dean performed, in a measure, the functions of the former Regent, but besides being the chief police officer, he had also a general supervision of the studies of the undergraduates. Under him the Registrar attended to minor matters of discipline, such as the granting of excuses. This office was abolished in 1888, its work being now assigned to the Secretary and his assistant.

Most of the old laws have disappeared from the "College Bible;" public opinion is now stronger than the printed rules in setting the standard of conduct. There are still regulations against throwing snow-balls, playing any game in the yard or entries, smoking on the steps or in the entries, and loitering in such manner as to obstruct them. Playing on musical instruments, except at specified hours, is also forbidden; and it is not lawful to keep dogs in College rooms. Discipline is enforced by admonition; by probation, "which indicates that a student is in serious danger of separation from the College;" by suspension—a temporary separation; by dismission, which "closes a student's connection with the College, without necessarily precluding his return;" and by expulsion, which "is the highest academic censure, and is a final separation from the University."

Thus have the students attained, little by little, to almost complete liberty of action; and since the responsibility for their conduct has been thrown on themselves, and not on the Faculty, the *morale* of the College has steadily improved. When there were many laws, the temptation to break them was too great to be always resisted; when Tutors and Proctors were looked upon as policemen and detectives, the pleasure of outwitting and harassing them was mingled with a sense of superior cunning or with the exultation of successful daring. Persons whose experience enables them to compare the present condition of the undergraduates with that of fifty or even of thirty years ago, agree that serious delinquencies, such as drunkenness and profligacy, are relatively far less common now than then. The increase in orderliness can be testified to by any one whose acquaintance with Harvard life extends no farther back than two or three lustres. And it may be added that the immemorial antagonism between the Faculty and the students was never milder than at present, when Committees, composed in part of undergraduates and in part of members of the Faculty, exist for the mutual interchange of wishes and suggestions. In old times, students were treated either as servants or as possible culprits; the newer, and true method is to treat them like men.

Commencement.—The first Commencement exercises were held on the second Tuesday of August, 1642, "the Governors, Magistrates and the Ministers from all parts, with all sorts of scholars and others in great numbers," being present. Nine Bachelors' degrees were conferred that year, and four the next. In 1685, we learn from Sewall's *Diary*, under the date July 1st, that "besides Disputes, there are four Orations, one Latin by Mr. Dudley, and two Greek, one Hebrew by Nath. Mather, and Mr. President [Increase Mather] after giving the Degrees, made an oration in praise of Academical Education of Degrees, Hebrew Tongue. . . . After dinner y^e^ 3d part of y^e^ 103d PS. was sung in y^e^ Hall." Two years later, Governor Andros attended Commencement, and by his direction, "Mr. Ratcliff sat in y^e^ pulpit,"—an act of gubernatorial authority which incensed the sturdy Calvinism of the College, because Ratcliff was the Church of England Chaplain to his Excellency. Even thus early, the day had become the occasion of festivities not to be missed by any one who had the means or could spare the time to attend them. And after the

academic diet of orations in the learned languages and of copious prayer had been partaken of, young and old turned with whetted appetite and thirst to the food and drink provided by the College and by the graduating students. The consumption of punch and liquors did not at first alarm the Corporation, but a vote of theirs, on June 22, 1693, states that "having been informed that the custom taken up in the College, not used in any other Universities, for the commencers [members of the graduating class] to have *plumb-cake*, is dishonorable to the College, not grateful to wise men, and chargeable to the parents of the commencers, [the Corporation] do therefore put an end to that custom, and do hereby order that no commencer, or other scholar, shall have any such cakes in their studies or chambers; and that if any scholar shall offend therein, the cakes shall be taken from him, and he shall moreover pay to the College 20 shillings for each such offence."

What was peculiarly harmful in "plumb-cake," we are not told; but frequent laws were fulminated against it. In 1722 an ordinance was passed "for reforming the Extravagancys of Commencements," and providing "that no preparation nor provision of either Plumb Cake, or Roasted, Boyled or Baked Meates or Pyes of any kind shal be made by any Commencer." "Distilled Lyquours" or "any composition therewith" were also forbidden under a fine of twenty shillings, and the contraband articles were "to be seized by the Tutors,"—but whether or not the latter were allowed to eat and drink the seized food and drink, we do not know. That the Tutors, however, believed with Iago that "Good wine is a good familiar creature, if it be well used," is plain from the following entry in Mr. Flynt's *Diary*, on the eve of Commencement, 1724: "Had of Mr. Monis two corkscrews 4*d*. a piece." Monis was a converted Jew, who taught Hebrew in the College for nearly forty years, and kept a small shop in what is now Winthrop Square. But the plumb-cake stuck in the throats of the Corporation, who, in 1727, voted that "if any who now doe, or hereafter shall, stand for their degrees, presume to do anything contrary to the Act of 11th June, 1722, or go about to evade it by plain cake, they shall not be admitted to their degree, and if any, after they have received their degree, shall presume to make any forbidden provisions, their names shall be left or rased out of the Catalogue of the Graduates."

In 1725 the inauguration of President Wadsworth fell upon Commencement day. There was, as had been usual on such occasions, says Quincy, a procession "from the College to the meeting-house. The Bachelors of Art walked first, two in a rank, and then the Masters, all bareheaded; then followed Mr. Wadsworth alone as President; next the Corporation and Tutors, two in a rank; then the Honorable Lieutenant-Governor Dummer and Council, and next to them the rest of the gentlemen. After prayer by the Rev. Mr. Colman, the Governor, on delivering the keys, seal and records of the College, to the President-elect, as badges of authority, addressed him in English, investing him with the government thereof, to which the President made a reply, also in English, after which he went up into the pulpit and pronounced *memoriter* a Latin oration; and afterwards presided during the usual exercises." The earlier Commencements had been held in the College Hall, but from this time on they were held in the first meeting-house; afterwards, from 1758 to 1833, in the old First Parish Church; then in the present First Parish Church (1834–72) then in Appleton Chapel (1873–75) and in Sanders Theatre since 1875.

As the Province grew during the 18th century, Commencement became more and more of a popular celebration; and, although the means of communication were few and roundabout, it was flocked to by graduates and sight-seers from all parts of Massachusetts. Ladies in high coiffures and bell-shaped hoops drove out from Boston in their coaches. Ministers, magistrates and merchants came on horseback or in wagons. On no other occasion could you then have seen so large an assemblage of the wealth, learning and dignity of the Province. There was the Governor, with his Council and military escort and members of the General Court to represent the State; there were the most edifying professors and clergymen, who could preach or pray by the hour in one living and three dead languages, to represent the Church; there were the friends and families of the students to represent the best society of the Province. The towns-people of Cambridge were all there; and a nondescript crowd of the idle or the curious. The exercises in the Chapel were sober enough, propped as they were by theology; but in the afternoon and evening punch and flip rose into the heads which had been filled with Greek and Hebrew in the morning, and there were disgraceful scenes.

The Corporation, awakening to the scandal, voted, in 1727, that "Commencements for time to come be more private than has been usual; and, in order to this, that the time for them be not fixed to the first Wednesday in July, as formerly, but that the particular day should be determined upon from time to time by the Corporation, and that the Honorable and Reverend Board of Overseers be seasonably acquainted of the said day, and be desired to honor the solemnity with their presence." The next year the Governor directed the Sheriff of Middlesex to prohibit the setting up of booths and tents on the land adjoining the College; and in 1733 the Corporation and three Justices of the Peace in Cambridge concerted measures for keeping order, by establishing "a constable with six men, who, by watching and walking towards evening on these days, and also the night following, and in and about the entry to the College Hall at dinner-time, should prevent disorders." Friday was fixed upon for the

Commencement exercises, but so great was the outcry—both against the day (which came too near Sunday) and against the attempt at privacy—that, in 1736 Wednesday and publicity were returned to. In 1749 two gentlemen whose sons were about to be graduated offered the College £1000 if "a trial was made of Commencement this year in a more private manner." The Corporation, mindful of the lack of funds, were for acquiescing, but the Overseers would consent to no breach in the old custom. The Corporation, therefore, had to content themselves by recommending to parents that, "considering the awful judgments of God upon this land, they retrench Commencement expenses, so as may best correspond with the frowne of Divine Providence, and that they take effectual care to have their sons' chambers cleared of company, and their entertainments finished on the evening of said Commencement day, or, at furthest, by next morning." In 1759 it was voted that "it shall be no offense if any scholar shall, at Commencement, make and entertain guests at his chamber with punch;" in June, 1761, it was deemed no offense for scholars in a sober manner, to "entertain one another and strangers with punch, which, as it is now usually made, is no intoxicating liquor." In 1760 all unnecessary expenses, and dancing in the Hall or other College building during Commencement week, were forbidden. Once (in 1768) the date was changed because a great eclipse of the sun occurred. In 1764, on account of small-pox, and from 1775 to 1781, on account of the war, Commencements were omitted. In 1738 the questions maintained by three candidates for the Master's degree sounded Arian in the ears of the orthodox, and, in 1760, it was the President's duty to assure himself that all the parts to be delivered were orthodox and seemly, and he was enjoined "to put an end to the practice of addressing the female sex." The post-Revolutionary celebrations soon surpassed any that had gone before, both in the number of the attendants and in the merrymaking. The art of brewing intoxicating punch was rediscovered. The banks and Custom-House in Boston were closed on this day; the new bridge shortened the journey to Cambridge. Few, even among the rich, then had summer places along the shore or in the country, so that, although the Harvard holiday came at the end of August, "all the élites"—to use an expression of Dr. John Pierce—were present. Prohibitions against extravagance in dress on the part of the commencers seem to have been little heeded, for "in 1790 a gentleman afterwards prominently connected with the College, took his degree dressed in coat and breeches of pearl-colored satin, white silk waistcoat and stockings, buckles in his shoes, and his hair elaborately dressed and powdered according to the style of the day."

Until about 1760 the exercises, consisting of "theses and disputations on various logical, grammatical, ethical, physical and metaphysical topics," were conducted in Latin. In 1763 the first oration in English was delivered, and little by little that language predominated. Commencers were entitled to parts according to their rank, the lowest part being a Conference; then followed Essays, Colloquies, Discussions, Disquisitions, Dissertations, and, highest of all, but the last on the programme, Orations—the salutatory in Latin, and two in English.

From the *Diary* of the Rev. John Pierce,[1] who attended every Commencement from 1784 to 1848 (except that of 1791, when he was absent at his mother's funeral), we get valuable information concerning the Commencements of the first half of this century; and I can do no better than to make a few extracts which show the character of the observances from year to year, and the changes that crept in. Dr. Pierce gives the list of all the speakers, with comments on their effusions and many other details, so that I limit myself to quoting what is most important, or amusing: 1803—"The sentiments of Farrar in an English dissertation were well adapted to oppose the rage for novel-reading and plays which is so prevalent, especially in the capital." "At dinner the greatest decorum prevailed." 1806—"The theatrical musick with which the exercises was interspersed was highly disgusting to the more solid part of the audience." 1809—"Instead of dining in the hall as usual, I went with my wife to the house provided by Mr. Parkman, where, it was computed, there were 500 persons who dined in one large tent in the fields. The expense must have been at least $1000." 1810—Exercises four hours long. 1811—"The new President [Kirkland] acquitted himself with great dignity and propriety. His prayers were short. But for style and matter they exceeded all we have been accustomed to hear on such occasions." 1812—"I dined in the hall. The students did not wait as formerly." 1813—An Oration in French was given. 1814—Exercises lasted five hours. Dinner in the new Hall [University] for the first time. 1815—"Fuller excited loud applauses from the notice he took of the deposed imperial despot of France." "The most splendid dinner I ever witnessed on a similar occasion," prepared by Samuel Eliot, Esq. 1818—Oration in Spanish. "There was less disorder, as there were fewer tents on the Common." 1819—"The oldest graduate and clergyman" present "was the Rev. Dr. Marsh, of Weatherfield, Con. (1761). He probably wore the last full-bottomed wig which has been seen at Commencement." 1820—"The Master's oration, by [Caleb] Cushing, was sensible and delivered *ore rotundo*." 1821—"The President was 2½ minutes in his first prayer and 2 in his last." "For the first time since the University was founded no theses were published, no theses collector having been appointed." 1824, August 25—"We were detained from entering the meeting-house from X to XI. 40, by the tardiness of the Governour.

[1] Proceedings of the Mass. Historical Soc., Dec., 1889, Jan., 1890.

At length the cavalcade arrived at University Hall with General La Fayette, who was cordially welcomed by President Kirkland in a neat and peculiarly appropriate address, delivered in the portico, in the hearing of a large and mixed multitude. A procession was then formed, which proceeded to the meeting-house amid continual shouts of assembled throngs. As soon as order was restored, the President made a prayer of 3 minutes. . . A large portion of the speakers made personal allusions to our distinguished guest. In every instance such allusions were followed by loud shouts, huzzas and the clapping of hands. At nearly V we left the meeting-house for the hall, where I dined in company of La Fayette and suite." 1826—"Of Southworth, who defended physical education, it was reported that he was the strongest person in College, having lifted 820 lbs." 1827—Emerson's [Edward B.] oration lasted 36 minutes. 1828—"For the first time for many years, no tents were allowed on the Common." 1829—At dinner "I set the tune, St. Martin's, the 17th time, to the LXXVIII Psalm. Tho I set it without an instrument, yet it was exactly in tune with the instruments which assisted us. I asked the President how much of the psalm we should sing? Judge Story replied, Sing it all. We accordingly, contrary to custom, sang it through, without omitting a single stanza. It was remarked that the singing was never better. But as the company are in 4 different rooms, it will be desirable on future occasions to station a person in each room to receive and communicate the time, so that we may sing all together, or keep time, as musicians express it." 1830—"A prayer by Dr. Ware, of 4 minutes, in which, as Dr. Codman remarked, there was no allusion to the Saviour or his religion." None of the parts "were contemptible; and none electrified the audience, as is sometimes the case." 1831—The psalm "was pitched a little too high." 1833—"The concluding oration of the Bachelors by [Francis] Bowen, was a sober, chaste performance. The manner of his bidding adieu to the old meeting-house, as this was to be the last Commencement observed in it, was particularly touching." 1834—Exercises in the new church, which "is so much larger and more convenient than was the former that all who desired were accommodated." 1835—"By my suggestion, as thanks are commonly returned after dinner, when there is great hilarity, and it is difficult to restore order, the usual psalm, LXXVIII, was substituted." 1836—"Be it noted that this is the first Commencement I ever attended in Cambridge in which I saw not a single person drunk in the hall or out of it. There were the fewest present I ever remember, doubtless on account of the bis-centennial celebration to be observed next week." 1837—"A dissertation by R. H. Dana was on the unique topic, Heaven lies about us in our Infancy. He is a handsome youth and spoke well. But his composition is of that Swedenborgian, Coleridgian and dreamy cast which it requires a peculiar structure of mind to understand, much more to rellish. . . . The speakers were mostly heard. None had a prompter. For the first time they carried their parts rolled up in their left hands. Two or three only were obliged to unrol them to refresh their memories. The concluding oration, for the first time within my memory, contained not only no names, but even no mention of benefactors. . . . Wine was furnished at dinner as well as cider. As honey or molasses attracts flies and other insects, so these inebriating liquors allure graduates addicted to such drinks, particularly the intemperate, to come and drink their fill." 1838—"Notwithstanding the efforts of the friends of temperance, wine was furnished at dinner. There was nevertheless pretty good order in the hall. . .. There was a meeting in the Chapel after dinner, and it was resolved, though with some opposition, to have an annual meeting of alumni." 1840—"No man was allowed to wait upon ladies into the meeting-house for fear he should remain." 1841—The Governor and suite arrived in good season, escorted by an elegant company of Lancers. 1842—First year in which the following notice was published in the order of exercises: "A part at Commencement is assigned to every Senior, who, for general scholarship, is placed in the first half of his class, or who has attained a certain rank in any department of study." "I saw much wine-drinking. When will this 'abomination of desolation' be banished from the halls of Old Harvard? To add to the annoyance of many attendants, cigars were smoked without mercy." 1843.—"The dinner was very soon despatched. Indeed, the Bishops [Doane and Eastburn] and others compared it to a steamboat dinner, on account of the haste in which it was eaten. . . . Wine in abundance was furnished; and though but comparatively few partook of it while the company were together, yet afterwards there was a gathering of wine-bibbers and tobacco-smokers who filled their skins with vinous potations, the hall with a nauseous effluvia, and the air with bacchanalian songs and shouts." Mrs. Quincy, as usual, held a levee at the President's (Wadsworth) House, in the garden of which a brass band "discoursed sweet music." 1844.—Thirty parts assigned; twenty-two performed. "This was the first commencement, probably, . . . in which no exercises were assigned to candidates for the Master's degree." 1845.—"Votaries of Bacchus" less noisy than usual. At Prof. Beck's large and sumptuous entertainment wine was "administered by black servants." 1846.—The dinner was served with only wine and lemonade, for the first time, it is believed. 1847.—Levee at President Everett's. "The band of music in attendance played at my solicitation Tivoli, Marseillais Hymn and Auld Lang Syne." No speeches after dinner, for want of time. 1848.—Twenty-six parts delivered; "all spoke sufficiently loud." "I prefaced my setting the psalm with the remark that as time had not yet beaten me, I should beat time once more, as this practice enables a large company

the better to keep time." Between 1784 and 1848 there were but six rainy Commencements, viz.: 1796, 1798, 1835, 1837, 1845, 1846.

Dr. Pierce's long record ceased just at the time when the character of Commencement was permanently changed. After the middle of this century Class Day drew off the ladies from Commencement, which became more the day of the graduates in which even the Seniors counted for little. Until 1869 the celebration was usually held on the third Wednesday of July; since 1870 it has been held on the last Wednesday in June. In the morning the President, the Governor of Massachusetts, the Faculty and recipients of honorary degrees head a procession composed of Seniors and candidates for higher degrees and proceed, led by a brass band, to Sanders Theatre. The President, Professors and those of the students who are to deliver their parts wear gowns; the other students are in ordinary evening dress. The President sits in the old presidential chair, whose knobs were made, tradition says, by President Holyoke. The distinguished guests, Faculty and speakers occupy the rest of the platform; the candidates for degrees sit below in the orchestra. The balconies are filled by the families and friends of the commencers. The exercises last from two and a half to three hours—most of the orations being in English. Then the President hands the degrees in large bundles to the marshals, who distribute them to the candidates. Meanwhile the graduates have begun to throng the College Yard. Each class holds a reunion in one of the College rooms, where claret and rum punch, lemonade and sandwiches are provided. At one o'clock the Association of the Alumni meets in Harvard Hall. At two a procession is formed, led by the President and guests and followed by the members of the Classes in order of graduation. Graduates of 1832 and earlier are entitled to dinner free; the others pay one dollar each. The procession marches to Memorial Hall, where, after a frugal repast, there is speaking till about five o'clock, when the assembly, having sung the 78th Psalm and "Fair Harvard," breaks up. From ten to four, polls are open in Massachusetts Hall for the election of Overseers, and as soon after four as possible the vote is announced. In the evening the most boisterous of the newly-made graduates sometimes start bonfires or engage in other noisy demonstrations, but of late years even these traditions of an earlier and more turbulent period have been less heartily kept up.

Class Day.—Class Day seems to have originated in the custom of the Seniors choosing one of their members to bid farewell to the College and Faculty in a valedictory address. In 1760 we learn that each man brought a bottle of wine to the meeting, and that then, and also on the day of the celebration itself, there was disorder. The list of Class Day Orators begins in 1776; that of the Poets in 1786. The earliest ceremonies, to quote James Russell Lowell, "seem to have been restricted to an oration in Latin, sandwiched between two prayers by the President, like a criminal between two peace-officers." The 21st of June was the day appointed for Class Day, when the Seniors completed their studies; then followed a vacation, after which they came back in August to take their degrees at Commencement. Gradually, the Class Orators adopted English instead of Latin, an innovation which led the Faculty to vote, in 1803, that, whereas "the introduction of an English exercise, which gives it more the appearance of a public Exhibition designed to display the talents of the Performers and entertain a mixed audience than of a merely valedictory address of the Class to the Government, and taking leave of the Society and of one another, in which Adieu Gentlemen and Ladies from abroad are not particularly interested; And whereas the propriety of having but one Person to be the Organ of the Class . . . on this occasion must be obvious, and as at the same time it is more Academical that the valedictory performance be in Latin than in English, as is the practice in Universities of the most established reputation abroad, and was formerly our own; *Voted*, that the particular kind of Exercise in the Senior Class at the time of their taking leave of the College, Sanctioned by the usage of a Century and a half, be alone adhered to, and consequently that in future no performance but a Valedictory Oration in the Latin language, except music adapted to the occasion, be permitted in the Chapel on the day when the Seniors retire from the Society."

A description of a Class Day a little earlier than this (1793) is given in Robert Treat Paine's *Diary*: "At ten the class walked in procession to the President's, and escorted him, the Professors and Tutors to the Chapel, preceded by the band playing solemn music. The President began with a short prayer. He then read a chapter in the Bible; after this he prayed again; Cutler then delivered his poem. Then the singing club, accompanied by the band, performed Williams' Friendship. This was succeeded by a valedictory Latin Oration by Jackson. We then formed and waited on the Government to the President's, where we were very respectably entertained with wine, etc. We then marched in procession to Jackson's room, where we drank punch. At one we went to Mr. Moore's tavern and partook of an elegant entertainment, which cost 6*s.* 4*d.* a piece. Marching then to Cutler's room, we shook hands and parted with expressing the sincerest tokens of friendship."

The Faculty were unable to enforce their restriction as to Latin, although for several years (1803–8) no Poets or Orators are recorded; then the performances went on pretty regularly in English, and were concluded by a dance (of the Seniors only) round the Rebellion Tree. By 1834 the Seniors had begun to entertain their friends with iced punch,

"brought in buckets from Willard's Tavern (now the Horse Railway Station), and served out in the shade on the northern side of Harvard Hall." This practice led to drunkenness and disturbances, and finally, in 1838, President Quincy encouraged the conversion of Class Day into the respectable celebration which it has since been. Not only the Faculty and a few residents of Cambridge, but the friends of the Seniors from far and wide, were invited to the exercises; ladies, young and old, attended the "spreads"—or entertainments—provided by the Seniors, and, with the introduction of the gentler sex, the performances became gentle. In 1850, after the exercises in the Chapel, the class, accompanied by friends and guests, withdrew to Harvard Hall, where there was a rich collation. "After an interval of from one to two hours," writes a recorder at that date, "the dancing commences in the Yard. Cotillions and the easier dances are here performed, but the sport closes in the Hall with the Polka and other fashionable steps. The Seniors again form, and make the circuit of the buildings, great and small. They then assemble under the Liberty Tree, around which, with hands joined, they dance, after singing the students' adopted song, 'Auld Lang Syne.' At parting each member takes a sprig or a flower from the beautiful 'Wreath' which surrounds the 'farewell tree,' which is sacredly treasured as a last memento of college scenes and enjoyments." [1]

Others officers, besides the Orator and Poet, were, from time to time, added; there are now three Marshals, chosen for their popularity or for athletic prowess; a Chorister, who writes the music for the Class Song, and conducts the singing at the Tree; an Odist, who composes an ode to be sung to the tune of "Fair Harvard," at the morning exercises; and an Ivy Orator. The last officer is expected to deliver a humorous composition, in which he hits off, in merry fashion, the history of the Class, not sparing his classmates nor the Faculty. Forty years ago it was the custom to plant an ivy when a President went out of office; then each Class planted its ivy on Class Day, and listened to the Orator. But the ivy never grew; so the oration was no longer delivered in the open air under the shadow of Boylston, but in the Chapel, and now in Sanders Theatre. The Seniors also choose a Secretary (who publishes, from time to time, a Class Report), a Class Committee, a Class Day Committee, and (recently) a Photograph Committee. A Hymnist and a Chaplain are no longer chosen.

Class Day has come to be the gala day of Cambridge. The "spreads" and "teas" have become more and more elaborate. Every Senior who can afford it takes this opportunity of entertaining his friends, and of paying off social debts. In his evening dress and silk hat he is, from morning till midnight, a person of greater importance than, presumably, he will ever be again. And on no other occasion in these parts can there be seen so many pretty faces and dresses, so many proud parents, and so much genuine merriment. The literary exercises in the forenoon are followed by the spreads, at some of which there is dancing; then by the exercises at the Tree, with the final struggle for the wreath, and then by teas and dancing throughout the evening. When darkness comes the Yard is illuminated by festoons of Japanese lanterns; the Glee Club sings in front of Holworthy; and then, at ten o'clock, a pyrotechnic piece, in which the number of the class is interwoven, is set off; but it is still some time before the last visitors turn towards home, and the Seniors, wearied out with excitement, drop into bed.

On the lists of Class Day Orators and Poets are found the names of many men who distinguished themselves in later life, and so justified their classmates' choice. For instance, among the orators are H. G. Otis, 1783; H. Ware, 1785; J. C. Warren, 1797; J. Walker, 1814; E. S. Gannett, 1820; F. J. Child, 1846; and Henry Adams, 1858. Among the Poets are J. Storey, 1798; W. Allston, 1800; J. G. Palfrey, 1815; G. Bancroft, 1817; W. H. Furness, 1820; R. W. Emerson, 1821; G. Lunt, 1824; F. H. Hedge, 1825; C. C. Felton, 1827; O. W. Holmes, 1829; J. R. Lowell, 1838; and E. E. Hale, 1839. The old custom of giving a jack-knife to the ugliest man in the Senior Class was abandoned when classes became so large that either there was less intimacy among their members, or it was impossible to agree upon the person to be thus distinguished; but each class still presents a cradle to the first child born of a member of the Class. The class of 1877, owing to internal dissensions, failed to elect Class Day officers, except a secretary.

DRESS.—I have come upon no description of the dress of the students during the 17th century. Probably there were no restrictions. But, by the middle of the last century, some of the students were so extravagant in their garb as to call out the following vote from the Overseers (October, 1754): "It appearing to the Overseers, that the costly habits of many of the scholars, during their residence at the College, as also of the candidates for their degrees on Commencement days, is not only an unnecessary expense, and tends to discourage persons from giving their children a College education, but is also inconsistent with the gravity and demeanor proper to be observed in this Society, it is therefore recommended to the Corporation to prepare a law, requiring that on no occasion any of the scholars wear any gold or silver lace, or any gold or silver brocades in the College or town of Cambridge; and that, on Commencement days, every candidate for his degree appear in black, or dark blue, or gray clothes; and that no one wear any silk night-gowns; and that any candidate who shall appear dressed contrary to such regulations may not expect his degree." Gowns were

[1] College Words and Customs.

introduced about 1760, but, after the Revolution, the prescription of 1754 seems to have been unobserved, for, in 1786, another sumptuary law was established, prescribing a distinct uniform for each of the classes. "All the Undergraduates shall be clothed in coats of blue gray, and with waistcoats and breeches of the same color, or of a black, or nankeen, or an olive color. The coats of the Freshmen shall have plain button-holes. The cuffs shall be without buttons. The coats of the Sophomores shall have plain button-holes, like those of the Freshmen, but the cuffs shall have buttons. The coats of the Juniors shall have cheap frogs to the button-holes, except the button-holes of the cuffs. The coats of the Seniors shall have frogs to the button-holes of the cuffs. The buttons upon the coats of all the classes shall be as near the color of the coats as they can be procured, or of a black color. And no student shall appear within the limits of the College, or town of Cambridge, in any other dress than in the uniform belonging to his respective class, unless he shall have on a night-gown or such an outside garment as may be necessary over a coat, except only that the Seniors and Juniors are permitted to wear black gowns, and it is recommended that they appear in them on all public occasions. Nor shall any part of their garments be of silk; nor shall they wear gold or silver lace, cord, or edging upon their hats, waistcoats, or any other parts of their clothing. And whosoever shall violate these regulations shall be fined a sum not exceeding ten shillings for each offence."[1]

The students rebelled against this prescription, and, in 1798, the rules about frogs and button-holes were abrogated, but the blue-gray or dark-blue coat was still prescribed. Three-cornered cocked hats were then in fashion; the hair "was worn in a queue, bound with a black ribbon, and reached to the small of the back." Ear-locks were subjected to curling-tongs and crimping-iron. Lawn or cambric furnished ruffles for the shirt bosom. The shoes were pointed, and turned upward at the end, "like the curve of a skate." Buckles for the knees and shoes, a shining stock for the throat, a double-breasted coat, waistcoat and breeches, completed the toilette of the student at the close of the last century.

Again, in 1822, the Faculty tried to regulate the dress of the undergraduate, and passed the following ordinance, which was not formally abolished for many years; "Coat of black mixed (called also Oxford mixed, black with a mixture of not more than one-twentieth, nor less than one twenty-fifth part of white), single breasted, with a rolling cape, square at the end, and with pocket-flaps, the waist reaching to the natural waist, with lappels of the same length; with three crow's-feet made of black silk cord on the lower part of the sleeve of the coat of a Senior, two on that of a Junior, and one on that of a Sophomore. Waistcoat, of black-mixed or of black, or, when of cotton or linen fabric, of white; single-breasted, with a standing collar. Pantaloons, of black-mixed, or of black bombazet, or, when of cotton or linen fabric of white. Surtout or great-coat, of black-mixed, with not more than two capes; or an outer garment of camlet or plaid. The buttons of the above dress must be flat, covered with the same cloth as that of the garment; not more than eight nor less than six on the front of the coat, and four behind. A surtout, or outside garment, is not to be substituted for the coat; but the Students are permitted to wear black gowns, in which they may appear on all public occasions. A night-gown of cotton, or linen, or silk fabric, made in the usual form, or in that of a frock-coat, may be worn, except on the Sabbath and on Exhibition or other occasions when an undress would be improper. Neckcloth, plain black, or plain white. Hat of the common form and black; or a cap, of an approved form. Shoes and boots black." This costume was to be worn, moreover, in vacation as well as in term-time, under penalty of dismission. In the catalogue of 1825 the following prices are given: "coat, $15 to $25; pantaloons, $4 to $8; vest, $3 to $5; outside coat, $15 to $25."

In the catalogue for 1849 the requirements for dress are stated thus: "On Sabbath, Exhibition, Examination and Commencement Days, and on all other public occasions, each student in public shall wear a black coat, with buttons of the same color, and a black hat or cap." But with the increase of students, the difficulty of examining the color of their buttons also increased; moreover, academic sentiment tended toward freedom in this as in other matters, so that, although the sumptuary laws still remained in the College "Bible," they were less frequently enforced, and from about 1860 we hear no more of them. Students now dress as they please; the force of custom suffices to bring the Seniors out in evening dress and silk hats on Class Day and Commencement; and since custom of late years has sanctioned the wearing of tennis suits to college exercises, the last vestige of uniformity and soberness in dress has vanished.

College Societies.—College societies have played so large a part in undergraduate life during the present century that we are curious to know what societies there were at Harvard two centuries ago. I have found, unfortunately, no mention of clubs or societies in early times. About the middle of the 18th century the Faculty took particular pains to improve the declamation of the students; and this seems to have led to the formation of speaking clubs; for in the entertaining *Diary* of Nathaniel Ames (Class of 1761) there are several memoranda of plays, such as "The Roman Father," Addison's "Cato," "The Revenge," and "The Orphan,"—performed by the students in their rooms. Under date of Nov. 13, 1758,

[1] Laws of 1790.

Ames says "Calabogus Club begun;" Dec. 9, "went [to] Whitfield club [at] Hooper's cham[ber];" Dec. 31, "Club at my chamber;" May 5, 1759, "Joyn'd the Tea Club;" Oct. 19, "Joyn'd a new Club." What the proceedings of these societies were we can only conjecture. Not until 1770 do we come to an association which still exists. This, the "Institute of 1770," was originally a Speaking Club, founded by Samuel Phillips, John Warren and other Seniors in the Class of 1771. No member was allowed to speak in Latin without special leave from the President. The orators spoke on a stage four feet in diameter, two feet high, "with the front Corners clipt," and they chose such subjects as "The Odiousness of Envy," and "The Pernicious Habit of Drinking Tea." In 1773 this Club united with the "Mercurian Club," founded two years before by Fisher Ames. In 1801 it called itself "The Patriotic Association," and, later, "The Social Fraternity of 1770." In 1825, two more rivals, "The Hermetick Society" and the "Ἀκριβολογούμενοι" coalesced with it, under the name of the "Institute." It passed from the Seniors to the Juniors, and at last to the Sophomores, who elect in May every year ten Freshmen; these, at the beginning of their Sophomore year, elect the rest of the members of their Class. The "Institute" kept up its literary exercises until about fifteen years ago, when it became merely the mask behind which the Δ.K.E., a secret society, hid itself. The first four or five "tens" were members of the Δ.K.E.; the others had the empty honor of calling themselves members of the "Institute." The Δ.K.E.; is now the most harmful society in the College; its regular meetings resemble the *Kneipe* of German students; its neophytes are subjected to silly and sometimes injurious hazing, under the guise of initiation; its members give three theatrical performances each year. Some of the most prominent members of the Class of 1883, finding that they could not reform the Δ. K.E., resigned from it in a body.

The Harvard Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa was founded in 1779. In its origin it was a secret society, devoted to the encouragement of literary exercises. Its members were Seniors and Juniors. In 1831 the veil of secrecy was withdrawn, and the mystic letters Φ.B.K. were found to stand for Φιλοσοφία Βίομ Κυβερνήτης, —"Philosophy the guide of life." Its members were chosen according to their rank in scholarship; rarely, besides the first twenty-five, a man of lower grade was admitted. The active work of the Society ceased long ago; but it holds a meeting annually on the day after Commencement, at which graduate and undergraduate members attend, to listen to an oration and a poem by men of distinction chosen for the occasion. Honorary membership is coveted by those who failed while in College to secure the rank required for election, but who since graduation have distinguished themselves.

The "Hasty Pudding Club" is the most characteristic and famous of all the Harvard Societies. It was founded in 1795 by members of the Junior Class, among whom were Horace Binney and John Collins Warren. Its aims were to "cherish the feelings of friendship and patriotism." At its weekly meetings two members in turn provided a pot of hasty pudding. Besides the regular debates and essays, there was given a public performance every Spring, at which an oration and poem were delivered. About 1845 the custom of performing a farce originated; this has gradually been extended until now there are three theatrical performances each year—one before Christmas, one before the Fast Day recess, and one, "Strawberry Night," just before Class Day. For many years past the "Pudding" troupe have repeated their performances in Boston and New York for the benefit of the University Boat Club. Up to 1849 the meetings were held in the rooms of the members; then, the College allowed the Society to use Stoughton 29, to which three other rooms were subsequently added. But, owing to a fire in 1876, which broke out in the Pi Eta rooms in Hollis, the Faculty removed the Club to the wooden Society Building on Holmes Field. This was so far away that the meetings were poorly attended, and the Class of 1880 hired supplementary rooms on Brattle Street. That Class also raised a subscription among its members for a new building; the Class of 1881 took the scheme up, laid it before the graduates, formed committees for collecting funds, and so pushed the project that in 1888 a large new club-house, containing a library, meeting-rooms and theatre, was dedicated on Holyoke Street. Formerly, the Seniors chose eight Juniors who in turn elected the members from their class. To be on the "first eight" was deemed a sign of great popularity. But with the increase in membership this old scheme, which engendered much wrangling, has been given up; the members are elected in larger squads, and their names are arranged alphabetically. The Class of 1881 also abolished the old initiation,—running in the Yard, going to bed at sunset, writing mock-essays, and the bath in the meal-tub,—childish performances which no longer suited the times. The "Pudding" is now the largest social organization in the College; its secrecy has been abandoned, and it ought in the future, if properly directed, to be not only the best exponent of undergraduate opinions, but also a strong means of fostering the interest of the graduates in undergraduate affairs.

The "Medical Faculty" held an unique place among Harvard societies, and so deserves to be recorded. It was founded in 1818, its object being "mere fun." Its early meeting were held in the rooms of the members. "The room was made as dark as possible and brilliantly lighted. The Faculty sat round a long table, in some singular and antique costume almost all in large wigs, and breeches with knee-buckles. This practice was adopted to make a strong impression on students who were invited in for examination. Members were always examined for ad-

mission. The strangest questions were asked by the venerable board, and often strange answers elicited,—no matter how remote from the purpose, provided there was wit or drollery. . . Burlesque lectures on all conceivable and inconceivable subjects were frequently read or improvised by members *ad libitum*. I remember something of a remarkable one from Dr. Alden (H. U. 1821), upon part of a skeleton of a superannuated horse, which he made to do duty for the remains of a great German Professor with an unspeakable name. Degrees were conferred upon all the members, M.D. or D.M. (Doctor of Medicine or Student of Medicine) according to their rank. Honorary degrees were liberally conferred upon conspicuous persons at home and abroad."[1] A member of the Class of 1828 writes: "I passed so good an examination that I was made *Professor longis extremitatibus*, or Professor with long shanks. It was a society for purposes of mere fun and burlesque, meeting secretly, and always foiling the government in their attempts to break it up."[1] It printed Triennial Catalogues travestying those of the College. The doggerel Latin of the prefaces to these has been aptly called "piggish." The catalogue of 1830, after stating that "this is the most ancient, the most extensive, the most learned, and the most divine" of societies, adds: "The obelisks of Egypt contain in hieroglyphic characters many secrets of our Faculty. The Chinese Wall, and the Colossus at Rhodes were erected by our ancestors in sport. . . . It appears that the Society of Free Masons was founded by eleven disciples of the Medical Faculty expelled in A.D. 1425. Therefore we have always been Antimason. . . . Satan himself has learned many particulars from our Senate in regard to the administration of affairs and the means of torture. . . . 'Placid Death' alone is co-eval with this Society, and resembles it, for in its own Catalogue it equalizes rich and poor, great and small, white and black, old and young." From the Catalogue of 1833 we learn that, "our library contains quite a number of books; among others ten thousand obtained through the munificence and liberality of great Societies in the almost unknown regions of Kamtschatka and the North Pole, and especially through the munificence of the Emperor of all the Russias. It has become so immense that, at the request of the Librarian, the Faculty have prohibited any further donations. In the next session of the General Court of Massachusetts, the Senate of the Faculty (assisted by the President of Harvard University) will petition for 40,000 sesterces, for the purpose of erecting a large building to contain the immense accumulation of books. From the well-known liberality of the Legislature, no doubts are felt of obtaining it." Among the honorary degrees conferred was one on Alexander I of Russia, who, not understanding the joke, sent in recognition a valuable case of surgical instruments, which went by mistake to the real Medical School. Chang and Heng, the Siamese Twins, Sam Patch, Day and Martin, and Martin Van Buren were also among the honorary members. The "Medical Faculty," was suppressed by the College Government in 1834, but it was subsequently revived; but its proceedings have been kept so secret for so many years past that only on Class Day are even the names of the Seniors who belong to it known, from their wearing a black rosette with a skull and bones in silver upon it.

Only one other society which was organized in the last century still exists: the Porcellian or Pig Club, founded in 1791 for social purposes, and united, in 1831, with the Knights of the Square Table. It still maintains the secret initiation, but is otherwise a convivial organization, having a small membership, and consequently heavy dues. The Club is now (1890) erecting a large club-house on the site of the rooms which it has occupied for many years.

Of other societies which once were famous and have long since been dissolved, mention should be made of the Navy Club (1796–1846), whose flagship consisted of a marquee "moored in the woods near the place where the house of the Honorable J. G. Palfrey now stands;" and of the Harvard Washington Corps, (1811–34), a military company whose parades and feasts were notorious. Then there was the Engine Society, which managed the fire-engine presented to the College by the Legislature after the burning of Harvard Hall; it used to attend the fires in Cambridge and the neighboring towns, the firemen staying themselves with rum and molasses—"black-strap"—and was forcibly disbanded in 1822, after it had flooded the room of the College Regent. About 1830 a passion for secret societies swept through the American Colleges, and Harvard had its chapters of many Greek Letter Societies, which flourished until the advent of the Class of 1859, when they were abolished by the Faculty. At that period there also existed a lodge of mock Free Masons. The tendency during the past generation has been in an opposite direction. Of late the old Greek Letter organizations have been revised, but as social clubs, and secrecy—so attractive to the juvenile imagination—is now held in less esteem. Five of these social clubs now have houses of their own,—the Porcellian, the A. D., the Alpha Delta Phi, the Zeta Psi and the Delta Phi. The O. K., founded in 1859, is literary and holds fortnightly meetings in the rooms of its members. The Pi Eta (1860) and the Signet (1870) are Senior Societies which draw their members from those who do not belong to the Hasty Pudding. The introduction and expansion of the Elective System have greatly modified the social aspects of the College, by obliterating the distinction between class and class, and it is evident that this modification will increase rather than diminish.

In the past, societies founded for literary or intel-

[1] "College Words and Customs," 1850, pp. 199, 200.

lectual purposes almost universally became transformed into social organizations, where conviviality and good fellowship were the prime requisites. But of late there have sprung up societies composed of men who are interested in the same work, and who discuss their favorite topics at their meetings. Such societies are the Classical Club (1885); La Conference Française (1886); the Deutscher Verein (1886); the Harvard Natural History Society (1837); the Boylston Chemical Club (1887); the Electrical Club (1888); the Historical Society (1880); the Finance Club (1878); the Free Wool Club (1889); the Philosophical Club (1878); the Art Club (1873); the English Club (1889); and the Camera Club (1888). The religious organizations are the Society of Christian Brethren (1802); the St. Paul's Society (1861); and the Total Abstinence League (1888). The Pierian Sodality, or College orchestra, was founded in 1808; the Glee Club in 1858. The Harvard Union, the College debating club, was founded in 1880. There are also a Chess Club, and organizations of members from the chief preparatory schools (Andover and Exeter), and of students from the Southern States, from Minnesota and Connecticut. Many of the literary clubs give public lectures, and the musical societies give concerts during the winter and spring months.

HARVARD JOURNALISM.—Harvard journalism has not, on the whole, taken so high a rank as might be desired; it has not, for example, kept the plane which the students' publications of Oxford and Cambridge have held. And yet undergraduates have, from time to time, been connected with the Harvard journals who have later achieved a reputation in literature. The first paper published was the *Harvard Lyceum*, July 14, 1810; among its editors were Edward Everett and Samuel Gilman, author of "Fair Harvard." It expired in 1811, after eighteen numbers had appeared. The *Harvard Register*, an octavo of thirty-two pages, was issued in March, 1827, but died from lack of support in February, 1828, although George S. Hillard, R. C. Winthrop, C. C. Felton and E. H. Hedge were on its editorial board. *The Collegian*, starting in February, 1830, ran out after six numbers. O. W. Holmes was one of its contributors, and furnished several pieces which have since been republished in his collected works. *Harvardiana* had a longer life (September, 1835–June, 1838), and had J. R. Lowell as one of its editors. The next venture, *The Harvard Magazine*, was launched in December, 1854, and, although sometimes on the verge of foundering, floated till July, 1864. Among its originators were F. B. Sanborn, Phillips Brooks and J. B. Greenough. In 1866 appeared a new *Collegian*, but after three numbers it was suppressed by the Faculty. In May, 1866, the *Advocate*, a fortnightly, was issued, and it has had a prosperous career ever since. In 1873 *The Magenta* (whose name was subsequently changed to *The Crimson*) was founded, and ran successfully till 1883, when it was consolidated with the *Daily Herald* (founded in 1882). Previously to the *Herald*, in 1879, *The Echo*, the first College daily, had been started. In 1876 an illustrated fortnightly, *The Lampoon*, was founded, and soon extended its circulation outside of the College, through the clever skits and parodies of Robert Grant, F. J. Stimson and J. T. Wheelwright, and the comic cartoons of F. G. Attwood. Its publication ceased in 1880, but in the following year a new series was begun. *The Harvard Monthly*, more solid in character, was founded in 1885. Moses King, a member of the Class of 1881, published an illustrated monthly, called the *Harvard Register*, from January, 1880, to July, 1881.

SPORTS AND GYMNASTICS.—We have no record of the games and sports in which the students of the 17th century indulged. Freshmen, down to the Revolution, were required to "furnish batts, balls and footballs for the use of the students, to be kept at the Buttery." Drilling with the train-hand was a favorite diversion of our ancestors, and as it seems to have been followed by a good deal of drinking, the Harvard Faculty rarely allowed students to "train." In days when the Freshmen were fags, they, at least, did not lack physical exercise, often of a peculiar kind. In N. Ames' *Diary* we meet such entries as these: "June 26 (1758). President's Grass Mow'd." "July 1, finished the President's hay." Hunting was also to be had in this neighborhood, for the same diarist reports, "Sept. 10 (1759) a Bear seen. Men hunt him." "Sept. 11. Bear kil'd, a dance this evening." "Sept. 26, a Bear kill'd by Brall Bliss & others." There was skating, too, on Fresh Pond. Frequent fights, or rushes, took place between the two lower classes. A writer in the *New England Magazine* (vol. iii, p. 239) describes "a custom, not enjoined by the Government, [which] had been in vogue from time immemorial. That was for the Sophomores to challenge the Freshmen to a wrestling match. If the Sophomores were thrown, the Juniors gave a similar challenge. If these were conquered, the Seniors entered the lists, or treated the victors to as much wine, punch, etc., as they chose to drink. . . . Being disgusted with these customs, we [Class of 1796] held a class-meeting, early in our first quarter, and voted unanimously that we should never send a Freshman on an errand; and, with but one dissenting voice, that we would not challenge the next class that should enter to wrestle." The Harvard Washington Corps, a military company, was established about the year 1769, and from its motto—*Tam Marti quam Mercurio* was called the Marti-Mercurian Band. It flourished nearly twenty years; was revived in 1811, and was finally disbanded in 1834.

The first regular training in gymnastics was given by Dr. Charles Follen, who, about 1830, set up apparatus on the Delta. At that time swimming was the favorite sport, and as the Charles River had not yet been turned into a sewer for Brighton, its waters were

clean. Rowing-parties made their *rendezvous* at Fresh Pond. Colonel Higginson [1] tells of a member of the Class of 1839 who was cited before the Faculty on the charge of owning a ducking-float there, and when he pleaded that it was in no way a *malum prohibitum*, he was told "that no student was allowed to keep a domestic animal except by permission of the Faculty, and that a boat was a domestic animal within the meaning of the statute." Cricket, base-ball and foot-ball, but of old-fashioned, crude varieties, were played at that time. The last "was the first game into which undergraduates were initiated, for on the first evening of his college life the Freshman must take part in the defense of his class against the Sophomores." About 1844, Belcher Kay opened a gymnasium.

Rowing began in earnest in 1844, when the Class of 1846 bought an eight-oared boat, the "Star," which they re-named the "Oneida." "It was 37 feet long, lapstreak built, heavy, quite low in the water, with no shear and with a straight stem." Other boats, the "Huron," the "Halcyon," the "Ariel" and the "Iris," were almost immediately purchased, each belonging to a club. In 1846 a boat-house was built. The races took place among the various college clubs and also with outsiders. On August 3, 1852, the first inter-collegiate race was rowed at Centre Harbor, on Lake Winnipiseogee, between the Harvard "Oneida" and the "Shawmut," of Yale, the former winning by about four lengths over a two-mile course. The next race with Yale, in 1855, on the Connecticut at Springfield, was won by the Harvard "Iris," when short outriggers were used for the first time, and the steering was done by the bow oar (Alexander Agassiz). The next year the first University boat was built at St. John, then the chief rowing town on this side of the Atlantic; and the Harvard crew competed in the usual 4th of July regatta on the Charles River. In 1857 Harvard, having been defeated by Boston clubs, ordered a six-oar shell of Mackay, with which (June 19, 1858) she won the Beacon Cup, and beat a workingmen's crew on July 4th. This year was organized an Inter-collegiate Rowing Association, composed of Harvard, Brown, Yale and Trinity, but, owing to the drowning of the Yale stroke-oar, Dunham, just before the race, the regatta was abandoned. Yale, Brown and Harvard met on Lake Quinsigamond in 1859, and the last won easily, repeating her victory in 1860. Then followed a lull till 1864, when Harvard was beaten by Yale. The annual race between these two colleges took place at Worcester down to and including 1870—Harvard winning seven out of nine times. Sliding seats, used first by Yale in 1870, were adopted by Harvard in 1872; the Ayling oars were introduced from England at Cambridge in 1870, and from time to time improvements were made in the outriggers and row-locks. The most famous of all the races in which Harvard competed was rowed against Oxford, from Putney to Mortlake, four miles and three furlongs, on Aug. 27, 1869. The crews consisted of four men with a coxswain, and Oxford won by six seconds in 22 min. 41½ sec. The college regattas were now revived, and were held at Springfield in 1871–73, and at Saratoga 1874–76. Amherst and Cornell each won twice, and Columbia once. But this system did not commend itself to Harvard and Yale; the number of crews entered (eleven in 1873 and thirteen in 1875) caused many fouls and disputes, and, beginning with 1877, Harvard and Yale agreed to row by themselves. Since 1878 their annual race has been held on the Thames River, at New London, two or three days after Commencement. Harvard has usually rowed a preliminary race with Columbia. In 1874 Robert Cook introduced the "Oxford stroke" at Yale, which was adopted and perfected by W. A. Bancroft (H. U. 1878), the oarsman to whom, more than all others, Harvard owes its aquatic prestige. In order to bring out and train as many oarsmen as possible, the system of "Club crews" was encouraged during the seventies, but these were superseded (1879) by Class crews, which compete every May over the Charles River course. Freshmen races with other colleges—Cornell, Columbia, University of Pennsylvania, &c.—have been kept up. The methods of training have undergone great changes. At first, oarsmen trained for only a few weeks before the race; then, a very severe diet was insisted upon; finally, for the past fifteen years, the training has begun in the autumn and continued throughout the college year, but the food and drink allowed have been more rational. About a fortnight before the race the 'Varsity crew goes to New London where quarters were built for it in 1881, and receives final instruction from a coach. Harvard's great lack, during recent seasons, has been a competent coach. The recently completed Weld Boat-house will, it is hoped, encourage rowing as a pastime for students who do not belong to the 'Varsity or Class crews.

Base-Ball, the second in importance of University sports, is even younger than Rowing. It originated, apparently, in the old game of rounders. Up to 1862 there were two varieties of base-ball—the New York and the Massachusetts game. In the autumn of 1862 George A. Flagg and Frank Wright organized the Base-Ball Club of the Class of '66, adopting the New York rules; and in the following spring the city of Cambridge granted the use of the Common for practice. A challenge was sent to several colleges: Yale replied that they had no club, but hoped soon to have one; but a game was arranged with the Brown sophomores, and played at Providence June 27, 1863. The result was Harvard's first victory. Interest in the game grew rapidly. On July 9, 1864, Harvard encountered the Lowell Club—then the most famous in New England—on the Boston Common, but was defeated. Class nines were organized, and from the

[1] *Harvard Book*, ii, 188.

best of these the 'Varsity nine was made up. For several years the chief contests were between Harvard and the Lowells or the Trimountains, and,—among professionals—the Athletics, of Philadelphia, and the Atlantics, of Brooklyn. In 1868 the first game with Yale was played. From that year until 1871 Harvard had a remarkable nine, of which A. McC. Bush was captain and catcher. In 1869 it made a long tour, playing the strongest clubs in the country, professionals as well as amateurs, and all but defeating the Red Stockings of Cincinnati, then the champions. After Bush and his colleagues left college Harvard was less successful during several years, but under the captaincy of F. W. Thayer, '78, it was again the leading college club. He invented the catcher's mask—an invention which brought about the greatest possible change in the method of play; sacrifice hits, base-stealing and curve-pitching—which was declared an impossibility by instructors in physics—came in at this time, and added to the precision of the game. Since 1878 Harvard, although frequently victorious, has had but one excellent nine, that of 1885, captained by Winslow. The nine trains in the Gymnasium during the winter, and is coached by a professional; but recently the Faculty has forbidden it from playing matches with professionals. The most remarkable game on record was played by the Harvards and Manchesters in 1877; it lasted twenty-four innings, neither club making a run. Games in Cambridge were played on the Delta, until that was chosen as the site of Memorial Hall; then Jarvis Field was converted into a ball-field. About 1876 base-ball and foot-ball were played on Holmes Field; and a little later a cinder fifth-mile track was laid out on Jarvis by the Athletic Association. About seven years ago Holmes Field was regraded, a quarter-mile track was laid and the base-ball diamond fixed there. Jarvis has since then been given up to foot-ball and tennis. In 1889 a large field belonging to the Norton estate was leased for athletic purposes; it is now proposed to reclaim the large tract of marsh land belonging to the College on the further side of the Charles, in order to furnish sufficient space for all possible athletic needs.

Foot-ball, which has lately come to be *par excellence* the autumn sport, was played in desultory fashion up to 1873, when the University Foot-ball Association was organized. The team consisted of fifteen players, and more dependence was placed on individual speed and strength than on concerted play. Gradually, experience suggested improvements, and at Princeton and Yale more than at Harvard the standard of the game was raised. The number of players was reduced to eleven, and in 1880 the Rugby rules were adopted. In 1885 the playing was so rough that the Harvard Faculty refused to allow the Harvard team to compete; but this prohibition was removed the following year. In 1889, however, brutal acts, tricks and "professionalism" again called for a remedy, and Harvard, having withdrawn from the "triangular league" with Princeton and Yale, is now negotiating for the formation of a "dual league" with Yale in foot-ball, base-ball and general athletics, similar to the agreement in rowing.

The Old Gymnasium, built in 1860, sufficed, for a time, for the needs of the students, but with the rapid increase in the membership of the college after 1870, the building became overcrowded, and in 1878 Augustus Hemenway (H. U. 1876) gave the College the new Gymnasium, which, in size and appointments, surpassed any other in the country. The Athletic Association, founded in 1874, has stimulated the growing interest in physical exercise by holding Winter meetings (at which there are sparring, wrestling, fencing, tumbling, jumping, tugs-of-war, etc.) and Spring meetings (at which there are running, leaping and other out-door sports). The best Harvard athletes (since 1876) have competed at the Intercollegiate Games at Mott Haven, where Harvard has stood first nine times, Columbia three times, and Princeton and Yale once each.

Of the other athletic organizations it is unnecessary to speak in detail. Cricket, although venerable, has never been able to compete in popular favor with base-ball. Bicycling was introduced in 1879, almost simultaneously with Lawn Tennis; the latter has perhaps done more than any other sport to improve the general physique of the students. La Crosse, Sparring, Canoeing and Shooting have all their votaries; and the introduction of Polo indicates the increasing number of wealthy students. Under the superintendence of Dr. Dudley A. Sargent, the Director of the Gymnasium, students are examined and assigned the apparatus best adapted to their several needs. Track athletics are also in charge of an assistant. The Faculty, by appointing a Committee to confer with the officers of the various organizations, and to superintend the games, have shown their determination to prevent athleticism from being pushed to a harmful extreme. The problem that confronts them is comparatively new in America, and by no means has a satisfactory solution yet been found. As yet there is not here, what there has long been in England, a large body of gentlemen athletes, who pursue sport for its own sake: our public opinion is determined by professionals who fix the standard and set the pace. College athletes emulate them, to the detriment of the amateur or gentlemanlike spirit which should rule college sports. And since more and more young men go to college for the sake of the excitement and amusement to be had there, or because they excel in athletics, the Faculty have to devise means for curbing the excessive athleticism towards which these tend, while allowing, at the same time full scope for the normal and wholesome exercise of the great majority of industrious students.

IV. CONCLUSION.

It would be a grateful task to record, if space permitted, somewhat of the lives of the many men who, during the past two hundred and fifty years, have co-operated either by gifts or money or by their learning, patience and devotion, to the growth and welfare of Harvard University. No other institution in this country has had so long a life, and to none other have so many of the best efforts of society been devoted age after age. The existence and fostering of the College at all, what are they but proofs that at every period a certain portion of the community have recognized the inestimable benefits that spring from the dissemination of Truth? We cannot too often repeat that buildings and rich foundations do not, of themselves, constitute a University,—that the Truth of which the University should be the oracle can be taught only by wise and true men. And if you look down the list of those who for two centuries and a half have governed and taught at Harvard, you will find no lack of such men. They have differed according to the times in which they lived and worked in their views concerning Truth, but they have been harmonious in their conviction that Truth, and nothing else, should be taught here.

When Harvard was founded, the unexplored forests stretched almost to Cambridge; the early teachers may have kept their flint-locks by their desks, against a sudden sally of the Indians. But in spite of these actual dangers, in spite of the absence of all the higher appliances of education, the seminary grew. It embodied the ideals and hopes not only of this neighborhood, but of the whole New England Colony. We have seen how at first, being the offshoot of a theocratic community, Harvard was bound, on the one hand, by the Church, and, on the other hand, by the State. The Pilgrims who came to Plymouth, the Puritans who settled Boston, did not believe in liberty of conscience; they desired to worship God after their own fashion, and were intolerant of any other worship. And for two generations, as we have seen, they imposed their rigid rules unchallenged on the College. But at the beginning of the 18th century the community was already made up of considerable numbers of non-Calvinists, and among the Calvinists themselves there were degrees of strictness. All through that century there was a conflict between the liberals and the moderates, and, although the former happily prevailed, the Orthodox Church still excluded members of other denominations from taking part in the Government or the instruction of the College. Significant is it that the first conspicuous benefactor of Harvard in the 18th century was a Baptist. Not until 1792 was a layman, James Bowdoin, elected to the Corporation; and, although the election, a dozen year later, of Henry Ware to the chair of Theology plainly indicated the beginning of the end of sectarian control, it was not until 1843 that the Board of Overseers was open to clergymen of any denomination. That year, therefore, is a landmark in the history of Harvard; in that year she was emancipated from bondage to a single sect.

Even longer was her servitude to the State. Colonial and Provincial Governors, their Councils, and the General Court exercised from decade to decade an *ex officio* control over the College. To them the teachers had to look for salaries, and we have seen how often they looked in vain, how many wore themselves out for a mere pittance, and how President after President was hampered and persecuted by the law-makers in Boston. Nor did their condition improve when Massachusetts became an independent Commonwealth; for the State retained its control, but shirked the obligations which that control imposed, and at last cut off all subventions. The College, forced to support itself, and proving that it could do so, demanded that in justice it should govern its own affairs; but, although experience showed how pernicious is the mixing up of education with partisanship, it was not until 1865 that the Legislature at last released its hold. That year is the other great landmark in Harvard's career; it witnessed her emancipation from the State, and the transfer of the conduct of her affairs to those most interested in her prosperity—her alumni.

From restrictions to liberty has been likewise the course of her progress in other things. Once, all studies were prescribed; now each student is free to choose the studies most congenial to his tastes and talents. Restrictions as to worship, dress and diet have all passed away; we read of them now in the old books, with feelings not unlike those aroused by the sight of mediæval instruments of torture at Nuremberg,—they belong to another time; the wonder is that men could have thought them profitable or necessary at any time.

We discern three critical periods in the development of Harvard: first, that covered by the administration of Leverett, when the attempts of the Mather faction were frustrated, the relations between the Corporation and the Overseers were fixed, the old Charter was revived, and the munificence of Hollis and other benefactors strengthened the resources of the College; second, Kirkland's term, when the College was expanded into a University through the creation of departments of Medicine, Law and Divinity, when methods of instruction were reformed, and when more liberal views of religion began to be held, however timidly; third, the present administration of President Eliot, during which, besides marvelous growth in the College and Schools, and besides the erection of many buildings and the creation of new departments, there are to record the recognition of what a university should be, and the endeavor to raise every department to the level of that recognition. At no other period has Harvard had so decisive an influence on the educational standard of the United States as between 1870 and 1890; and henceforth,—freed from the trammels

of Church and State, loosed from the bonds of obsolete methods, with the consciousness of noble work achieved, with equipments and appliances undreamt of even half a century ago, with not merely a struggling colony but a vast nation within reach of her voice,—what may she not achieve as the guardian and imparter of Truth!

CHAPTER V.

CAMBRIDGE—(Continued).

THE DIVINITY SCHOOL OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

BY REV. A. P. PEABODY, D.D.

THERE never was a time when Harvard College was not, or had not, a Divinity School. The training of ministers was the prime purpose of its establishment. For the first quarter of a century more than half of its graduates became ordained ministers and several of the unordained are known to have been preachers. The Hollis Professor of Divinity always had Divinity students under his tuition; while the Professor of Hebrew did what he could to enable every undergraduate to read the Old Testament in its original tongue.

The first movement toward the increase of the teaching power in this department was in 1811, when, by the will and from the estate of Samuel Dexter, an endowment accrued to the College for a Lectureship on Biblical Criticism. Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminster was appointed lecturer, and had delivered a single course of lectures before his death in 1812. Rev. Wm. Ellery Channing succeeded him, holding the office but one year. In 1813 Andrews Norton was chosen Lecturer, and first as Lecturer, then as Professor, gave instruction in the Criticism of the New Testament till 1830. In 1814 the Hollis Professor, the Professor of Hebrew and Mr. Norton received the first regular class of students in Theology,—a class of six, all of them graduates of that year. This class completed its course of study in 1817, and has been followed by an unbroken annual series of classes of virtual graduates in theology, though the academic degree of Bachelor of Divinity was not conferred till 1871.

In 1813 Samuel Parkman, of Boston, gave the College a township in Maine "for the support of a Professor in Theology." After this gift became available for its purpose, it was increased by the donor's son, Rev. Dr. Francis Parkman, and, thus augmented, is the present endowment of the Parkman professorship.

In 1815 the President and Fellows addressed a circular to the friends of the College, representing the need of added funds for theological education. The result was a fund of nearly thirty thousand dollars, and the organization of an active and efficient "Society for promoting Theological Education in Harvard University."

In 1819 the Divinity School was first constituted a distinct department of the University under the charge and tuition of the Hollis Professor, Rev. Henry Ware, Senior, D.D., the Professor of Hebrew, Sidney Willard, and the Dexter Lecturer, who now received the appointment and title of Dexter Professor of Sacred Literature. The immediate management of the Divinity School was placed temporarily under the charge of the Society above named, subject, of course, to the control of the governing Boards of the University. Under the auspices of this Society the present Divinity Hall was erected in 1826. The Society still exists, and is in possession of funds to a considerable amount, the income of which is appropriated in part to the aid of divinity students, in part to other purposes in the interest of the Divinity School.

Since these early endowments of the department of theology, two professorships have been instituted, one dependent for its support on certain property bequeathed to the College by the late Benjamin Bussey, the income of which is, in accordance with his will, divided equally between the Law and the Divinity Schools, and a professorship of Ecclesiastical History, endowed from a fund left by Mr. Winn, of Woburn, in trust for the advancement of liberal views in theology.

Divinity Hall contains a chapel and rooms occupied by students. Several apartments were at first used for the library and for class-rooms. But there has been recently erected a library large enough to contain, with its present 22,000 volumes, the accumulations of a century to come, and having also apartments which are now used as lecture-rooms, and which can be so occupied till the remote time when they shall be required for the reception of books.

The Divinity School has at the present time invested funds to the amount of nearly $400,000, and an annual income of not far from $40,000. Its graduates have numbered about 500, and of late years it has had from thirty to forty names of students on the annual catalogue. There are now actively engaged in the instruction of the school six professors,—one in the department of Theology, one in Ethics, one in the Interpretation of the New Testament, one in Ecclesiastical History, one in Hebrew and the Interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures, and one in Semitic Languages in general and their literature.

The history of the Divinity School should embrace, chief of all, some notice of the men whose services have given it an honored place among the departments of the University. The Hollis Professor of Divinity, under whose virtual presidency the school was organized, was Rev. Henry Ware, D.D., known to the larger public by his controversy with Dr. Woods,

of Andover,—to the members of the University, and especially to his pupils in theology, for learning level with the highest standard of his time, for pre-eminent candor in the statement of opinions other than his own, for equal patience and skill as a teacher, and for personal traits which never failed to win admiration and love. He resigned his active duties in 1840, and the office remained vacant till 1882, when it was filled by Rev. David G. Lyon, Ph.D., the present incumbent, who holds the foremost place among Assyriologists in this country, and who also gives instruction in Hebrew and Arabic. Since Dr. Ware's resignation portions of his work have been performed by the Parkman professors, and more recently by Rev. Charles C. Everett, D.D., and Rev. Francis G. Peabody, D.D., both too well known to need any added testimony to their surpassing ability and merit.

Sidney Willard, Hancock Professor of Hebrew, remained a member of the Theological Faculty till his resignation, in 1831. He was succeeded in 1840 by Rev. George R. Noyes, D.D., the instruction in that department having meanwhile been given by Dr. Palfrey. Dr. Noyes's translations of large portions of the Hebrew Scriptures and of the entire New Testament are enduring monuments of a broad, deep and conscientiously faithful scholarship. He held, together with the professorship of Hebrew, the Dexter Lectureship, and his services in the criticism of the New Testament were so valuable and so valued that, while he lived, there was no thought of relieving him of the double charge, for neither part of which was it easy to find his equal. He was succeeded in 1869 by Rev. Edward J. Young, D.D., an accomplished Hebrew scholar, and on his resignation the place was filled and is still filled by Rev. Crawford H. Toy, D.D., who in his department has, if equals, no superior.

In the criticism of the New Testiment, Professor Norton left in some respects a unique impression on his pupils and readers. He united to the firmest faith in the genuineness and authenticity of the Gospel the most daring and unscrupulous handling of the contents of the Christian Scriptures, rejecting not only what was made doubtful by documentary evidence, but whatever his critical taste judged to be spurious. His interpretations of the sacred text and his opinions with regard to it were so evidently the result of the maturest thought and were so impressively uttered, that it seemed impossible to dissent from them. His great work in defence of the genuineness of the Gospels is, perhaps, the strongest series of arguments ever urged with reference to that subject, and it may be doubted whether more recent discussions have shaken any one of its positions, or impaired the validity of any portion of its reasoning. In his realm he was an autocrat, with willing subjects. Rev. John G. Palfrey, D.D., who succeeded him, differed very widely from him. With equally decided opinions of his own, he was generous and hospitable toward other minds, invited dissent, and encouraged freedom of thought. His most elaborate works were on the Old Testament,—works which represented the advanced scholarship of their time in a department in which adepts of our day have left those of half a century ago very far behind. He resigned in 1839, and the office was merged in that of the Professor of Hebrew till 1872, when it was again filled by Ezra Abbot, D.D., recognized on both sides of the Atlantic as second to no then living scholar in everything appertaining to a scientific knowledge of the New Testament in its original tongue. On his death, in 1884, the office passed, we might say by a necessity which superseded choice, to Rev. Joseph H. Thayer, D.D., who had been Dr. Abbot's most intimate associate in the study of the New Testament, who had recently resigned a similar Professorship at Andover, and who, by works, indispensable for a Biblical scholar, is insuring for himself enduring reputation and the gratitude of coming generations of students and lovers of the New Testament.

The Parkman Professorship was first filled by Henry Ware, Jr., D.D., in 1829, and he assumed his charge under the style of "Professor of Pulpit Eloquence and Pastoral Care,"—a fit title for him, as he had distinguished himself in both those spheres of service during his pastorate, which failing health alone induced him to resign. His most important professional function was the careful and elaborate criticism of the sermons prepared by the students, and beyond this, and far above it, were the effluence and the influence of a soul thoroughly consecrated to Christ and to the ministry of His Gospel. He was succeeded, in 1842, by Rev. Convers Francis, D.D., a man of vast erudition, whose teaching power would have been greater had his learning been less abundant and more thoroughly systematized. He had for his successor, in 1863, Rev. Oliver Stearns, D.D., who had been President of the Meadville Theological School, and who brought and maintained a high reputation as a scholar and teacher. Both of these Professors gave instruction in ethics and in systematic theology. Since Dr. Stearns' resignation, in 1878, the professorship has remained vacant; but its special work has been performed with equal faithfulness and skill, by Professor Francis G. Peabody, for the last two years, with the valuable assistance of Rev. Edward Hale.

In Ecclesiastical History, Rev. Frederic H. Hedge, D.D., filled, with characteristic ability, an unendowed and scantily paid professorship from 1857 to 1876, during the first fifteen years of this period having been pastor of a church in Brookline, and for the last four Professor of German in the College. In 1882 Ephraim Emerton, Ph.D., was appointed Winn Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and has given ample proof of his fitness, as a scholar and a teacher, for a chair of so high educational importance in the training of Christian ministers.

CHAPTER VI.

CAMBRIDGE—(Continued.)

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

BY PROF. BENJ. F. TWEED, A. M.

At a session of the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England, commenced on the 14th of June, 1642, the Court, taking into consideration the great neglect in many parents and masters in training up their children in learning, ordered and decreed:—

"That in every town the chosen men appointed for managing the prudential affairs of the same, shall henceforth stand charged with the care of the redress of this evil; and for this end they shall have power to take account from time to time of the parents and masters and of their children, concerning their calling and employment of their children, especially of their ability to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country, and to impose fines upon all those who refuse to render such account to them when required; and they shall have power to put forth apprentices, the children of such as they shall find not to be able and fit to employ, and bring them up." (Mass. Coll. Record, Vol. ii. 6-9.) This is a plain assumption on the part of the General Court of the right and duty of the State to see that every child should receive an elementary education, three things being specified, ability to read, and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country.

In 1647 an ordinance was passed "that every township in this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town, to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and reade, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in generall by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the towne shall appoint, Provided, those that send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught in other towns:—and it is further ordered that when any towne shall increase to the number of 100 families or householders, they shall set up a Grammar School, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so farr as they may be fitted for the University; Provided, that if any towne neglect the performance thereof above one yeare, every such town shall pay 5*s* to the next schoole till they shall perform this order." (Mass. Coll. Rec. Vol. ii. 203). It will be seen by these quotations from the Records, that the General Court of the Colony imposed duties upon the several towns regarding the care of children, and especially their training in learning, before any definite ordinance was passed providing for the establishment and maintenance of schools. These ordinances of the General Court may be regarded as indicating the principles upon which our system of public schools has been reared. The same principles, whether as embodied in the legislation or in the measures adopted by the towns, were recognized. For many years there seems to have been no distinct division of the responsibilities of the Colony and of the several towns; so that we find even the compensation of Grammar School teachers provided for partly by appropriations by the Colony and partly by the towns, and partly by tuition fees. This introduction seems necessary to a perfect understanding of the town records.

The first notice we have of a school, other than the College in Cambridge, is contained in a Tract published in London, in 1643, in which the writer says that there is "By the side of the College a faire grammar schoole, for the training up of young schollars, and fitting them for Academicall Learning, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the College; of this schoole Master Corlet is the Mr., who has well approved himself for his abilities, dexterity and painfulness in teaching and education of the youth under him." "The precise date," says Dr. Paige, "when the Grammar School in Cambridge was established does not appear; but before 1643 Mr. Corlet had taught sufficiently long to have acquired a high reputation for skill and faithfulness." Dr. Hildreth (I know not on what authority) places the establishment of the school probably at 1636–37.

This school, it will be seen, was not established to meet any requirement of the General Court, as it was not till 1647 that the ordinance was passed requiring such schools.

At this date Cambridge probably contained the number of families requisite for the maintenance of a Grammar School, and Mr. Corlet's school seems to have answered the requirement for Cambridge.

In 1648 "It was agreed, at a meeting of the whole Towne that there should be land sold of the Common, for the gratifying of Mr. Corlet for his pains in keeping school in the Towne, the sum of ten pounds, if it can be obtained; provided it shall not prejudice the Cow-Common."

This may be regarded as a semi-adoption of the school by the town, though in this, as in subsequent grants, it seems rather as a gift than a salary.

Again in 1654, "The Town consented that twenty pounds should be levied upon the several inhabitants, and given to Mr. Corlet for his present encouragement, to continue with us." The General Court, also, in 1659, granted Mr. Corlet 200 acres of land.

In 1662 the town made an order "to grant Mr. Corlet, in consideration of the fewness of his scholars, ten pounds, to be paid to him out of the public stock of the town." Also in 1664,—"Voted that Mr. Elijah Corlet be paid out of the town rate annually twenty pounds so long as he continue to be schoolmaster in this place."

This seems to be a full adoption of the school by

the town; but yet, "In answer to the petition of Mr. Corlet, the Court having considered of the petition, and being informed the petitioner to be very poor, grant him 500 acres of land where he can find it according to law."

In 1680 an official answer of the town to certain questions proposed by the County Court, says: "Our Latin School Master is Mr. Elijah Corlitt; his scholars are in number, nine at present." This is the first official recognition of the school. "Under all these discouragements," says Dr. Paige, "the veteran teacher seems to have persevered bravely up to the close of his life, for there is no evidence that a successor was elected till after his death."

In 1690 "The selection, on behalf of the town, called John Hancock to keep school for the town, to teach both Grammar and English, with writing and cyphering."

In 1691 the salary was fixed at £12, and in 1692 it was raised to £20.

This is the first time that the term *salary* is used in the records, as applied to the school-master. "Besides the Grammar school," says Dr. Paige, "others of a lower grade were established, but their scanty patronage affords slight grounds for boasting. In March, 1680, it was certified that Master Corlett had only nine scholars, and it was added, 'For English our schooldame is goodwife Healy,' at present but nine scholars. Edward Hall, English schoolmaster, at present but three scholars."

In 1692 the town granted to the Menotomie (now Arlington) people a quarter of an acre of land for the accommodation of a school-house, "so long as it was improved for that use and no longer." It does not appear, however, that the town provided for the building of the house or the support of the school.

In 1728 the town granted an allowance of "twenty-four pounds towards the promoting of schools in the Wings of the town," (Arlington and Brighton); and the same appropriation was made for several successive years, the money to be divided equally.

The first School Committee, consisting of Hon. Francis Foxcroft, Samuel Danforth, Esq., Wm. Brattle, Esq., and Edward Trowbridge, Esq., was elected in 1744, "to inspect the Grammar Schools, and to inquire (at such time as they shall think meet) what proficiency the youth and children make in their learning."

This committee seems to have been elected for an indefinite time, as no other notice of a School Committee is recorded for many years; nor does it seem to have performed other than the specific duties of inspecting the Grammar School. Teachers were still elected by the selectmen.

Again in 1761, "it was voted that Samuel Danforth, John Winthrop, Esq., Dea. Samuel Whittemore, together with the selectmen, be authorized to make such regulations for the ordering and the governing of the Grammar School as they shall judge expedient and to cause them to be duly observed and put into execution."

But notwithstanding the previous choice of a School Committee, and the appointment of another committee to make regulations for the ordering and governing of the Grammar School, the selectmen are desired, the next year, to provide a Grammar School master.

In 1766 the inhabitants of the Northwest Precinct, and those on the south side of Charles River (who have up to this time received specific sums voted by the town), are allowed to draw their full and just proportion of the money granted for schooling according to their Province tax.

Another advance towards a School Committee with full powers was made in 1770, when "it was voted that a committee of nine persons be and hereby are fully empowered to choose a Grammar School Master: the Hon. Judge Danforth, Judge Lee, Col. Oliver, Judge Sewell, Mr. Abraham Watson, Jr., Mr. Francis Dana, Mayor Vassall, Mr. Samuel Thacher, Jr., Professor Winthrop; they, or a major part of the whole, being notified; and that said committee be a committee of inspection upon the said school master, and that said committee be and hereby are empowered to regulate said school."

This comes the nearest to being a School Committee in the modern sense, but falls short in being the committee on a single school. It was more than twenty years before a committee having charge of the *schools* was appointed.

In 1794 a committee was "appointed to divide the town into Districts, as the law directs, and to put the schools in operation." The present territory of Cambridge was first divided into three districts, afterwards to five.

In 1795 "a committee, consisting of Josiah Morse, Abiel Holmes, Major John Palmer, Wm. Locke, Jonathan Winship, Rev. John Foster and Rev. Thaddeus Fiske, was chosen for the purpose of superintending the *schools* in this town and carrying into effect the school Act."

This appears to be the first committee charged with the care of all the schools, the others being appointed to inspect, etc., the Grammar School. In 1802 provision was made for schools in the several districts, "to meet the quantity required by law."

Up to this time, for about a hundred and fifty years, the public school system seems to have been in a state of development from principles recognized in the Ordinances of 1642–47.

"The first school-house," says Dr. Paige, "known to have been erected in Cambridge stood on the westerly side of Holyoke Street, about midway between Harvard and Mount Auburn Streets. The lot was owned in 1642 by Henry Dunster, president of the College; it contained a quarter of an acre of land, on which there was then a house that was not his dwelling-house. There are reasons for believing that the 'Fair Grammar School' had been established

in that house, and that it remained there five or six years."

In 1647 President Dunster and Edward Goffe contracted with Nicholas Withe, Richard Wilson and Daniel Hudson, masons, to build a school-house, probably on that lot, and for the same grammar-school. It does not appear that this school-house was erected by the town, but by certain individuals, of whom President Dunster, and perhaps Mr. Goffe, were the chief.

In 1656, however, President Dunster made a proposition to the Townsmen "for the acquitting and discharging of forty pounds upon the account of his outlayings for the school-house." The townsmen did not "yield" to the proposition of Mr. Dunster, but said: "If Mr. Dunster shall please to present any proposition concerning his outlayings for the school-house to the town when met together, they shall be willing to further the same according to justice and equity."

"Perhaps," says Dr. Paige, "in consequence of some such proposition by Mr. Dunster, it is recorded that, at a meeting Nov. 10, 1656, the town do agree and consent that there shall be a rate made to the value of £108 10*s.*, and levied of the several inhabitants, for the payment for the school-house; provided every man be allowed what he hath already freely contributed thereto, in part of his proportion of such rate."

Whatever Mr. Dunster received as his part of this appropriation, nothing further appears till after his death, when, in 1660, his heirs renewed the claim for further remuneration. The town, though denying that in strict justice anything was still due, yet "considering the case as now circumstanced, and especially the condition of his relict widow and children," levied £30 on the inhabitants, and paid it to Mr. Dunster's executors,—an absolute deed of sale of the house and land and a clear acquittal for the full payment thereof being given.

From what has been said it appears that the first school-houses (or school-housing, as it is called in the records) were not built by the town alone, although appropriations were made from time to time to aid in their building and repairs.

From 1795 the schools may be regarded as reduced to a *system* and placed under a School Committee, whose duty it was "to carry into effect the School Act."

The time following the Revolution to about 1830 was shown, by the seventh annual report of the Hon. Horace Mann, secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, to be that at which the schools of Massachusetts were at their lowest ebb.

The grammar schools of the State, where pupils could be fitted for College, required before the Revolution, had, to a great extent, passed away, and their places had been supplied by private schools and academies. Under these circumstances the interest in the public schools was much less, especially of those who were able to patronize private schools or academies. As an illustration of this, Mr. Mann states that in 1837 twenty-nine of the largest and richest towns in the Commonwealth raised but $2.21 per head for every child of school age, while the average of all the towns of the State, including the smaller and poorer towns, was $2.81.

It seems, however, that in Cambridge a grammar school, in the English sense of the term, existed from the establishment of Master Corlet's "Fair Grammar schoole" to 1838. A portion of the legacy of Edward Hopkins appears to have been expended in support of this grammar school from the time it was first received—about 1713.[1]

In 1838 a High School building for the whole town was erected at the corner of Broadway and Winsor Street.

This location seems to have been unsatisfactory to the people of some parts of the town, and "it is very likely," says Mr. Smith, in his History of the High School, "that the removal of the classical school from Old Cambridge, where it had existed from the time of Corlet, was one reason why Josiah Quincy, president of Harvard University, petitioned the Legislature in the same year for permission to withdraw the Hopkins Fund from the public school, and by the aid of it establish a private classical school."

In 1839 the Legislature granted the petition, and a private classical school was established. The same act, however, provided that when the school should cease to be supported the trustees should pay over

[1] Edward Hopkins, born near Shropshire, in England, in 1600, early in life became a convert to the religious doctrines of the Puritans, and in 1637 came to America.

After spending a short time at Boston he joined the settlement at Hartford. There he soon became one of the most prominent men, holding many important offices, among others, Governor of the Colony of Connecticut. In 1653 he returned to England, where he died in 1657.

By his will, dated London, March 7, 1657, after disposing of much of his property in New England in legacies, and particularly to the family of Rev. Mr. Hooker, his pastor, he makes the following bequests:

"And the residue of my estate there (in New England) I do hereby give and bequeath to my father, Theophilus Eaton, Esq., Mr. John Davenport, Mr. John Cullick and Mr. William Goodwin, in full assurance of their trust and faithfulness in disposing of it according to the true intent and purpose of me, the said Edward Hopkins, which is to give some encouragement in those foreign plantations for the breeding of hopeful youths both at the grammar school and college, for the public service of the country in future times.

"My farther mind and will is, that within six months after the decease of my wife five hundred pounds be made over into New England, according to the advice of my loving friends, Major Robert Thomson and Mr. Francis Willoughby, and conveyed into the hands of the trustees before mentioned in further prosecution of the aforesaid public ends, which, in the simplicity of my heart, are for the upholding and promoting the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ in those distant parts of the earth."

His widow lived to an advanced age, dying in 1699, having survived all the trustees by more than thirty years. The estate was finally settled in Chancery, the college at Cambridge and "Grammar School" receiving in all £1251 13*s.* 2*d.*

One-fourth of the income of this amount was given to the "Grammar School" from 1793 to 1839.

[For a full account of this fund see "Report of Cambridge School Committee" for 1885.]

a fourth part of the net income of the funds to the treasurer of the town of Cambridge, on condition that the said town should provide and maintain a school, and pursue and comply with the following duties and provisions, viz.: That the town of Cambridge should annually apply so much of said income as may at any time hereafter be paid to the treasurer thereof, to the instruction of nine boys in the learning requisite for admission to Harvard University, the said instruction to be furnished in a public school in said town, the instructor of which should be at all times competent to give such instruction, and the said town was required to admit into said school, free of expense, any number of boys, not exceeding nine, at any time, who, being properly qualified, should be selected and presented for admission thereto by the President and Fellows of Harvard College and the minister of the First Church in Cambridge; who, it was added, "shall be the visitors of said school for the purpose of seeing that the duties and provisions in this section are duly complied with and performed."

In 1854 the private classical school seems to have failed of support, and on the proposal of the trustees, the city of Cambridge assumed the obligations, provided in the act of 1839, and appointed a Hopkins Classical Master in the High School. This arrangement has been nominally kept up to the present time, though it is doubtful if the President and Fellows of the College, and the minister of the First Church, find it necessary to exercise much vigilance in regard to the qualification of teachers, etc.

The location of the High School, on Winsor Street and Broadway, being still found inconvenient for the whole population, classical instruction was re-established in Old Cambridge in 1843, and it was also given in the Otis School, East Cambridge.

This state of things existed about four years, when, in 1847, the Cambridge High School was reorganized in the building originally erected for its accommodation. The next year (1848) a new school-house was built on Amory Street.

Mr. Elbridge Smith, who was then principal of the High School, gives the following account of the dedication of the building:

"The dedication of the school-house on Amory Street, in June, 1848, was an event of considerable social and educational importance. The Hon. James D. Green was at that time Mayor of the city, and showed that earnestness and public spirit which always marked him in his private, as well as in his public life. The Rev. William A. Stearns, D.D. (afterwards president of Amherst College), was chairman of the High School Committee. The Rev. John A. Albro, D.D., of the Shepard Congregational Church, a man of remarkable personal and professional worth, was also rendering important service on the same committee. William W. Wellington, M.D., was then in the first years of that service on the School Committee which was destined to be so long and so useful to the city of Cambridge. Edward Everett was president of Harvard College, and from him was expected the principal address on the occasion. It was an occasion to which all repaired with high expectations, and from which they retired with those expectations more than realized." The addresses were all of permanent value, and Mr. Everett has very justly given his address a place in the second volume of his "Orations and Speeches."

The interest in this school by the city, and by its friends connected with the university, is shown by the fact that the city appropriated seven hundred dollars for furnishing the school with apparatus, while considerable additions were made by the proceeds of lectures.

In 1850 the City Council gave more than eight hundred dollars' worth of books to the High School library, which enabled the city to draw from the State Treasury an equal amount, under the provisions of a law then in existence.

Prof. Louis Agassiz manifested his interest in popular education by giving a course of four lectures at the City Hall, of which the proceeds were generously given for the library; and he also gave to the pupils of the school gratuitous lectures for an entire year.

Much of the interest then manifested in this school was due to the exertions and influence of the principal of the school, Mr. Elbridge Smith.

"It ought to be stated," says Mr. Wm. F. Bradbury, at present head master of the High School, "that the sum of eight hundred dollars mentioned by Mr. Smith as appropriated by the City Council as a nucleus of a library for the school, was secured by the efforts of Mr. Smith, who made up a large part of it by contributing valuable books from his own private library. He also spent money lavishly from his own pocket in increasing the appliances of the chemical and philosophical department. In fact, he looked upon the school as his own child, and made no account of time or money spent in fostering it."

At the suggestion of Prof. Cornelius C. Felton, Mr. Smith informs us that "A new feature was incorporated into the course of study of the High School. This was the formal study of English authors, in place of collections of extracts, which till then had been exclusively used in all our public schools."

"It is believed," says Mr. Smith, "that this was the beginning in this country of that earnest study of English literature which is now so prominent a feature in all our high schools, and which has extended to schools in other grades."

Prof. Felton was certainly fortunate that his suggestion was made to Mr. Smith, for no man was better qualified to make it a success than he.

During the first decade of the city government, much was done to complete the *systematic* grading of public school instruction, begun in 1834. "It is no exaggeration," says Mr. Smith, "to say, that then

the idea of Huxley was fully realized,—that a course of public education should be like a 'ladder standing in the gutter and its top resting in the university.'"

Under these influences of a better organization, and the awakened interest in public school instruction throughout the State, the Cambridge schools seem to have made very decided progress. The grammar schools sent so many graduates that the building on Amory Street was entirely inadequate to the wants of the High School, and in 1864 a new high school building was erected at the corner of Broadway and Fayette Street.

"At the time it was built," says Mr. Bradbury, "it was one of the finest school buildings in the State. . . . With the land the entire cost was sixty-five thousand dollars; and it was supposed that it would be ample in its accommodations for the High School for twenty years." Yet in 1870 it became necessary to occupy the hall as a school-room. In 1872 and 1874 other changes were made, not contemplated when the building was erected, and parts of the building used as school-rooms, which were unfit. In 1878, the school having increased to five hundred pupils, it became necessary to establish a "colony" in a neighboring grammar school house.

This unexpected growth of the High School, taken in connection with the fact that the standard for admission was high, furnishes the best evidence of the prosperous condition of our grammar schools. During this period our schools, and especially the grammar and primary schools, suffered much from badly constructed school-houses, and the standing of the schools reflects great credit on the teachers and the School Committee.

All our grammar school buildings had been constructed on the old plan of a large room in which from one to two hundred pupils had sittings, and small, ill-ventilated rooms where recitations were conducted by the assistant teachers.

In 1868 Professor Goodwin, in a report on the Washington School, says: "All the departments are in as good a condition as the arrangement of the building permits. This arrangement is such that half the teachers are required to hear their recitations in large rooms nearly filled with scholars not reciting, so that the double duty of keeping order and imparting instruction is too great for even the ablest teacher, while the other half hear their smaller divisions in small rooms poorly ventilated, in which the air is usually so bad that the children are in an unfit state to be taught." He states his belief "that one-half the value of the Principal's instruction is lost by the necessity of transmitting it over the heads of seventy or eighty pupils to a class standing on the other side of a large hall."

What Professor Goodwin has said of the arrangement of Washington Grammar School is true of the other grammar school buildings of the city. Professor Atkins' report of the primary buildings is scarcely more flattering.

In 1869 Mr. E. B. Hale, who had been appointed Superintendent of Schools in 1868, devoted a large part of his report to "School Accommodations," in which he emphasized Professor Goodwin's statements, and suggested to the committee the importance of urging upon the city authorities the necessity of "remodeling as many of the grammar school houses as practicable the coming season."

In accordance with these suggestions of the School Committee and the superintendent the grammar school houses were, in the years 1870–71, remodeled and greatly improved. But it was impossible to make such changes in their arrangements as to have them compare favorably with the new school-houses, built on the modern plan, in most of the cities and large towns of the Commonwealth.

Within a few years some new buildings have been erected for the grammar and primary schools that do credit to the city; and at the present time another first-class grammar school house is nearly finished, still another is under contract, and a high school house is in process of erection. But we are not yet as well supplied with modern structures as most of our sister cities. But, though obliged to confess that Cambridge was for some years, and is now, behind others in the matter of school buildings, we may claim, it is believed, to have taken, in the matter of school discipline, a step in advance of any of the principal cities of the State. In 1866 a case of corporal punishment, though by no means severe as compared with the punishments in schools of Cambridge and other cities and towns at that time, gave rise to much controversy, which finally resulted in the passage of the following order by the School Committee:

"It is enjoined on the instructors to exercise vigilant, prudent and firm discipline, and to govern by persuasion and gentle measures as far as practicable. No pupil shall be kept after school hours more than half an hour after each session. No scholar on entering the schools of the city shall be subject to corporal punishment in any form. But if any scholar prove to be disorderly or refractory, such scholar, on due notice to parent or guardian, and on the written consent of the committee having charge of the school, shall be liable to corporal punishment during the remainder of the term.

"Any instructor may suspend a pupil from school for violation of the School Regulations or the rules of the school, or for any other sufficient cause; but he shall immediately report the case to the parent or guardian of such pupil, and to the sub-committee of the school, or to the Superintendent of Schools, with a written statement of the cause of such suspension."

The School Committee's report for 1889 says: "This rule has been in force for twenty years. In the majority of the schools corporal punishment has not been inflicted in a single instance; in the others the number of cases have varied from year to year, with changes in the supervising committee; but in no year, at least within the last ten years, have there been a hundred cases in all the schools of the city."

The truant law has been of great service to the schools, though but a few comparatively have been sent to the truant school. These few have, however,

served as a warning to such an extent as very much to reduce this class of offenders; and it is believed the recent amendment to the law, including obstinate and disobedient pupils, will be equally efficacious.

Within the past few years important changes and additions have been made in our schools. In 1856 the High School was divided,—the Latin School being placed under the principalship of Mr. Bradbury, and the English High School under that of Mr. Hill.

Mr. Bradbury had for many years been eminently successful in preparing candidates for college, making the Cambridge High School one of the best feeders of Harvard. Mr. Hill came to us from Chelsea, where he had proved himself one of the best High School teachers in the State. It is believed that the division will be advantageous to both departments, especially, to that of the English High School.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.—In February, 1884, the Cambridge Industrial Association, through a committee appointed for the purpose, made to the School Board the following proposals and suggestions:

"Our Association has, in the basement of the City Building, Brattle Square, well-equipped work benches, with tools and all accommodations for the instruction of twelve (12) boys under the charge of a competent and experienced teacher. These implements, equipments and instruction the Association offers for the use of either of the City Schools during the present school year, *free of expense*, in case the School Committee think such use advisable.

"The Association would suggest, if it seems practicable to the Committee, some such plan as this: That the boys of higher classes, whose record in school is good and who have any aptitude in the use of tools, be allowed one afternoon in the week, to substitute for their regular literary employment two hours' practice at the bench, it being understood that they shall keep up with the studies of their classes, and that their presence and conduct in the work-room be reported as part of their school record. The room could be open for this purpose as many afternoons in the week as the Committee may desire, twelve boys being received at a time.

"A similar experiment having been tried with success in Boston, it is believed that equally good results might follow in Cambridge, and that no little mechanical dexterity might be thus gained by the pupils without any essential interruption of their other studies."

The School Committee accepted the proposal and adopted the plan suggested, a class being sent from each of the seven grammar schools. The same offer was made and accepted in 1885 and in 1886.

In September, 1886, the School Committee appointed a special committee to "consider the question of industrial training and the practicability of connecting it with the school system."

The following is the report of that committee:

"*Whereas*, the Industrial Association has offered to give to the City of Cambridge the tools and apparatus used by it in industrial education in the basement of the City Building in Brattle Square,—

"Your Committee recommends that industrial instruction be given to seven (7) classes, consisting of twelve (12) boys each; that one of these classes be taken from each of the following grammar schools: Allston, Harvard, Putnam, Shepard, Thorndike, Washington and Webster; that the boys forming the classes shall be chosen by lot from those whose parents or guardians are willing to have them join such a class; that such instruction be given during the school session, the course of instruction to each class to consist of sixteen lessons, and to be similar to that given during the past year by the Industrial Association; that the management of such instruction be committed to a committee of five, one from each Ward, to be appointed by the chairman of the Board, and that this Board request the City Council to make an appropriation of four hundred (400) dollars to defray the expenses of such industrial instructor."

This report was adopted and its recommendation carried out. The City Council at once appropriated the four hundred dollars, and the seven classes received instruction.

There is no school question more prominently before the community at the present time than that of making manual training a branch of instruction in the common schools; and in Cambridge this question has assumed special importance since Mr. Frederick H. Rindge made to the city his generous offer of an industrial school building ready for use, together with a site for the same.

The object and aim of the school, as proposed by him, are best made known in his own words. He says: "I wish the plain arts of industry to be taught in this school. I wish the school to be especially for boys of average talents, who may in it learn how their arms and hands can earn food, clothing and shelter for themselves; how, after a while, they can support a family and a home; and how the price of these blessings is faithful industry, no bad habits and wise economy; which price, by the way, is not dear.

"I wish also that in it they may become accustomed to being under authority, and be now and then instructed in the laws that govern health and nobility of character. I urge that admittance to such school be given only to strong boys who will grow up to be able workingmen.

"Strict obedience to such a rule would tend to make parents careful in the training of their young, as they would know that their boys would be deprived of the benefits of said school unless they were able-bodied. I think the industrial school would thus graduate many young men who would prove themselves useful citizens."

This munificent gift by Mr. Rindge was gratefully accepted, and we now have in successful operation an Industrial School which, it is believed, is not surpassed by any in the country.

KINDERGARTEN.—About eleven years ago Mrs. Quincy Shaw established three free Kindergartens in Cambridge. These, in common with many others in neighboring towns, were established to prove by thorough experiment whether this theory could be carried out in practice.

A sub-committee, having this under consideration, reported that the result was eminently successful. A petition containing 1600 or 1700 names, representing largely the parents of children educated in these Kindergartens, asked to have the schools made a permanent part of our educational system. Under these circumstances, the committee reported in favor of granting the petition, and recommended the adoption of the following order: That Kindergartens be established by this Board as a part of public school instruction in Cambridge.

The order recommended was adopted, and, at the meeting of the Board in May, the following letter from Mrs. Shaw, addressed to the chairman of the School Board, was received:

DEAR SIR:—In consideration of the decision on the part of your Board to establish Kindergartens as a part of the regular Public School system, I wish to ask if you will, at the close of this school year, undertake the care of those Kindergartens now carried on by me in Cambridge? They are located as follows: 76 Moore Street, Cambridgeport; Boardman School, Winsor Street, Cambridgeport; and 41 Holyoke Street, Cambridge. I can only hope that you will find them so satifactory for the beginning of all education for children, that you will be as anxious to increase their number as I am to have it done; and that your action in the matter may serve as an example to other places, so that the Kindergartens may really become a national benefit.

Mrs. Shaw's generous proposal was accepted, and the following order adopted:

That the thanks of this Board be tendered to Mrs. Shaw, in recognition of the public benefit conferred by her in the establishment and maintenance of the Kindergartens which she has so generously tendered this Board, and which the Board has accepted as part of the Public School system of the city of Cambridge.

Subsequently, the Concord Avenue Kindergarten, which had been maintained for several years by Cambridge ladies, was offered to the Board and accepted.

There are now among the public schools of Cambridge four Kindergartens, containing 209 pupils, under the charge of seven teachers. As soon as suitable rooms can be provided, three more of these schools should be opened, in order that all sections of the city may share in the advantages they afford.

THE WELLINGTON SCHOOL.—The Cambridge Training or Practice School was added to our system in 1886. This school is believed to be, in some respects, unique. It was suggested and planned by the superintendent, Mr. Cogswell, the design being "to give young women of Cambridge who desire to teach, and who have made special preparation for the work, an opportunity to gain experience under conditions favorable to their own success, and without prejudice to the interests of their pupils."

"This school differs from the other schools in this respect—all the classes are taught by young teachers, under the immediate supervision of a master and a female assistant, who are held responsible for the instruction and management of the school.

"Graduates of the English High School or the Latin School, who have graduated from one of our State Normal Schools or the Boston Normal School are preferred candidates for the position of teacher in this school; other persons of equal attainments may, however, be elected by special vote of the Committee on the Training Class. Teachers accepting service in this school do it with the understanding that they will remain a year, unless excused by the Committee on the Training Class.

"The salary during the year of service is $200, and the Committee on the Training Class is authorized to expend for salaries an amount not exceeding the aggregate maximum salaries paid to female teachers for the instruction of the same number of pupils in the primary and grammar schools."

It is thus seen that the Training School has made no addition to the cost of instruction in our schools. The only doubt at first was whether the pupils attending this school would be as well taught as those in the other schools. It was claimed by its advocates that the inexperience of the young teachers would be offset by the large experience of the principal and his assistant, and it is believed by the committee and superintendent that the results have vindicated the claims.

At no period in the history of our schools have they furnished such means for education in all departments as at present. From the beginning the development of the system was gradual; but within the last twenty years, since the appointment of a superintendent, the progress of our schools in all respects has been greatly accelerated. In no respect, it is believed, excepting the condition of its school buildings, are the schools of Cambridge surpassed by those of any city in the Commonwealth.

Such has been the progress of public school instruction in Cambridge. In the mean time there have been, here as elsewhere, private schools, though none have established themselves as permanent institutions. It was during the last part of the last century and the early part of this, that most, if not all, of the academies and large private schools in the State were established—as a consequence, undoubtedly, of the failure of the public schools of that period, in most towns, to prepare pupils for college. In Cambridge, however, the Grammar School (in the English sense of the term) continued up to 1839, when the High School was established. It will be seen, therefore, that the same want was not felt here, as in many other parts of the State, during the period when the principal academies were established. From the time of the establishment of the High School the encouragement for private schools of a classical character seems to have been still less. As has been stated, the "Hopkins Classical School" of 1839, though aided by the "Hopkins Fund," failed of support in 1854.

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY.[1]—The Cambridge Public Library is a direct descendant from the Cambridge Athenæum. This was incorporated in February, 1849, for the purpose "of maintaining in the city of Cambridge, a lyceum, a public library, reading-room, lectures on scientific and literary subjects, and for promoting such other kindred objects as the members of the corporation shall from time to time deem advisable and proper."

In October, 1850, the corporation received from Mr. Edmund T. Dana, of Cambridge, the gift of a lot of land containing ten thousand square feet, and situated on the corner of Main and Pleasant Streets, in Cambridgeport. The deed of gift contained the following conditions: "(1) That the corporation shall, within

[1] By Miss Almira Hayward.

two years, erect upon the land, and complete so as to be fit for occupation, a building suitable for the purposes of the Cambridge Athenæum as set forth in the act whereby the same was incorporated. (2) That the land and building (with the exception of the lower story and cellar of the building, which may be used for other purposes) shall be used forever for the purposes set forth in the Act of Incorporation."

An edifice named the "Athenæum" was erected on the land during the following year, at a cost of about $18,000, and dedicated and opened to the public in November, 1851. The foundation of the library was due to a bequest of $1000 for the purchase of books, received by the will of Mr. James Brown of Watertown. With these books, and others contributed from various sources, the library was established, a room in the Athenæum having been furnished for the purpose, and Miss Caroline F. Orne appointed librarian. A catalogue of the books having been prepared and printed, the library was opened for the delivery of books in November, 1857. According to the regulations any resident of Cambridge known to the librarian, or recommended by any citizen thus known, was entitled to the use of the library upon the payment of one dollar per annum, and subscribing a promise to comply with the regulations adopted for its management.

The Athenæum Corporation, in March, 1858, disposed of its real estate and personal property to the city of Cambridge. The library was also transferred to the city, which obligated itself to contribute not less than $300 per annum for the term of fifteen years for its support and increase, and to maintain it forever for the use of the inhabitants of Cambridge.

Mr. Dana having released the Athenæum Corporation from the conditions of his deed of gift, the "Athenæum" became the "City Hall," and the library, now the property of the city, received the name of the "Dana Library," in accordance with an ordinance bearing the date June 30, 1858.

The intentions of Mr. Dana in relation to the library, which, till 1879, bore his name, are evident from the following clause, being clause No. 23 of his last will and testament:

"I give to Edmund T. Hastings and to William W. Wellington, and to the survivor of them, fifteen thousand dollars, in trust, to appropriate the same in such manner as I may, by any instrument, in writing under my hand, appoint."

In a separate instrument, bearing the same date as the will, the testator did direct as follows:

"To Edmund T. Hastings and William W. Wellington, or whosoever else may execute the trust created by the twenty-third clause of my will:

"The sum of fifteen thousand dollars, bequeathed by the said twenty-third clause, is to be paid over, if and whenever my trustees or trustee shall deem it expedient to do so, to the City of Cambridge, to be held by the said City in trust, as an entire fund, the income thereof to be appropriated annually, forever, to the increase and support of the library of the Cambridge Athenæum: provided, however, that if and whenever my said trustees or trustee shall be of opinion that it is not expedient that the said sum of fifteen thousand dollars should be so appropriated, the same to be paid over to my heirs-at-law; and provided, further, that the said capital sum be paid over, either to said City of Cambridge, or to my heirs-at-law, within three years from my decease.

"EDM. T. DANA."

The trustees appointed by the will, in an instrument signed by them and transmitted to the City Council, signified their intention to pay this sum of fifteen thousand dollars to the city of Cambridge, whenever they should receive it from Mr. Dana's executor.

It unfortunately happened that the instrument referred to in Mr. Dana's will and copied above, though signed by Mr. Dana, was not duly attested. It was therefore contended by the residuary legatees, "that, by the twenty-third clause in the will, nothing passed to the City of Cambridge, the same not being named as legatee; and it not being competent for a testator, by a duly executed will, to create for himself a power to dispose of his estate to legatees by another instrument not duly executed as a will or codicil." The case was brought, by the administrator, with the will annexed, before the Supreme Court of this State, which, after a full hearing, decided that the twenty-third clause in the will, with the unattested instrument signed by Mr. Dana, did not "create a valid bequest to the City of Cambridge."

Thus were the generous intentions of Mr. Dana frustrated; and the munificent donation, which he designed for the library, passed into the hands of his residuary legatees.

In 1874 the library was made free to the public, and in June of that year Miss Orne, after a long and faithful term of service, was succeeded by the present librarian, Miss Almira L. Hayward.

In 1875 the library was arranged by subjects, and a new catalogue was issued. In 1879, by vote of the City Government, the name of the library was changed to the Cambridge Public Library, thus identifying it more closely with the other public institutions of the city.

The catalogue printed in 1875 was followed by five supplements, and these by six bulletins. The library had increased, meanwhile, from seven to eighteen thousand volumes; and in 1885 the need of a new catalogue had become imperative. An additional appropriation of two thousand dollars was granted, in 1886, for this purpose, and the new catalogue was issued in 1887.

In addition to this general catalogue completed in 1887, a separate list of children's books was prepared early in 1888. The intent of this catalogue was to save much wear of the larger catalogue; and, as it embraces all the juvenile books of the library as well as other books especially useful and instructive to young people, it has been found to be of great service to all.

The crowded state of the rooms occupied by the library had begun to attract general attention, and

a movement had been made by several private citizens towards providing better accommodations, when the munificent offer of Mr. Frederick H. Rindge, of Los Angeles, California—a former resident of Cambridge—was made public through Hon. William E. Russell, then mayor of Cambridge.

On June 14, 1887, Mr. Rindge, being in Boston, sent to the City Council, through the mayor, the following communications:

BOSTON, June 14, 1887.

HON. WILLIAM E. RUSSELL:

DEAR SIR,—It would make me happy to give the City of Cambridge the tract of land bounded by Cambridge, Trowbridge, Broadway and Irving streets, in the City of Cambridge, and to build thereon and give to said city a Public Library building, under the following conditions,—That on or within said building, tablets be placed bearing the following words:

First,—Built in gratitude to God, to His Son Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Spirit.

Second,—The Ten Commandments, and "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Third,—Men, women, children, obey these laws. If you do, you will be happy; if you disobey them, sorrow will come upon you.

Fourth,—It is noble to be pure; it is right to be honest; it is necessary to be temperate; it is wise to be industrious,—but to know God is best of all.

Fifth,—(Words for this tablet to be given hereafter).

It is my wish that a portion of said tract of land be reserved as a playground for children and the young. I ask you to present this communication to the city government of Cambridge, and notify me of its action in relation to it. Should the gift be accepted, I hope to proceed at once with the work.

Yours respectfully,

FREDERICK H. RINDGE.

HON. WILLIAM E. RUSSELL:

DEAR SIR,—Should the City of Cambridge accept my gift of land and Public Library building, I suggest that a committee, composed of the following named citizens of Cambridge, be appointed by the city government of Cambridge to confer with my agent, Mr. Francis J. Parker, in matters relating to the accomplishment of the purposes of the building and land: Mr. Justin Winsor, Col. T. W. Higginson, Hon. Samuel L. Montague, Hon. William E. Russell.

Yours respectfully,

FREDERICK H. RINDGE.

Mayor Russell also stated that the tract of land mentioned contained nearly 115,000 square feet; 224 feet each on Broadway and Cambridge Streets; 590 feet on Trowbridge Street; and 520 feet on Irving Street. It was Mr. Rindge's intention that the building should cost from $70,000 to $80,000, and that the surrounding land be laid out as a public park. The following resolutions presented by the mayor were unanimously adopted by both branches of the city government:

"*Resolved*, That the city of Cambridge accepts with profound gratitude the munificent gift of Mr. Frederick H. Rindge, of land and building for a Public Library as stated in his letter of June 14, 1887; that the city accepts it upon the conditions stated in said letter, which it will faithfully and gladly observe as a sacred trust, in accordance with his desire.

"*Resolved*, That in gratefully accepting this gift, the city tenders to Frederick H. Rindge its heartfelt thanks, and desires to express its sense of deep obligation to him, recognizing the Christian faith, generosity, and public spirit that have prompted him to supply a long-felt want by this gift of great and permanent usefulness."

The gentlemen named by Rindge accepted the trust, and plans from five of the leading architects of the country were submitted to them. Those presented by Messrs. Van Brunt and Howe were finally selected, and the building was begun in the autumn of 1887 and completed in June of 1889.

The Library Building.—The library building, a fine specimen of modified Romanesque architecture, is an ornament to the city and a perpetual monument to the wise generosity of its donor. The material used is known as "Dedham wood stone," a light-brown granite found in the woods of Dedham, Mass. This is relieved by trimmings of Longmeadow brown sandstone. The beautiful arched entrance, the round tower, and the general form of the building give it a distinctive character suited to its purpose. The elaborately carved capitals of the pillars and the frieze on the Irving Street end of the building attract general admiration. The interior is finished in ash, and the coloring of the walls is in terra-cotta, old gold, or olive green shades. The reading room, being finished to its arched roof and well lighted by electricity, affords the place for study and reading which is so desirable in every library. The Cambridge Memorial Rooms are furnished with numerous cases and drawers, in which to preserve souvenirs of the artists and authors of Cambridge.

The book-room, or "stack," as it is called, occupies the rear wing, and has a capacity of 85,000 volumes. This is as nearly fire-proof as possible, having iron book-cases extending from the basement to the third story; iron floors and stairs, and fire-proof doors shutting it off from the main building. The books are at present arranged thus: Basement, periodicals and government publications; first floor, fiction and juvenile books; second floor, biography, history, and travel; third floor, miscellany, science, art and poetry. As the library now contains about 27,000 volumes, there is abundant shelf-room for many years. The dedication of the new building occurred on the 29th of June, 1889. The presentation of the deed of gift was made, on behalf of Mr. Rindge, by Mr. Parker, and accepted by Hon. Henry H. Gilmore, mayor of Cambridge. He in turn presented the key of the building to Mr. Samuel L. Montague, president of the Board of Trustees, who replied by appropriate words of thanks for the generous and beautiful gift. Other addresses were made by Colonel T. W. Higginson, of the Board of Trustees, and Mr. S. S. Green, librarian of the Worcester Public Library.

The books were moved during the next week, and the library opened to the public on the first Monday in August, 1889.

Desiring to meet the wants of those living at a distance from the library, the trustees have, during the past year, established five delivery stations where books from the library are received and delivered three times a week. These stations have been found a great convenience to those readers who might not often visit the library itself.

As a means of bringing the public schools and the library into closer relations, each teacher in the High Schools, and the three higher classes in the grammar

schools, has been allowed the use of ten cards. By a weekly delivery to each school of books to be used as the teachers direct, a large amount of good reading has been put into the hands of children. It has been the aim of teachers and librarian to make this a means of elevating the taste of our young people by introducing them to better books than they would themselves select.

The Cambridge Memorial Rooms, devoted to the history of the city, have already begun to attract many visitors. Here are to be preserved the works of Cambridge authors and artists, and such memorials of them as may be donated or purchased. About three hundred volumes have already been placed in these rooms, and several historic souvenirs have also been received.

In 1873 Mr. Isaac Fay, a public-spirited citizen of Cambridge, bequeathed to the library $1000, the income of which was to be expended in the purchase of books. In accordance with the wish of the donor, this income has been spent for valuable additions to the library.

The Citizens' Subscription Fund, begun in 1888, has now reached the sum of $13,000. About $2000 of this amount has been spent for standard works in foreign languages and for additions to the departments of science and history. A large number of instructive and entertaining books of travel have also been duplicated for school use.

Since occupying its new building the library has been rapidly growing in popular favor as well as in books. The annual appropriation from the city treasury must meet the current expenses, and it is hoped that in time the income from the Citizens' Fund will afford ample means for the steady increase of the library, which now numbers about 27,000 volumes.

CHAPTER VII.

CAMBRIDGE—(Continued).

LITERATURE.

BY THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

In the admirable "History of Cambridge" by Rev. L. R. Paige, D.D.—a book which needs only an index to make it a model of its kind—there are chapters on the civil, military, ecclesiastical and educational history of Cambridge, but none on the literary history. Yet it is doubtful if any municipality in this country can equal Cambridge in the number and variety of its authors. Its very foundation was literary—as literature was counted in Puritan days—since Rev. Thomas Shepard, its first clergyman, was not merely known, in the admiring phrase of his day, as "the holy, heavenly, sweet-affecting and soul-ravishing Mr. Shepard," but was a voluminous author and was the cause, through his personal weight and influence, of the selection of "Newetowne" as the site of the infant college. Mr. Shepard was the author of "The First Principles of the Oracles of God," "The Parable of the Ten Virgins," "The Sincere Convert," "The Saints' Jewel," "Theses Sabbaticæ," and various other works, most of which were published in London and some of which went through several editions. Copies of these are preserved in the Boston and Cambridge Public Libraries and in that of the Shepard Historical Society, in the church he founded. His "Church Membership of Children" was published at Cambridge in 1663, and his "Eye Salve," an election sermon, in 1673, also at Cambridge. The first printing press in America had been established in the town much earlier than this, at the expense of Rev. Joseph Glover, an English dissenter, and others. Mr. Glover himself embarked in 1638 for the colony, bringing with him the press and type and Stephen Daye as printer. Mr. Glover died on the passage, but the press arrived safely and was ultimately placed in the house of President Dunster, on Holyoke Street, who took to himself not merely the press, but the widow Glover. For some thirty years all the printing done in America was in Cambridge, Stephen Daye being followed by his son, Matthew, and he by Samuel Green. The first work printed at this press was "The Freeman's Oath," in 1639. About a hundred books were printed here before 1700, the list including Eliot's celebrated Indian Bible and "The Book of the General Lawes & Libertyes Concerning the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts." It was not until 1664 that permission was given to set up a press in Boston; and Thomas, in his "History of Printing," claims that "the press of Harvard College was for a time as celebrated as the presses of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in England."

Of the early presidents of Harvard College, Mr. Dunster was an eminent Oriental scholar and superintended—a doubtful kindness to literature—the prepation of the "New England Psalm Book." Cotton Mather expressed the unavailing hope "that a little more of art was to be employed in it" than had proved to be the case, in its original form, and the holy Mr. Shepard thus criticised its original compilers, Rev. Richard Mather, of Dorchester, and Rev. Messrs. Eliot and Weld, of Roxbury:

> "You Roxb'ry poets, keep clear of the crime
> Of missing to give us very good rhyme,
> And you of Dorchester, your verses lengthen,
> But with the text's own words you will them strengthen."

It was therefore handed over to President Dunster for publishing, and the final form in which it appeared is the result of his labors. His successor, Rev. Charles Chauncy, published a few sermons, and President Urian Oakes yet more, including one with the resounding title, "The Unconquerable, All-Conquering and More-than-Conquering Soldier,"

which was, it is needless to say, an Artillery-election sermon (1674). President Increase Mather, it is well known, was a voluminous author and writer; and from his time (1701) to the present day there have been few presidents of Harvard College who were not authors. Rev. Thomas Hooker, although a voluminous theologian, yet remained in Cambridge so short a time (1633–36) that he is hardly to be counted among Cambridge authors, especially as his works were all published at a later date.

During the eighteenth century the Cambridge professors gave themselves rather to scholarship, such as it was, than to literature. Samuel Sewall, grand nephew of the celebrated judge of that name, first taught the grammar school in Cambridge, and then (1762) became college librarian and instructor in Hebrew. He published a Hebrew Grammar, a Latin version of the first book of Young's "Night Thoughts," and various Greek and Latin poems and orations; he also left behind him a MS. Chaldee and English dictionary, which still awaits a publisher in Harvard College Library. His kinsman—though with the name spelt differently—Jonathan Sewell, born in Cambridge (1766), became an eminent lawyer and law-writer in Canada, was one of the first to propose Canadian federation in a pamphlet (1815), and left behind him a work on "The Judicial History of France so far as it relates to the Law of the Province of Lower Canada." The eighteenth century also brought the physical sciences to Harvard College, to invade the old curriculum of theology and philology; though, as Prof. Goodale has shown, the prominent object of this change was to enable the clerical graduates to prescribe for their own parishioners. The first Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy was appointed in 1727, Isaac Greenwood being the incumbent; in 1738 he was followed by John Winthrop, who was, according to Prof. Lovering, "greatly in advance of the science of his day," and whose two lectures on comets, delivered in the College Chapel in 1759, are still good reading. The year 1783 saw the founding of the Harvard Medical School, and this, though situated in Boston, was not without its effect in Cambridge. Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, the most eminent of the early professors, was a resident of Cambridge till his death, and was instrumental in establishing the botanic garden near his residence.

If the eighteenth century brought science to Cambridge, the opening of the nineteenth brought literature, in the person of a man whose memory is now almost wholly identified with public life. The appointment of John Quincy Adams in 1806 as Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory was a distinct step in intellectual training, and his two volumes of lectures still surprise the reader by their good literary judgment and recognition of fundamental principles. Levi Hedge was appointed (1810) professor of Logic and Metaphysics and aided the thought of the university while Adams gave it expression. A few years more brought to Cambridge and to the university a group of men at that time unequaled in America in varied cultivation and the literary spirit—Andrews Norton (1811), Edward Everett (1812), Joseph Green Cogswell (1814), Jacob Bigelow and George Ticknor (1816), Jared Sparks (1817), Edward T. Channing (1819), Charles Folsom (1821), George Bancroft (1822). Some of these men were temporarily, others permanently connected with the university, but all left their permanent mark on Cambridge. No American professor ever exercised so prolonged and unquestionable a literary influence as Prof. E. T. Channing; no one trained so many authors ultimately distinguished in American literature.

The influences of a college town have clearly shown themselves in Cambridge through the creation of what may be called literary families, in which authors have appeared in groups. Rev. Abiel Holmes, D.D., came to Cambridge as pastor of the First Parish in 1792, and both he and his eldest son, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, became authors; nor has his younger son, John Holmes, wholly escaped the same impulse. The Ware family came here in 1805, and were a race of authors; the two Henrys, Dr. John, William, John F. W. and George being all authors. Rev. Charles Lowell came to reside here before 1819; and he and his children, Rev. Robert T. S. Lowell, James Russell Lowell and Mrs. S. R. Putnam, were all authors. Richard Dana (born 1699), the head of the Boston bar in his day, was a native of Cambridge, as was Richard Henry Dana, the poet, his grandson; so was Richard Henry Dana, the lawyer and author of "Two Years Before the Mast;" so was his son, the third of the name, and editor of the *Civil Service Record*. The Channing family, closely connected with the Danas, were represented in Cambridge by Prof. E. T. Channing, already mentioned; by his nephew, the brilliant orator and writer, William Henry Channing, and now by a younger relative, the present Prof. Edward Channing, well known as a rising historical writer. With these two families may well be classed their kinsman by marriage, Washington Allston, whose prose and verse were as original and characteristic as his paintings, and who was long a resident of our city. Rev. Frederick Henry Hedge, long eminent as a scholar, was the son of a professor; and both Rev. Joseph Henry Allen and Rev. E. H. Hall represent the Ware family on the mother's side. William W. Story, the sculptor, who lived in Cambridge in his youth, was the son of Judge Story, the most eminent legal writer, in some directions, whom America has produced; and his son-in-law, George Ticknor Curtis, also resided here for a time. The Quincy family was also strongly literary through several generations; and though President Quincy's sons never, I think, resided in Cambridge, his grandson, Josiah P. Quincy,

was for some time a resident among us. Prof. Benjamin Pierce and his sons, James and Charles, were or are all mathematical writers. The present Prof. Charles E. Norton is also a distinguished representative of Cambridge authorship in its second generation; and the children of Dr. Palfrey are authors like himself, both his sons having contributed to military history, and his eldest daughter, Miss Sarah Palfrey, having written prose and verse under the name of "E. Foxton." To these accumulated instances of academic or literary families I may perhaps properly add those of my own household, as my father, who became steward of the college, was a pamphleteer, my mother wrote several children's books, my elder brother published a little work on American Slavery, and all before I myself became an author. My wife, Mary Thacher Higginson, has also published two small volumes.

Between 1825 and 1850 Cambridge became the residence of a series of men eminent in literature: Professor H. W. Longfellow, Rev. Dr. Palfrey, Professors Bowen and Lovering and the two Wymans, Rev. Dr. Walker and Rev. Convers Francis. The latter had the choicest private library in Cambridge, though surpassed in some directions by that of Thomas Dowse, now in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and at a later period by that of George Livermore. Professors Joel Parker, Simon Greenleaf and Theophilus Parsons, of the Law School, were also authors. A group of eminent foreigners also arrived here and became connected with the university: Professors Charles Follen, Charles Beck, Francis Sales and Pietro Bachi, all authors or editors, to whom was afterwards to be added the gifted and attractive Agassiz. His name suggests that, on the scientific side also, there were men in Cambridge who gave to science a literary attraction; Thomas Nuttall in botany and ornithology, followed later by Wilson Flagg, who wrote on similar subjects; Dr. T. W. Harris, the pioneer American entomologist,—worthily succeeded at the present day by Samuel H. Scudder,—Prof. John Frisbie and Prof. John Farrar. Cambridge has also been the source of editorship of some important and influential periodicals, looking in different directions. William Lloyd Garrison lived here for some years while editing the *Liberator;* Rev. Thomas Whittemore, while conducting the *Trumpet*, he being also president of the Cambridge Bank and representing Cambridge in the Legislature; and Rev. Edward Abbott was founder and editor of the *Literary World.* There were also in Cambridge women of literary tastes and achievements. Margaret Fuller Ossoli, a native of Cambridge, was the most eminent of these; but the list includes also Mrs. John Farrar, Miss Caroline F. Orne, Miss Sarah S. Jacobs, Mrs. Elizabeth C. Agassiz, Mrs. Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, Mrs. Mary A. Denison and Miss Charlotte F. Bates. Mrs. James Russell Lowell (Maria White) also wrote here some of her thoughtful and tender poems.

With the more recent expansion of the university, the list of resident authors has become almost coextensive with the list of instructors, and a special calendar is published at intervals, giving the bibliography of their work. Other former students of the university, in some of its departments, have taken up their abode here and done literary work, among whom might be named Rev. A. B. Muzzey, Christopher P. Cranch, John Fiske, Joseph Henry Allen and many others. The leader of American letters, Ralph Waldo Emerson, was himself a resident of Cambridge and taught a school here before he went to Concord, but before he became an author.

Among authors who have resided here, though without present or past connection with the university, may be named Joseph E. Worcester, W. J. Rolfe, W. D. Howells, T. B. Aldrich, H. E. Scudder, John Bartlett, Francis Wharton, Melville M. Bigelow, Rev. A. V. S. Allen, Rev. G. Z. Gray, Rev. C. H. Spaulding, Arthur Gilman, William Winter, George P. Lathrop, Oscar Fay Adams and W. M. Griswold. Provision has been made in the new Public Library building for a special collection of the works of our native and our resident authors—not including those who were simply here as students in the university—and should this plan be carried out in its fullness, it is doubtful whether Boston or New York can show a similar collection of greater variety or of more intrinsic value.

CHAPTER VIII.

CAMBRIDGE—(Continued).

MUSICAL.

BY WILLIAM F. APTHORP.

Life in university towns has a peculiar physiognomy, and life in Cambridge has never been quite exempt from this peculiarity. But in very few respects can the every-day life in Cambridge have been more singular than in its relation to Music. The musical history of Cambridge, taken as an aggregation of facts and occurrences, comes nearer to being a blank page than that of almost any town of its size and age in the country. Just what one would have expected to be the prime fostering influence to musical activity in the daily life of the place—Harvard College—worked for a long while, if indirectly, rather in the opposite direction. It seems paradoxical, at first sight, that the University, which was for many years virtually, although not officially, one of the most active centres of musical life in the town, should have, in another way, been an obstacle in the path of all larger developments in the public culture of the art, such as we find in most other towns of about the same size, and of far less intellectual and artistic im-

portance. But this seeming paradox is seen really to be none, on closer inspection; its reason is not hard to discover.

That Boston owes its prominent position in the literary and artistic history of our country in a large measure to the proximity of Harvard University has often been said, and is no doubt quite true. For many years Harvard University represented the chief intellectual nucleus in the United States; and the wealth of Boston brought with it that opportunity and leisure which are needful to make the humanities of life seem a necessity. The research and erudition of Harvard were not slow in being mirrored in the culture of Boston. One after another were intellectual men drawn from various parts of the country by the brighter, more active and profounder intellectual life of Harvard; but many of them, especially those who did not enter into direct, officially recognized connection with the University—either in the capacity of teacher or student—found the more brilliant social life and larger opportunities of Boston more attractive, while the mere three miles that separated the capital from the seat of learning presented no obstacle to their enjoying its refining and elevating influence. Thus comparatively few men of intellectual weight—such men as form the mental leaven of a community—have been drawn actually to make Cambridge their place of residence, unless for the purpose of special study at the University, or to join the ranks of its professors or tutors. By far the majority preferred Boston; Harvard was next-door, so to speak, as an ever-near inspiration and resource. Its influence was to be felt, to all intents and purposes, as keenly and pervasively in Boston as in Cambridge itself. This influence of Harvard University upon Boston culture, exerted as it has been both directly and in the way of attracting men of an intellectual or artistic cast to the city, can hardly be overrated. Indeed, in so far as the art of music is concerned, it is a fact that the initiative to much of the active musical life for which Boston has long been noted, and to which she owes her recognized position as one of the chief musial centres of the country, came really from Harvard, if in a wholly unofficial way. But of this more, later on.

The point which it is important to appreciate here is, that what of influence was exerted by the University either directly or indirectly upon the intellectual, artistic or even specially musical culture and organized musical activity of Boston, was so readily responded to, it bore fruit so soon and of such good quality, that Boston pretty well absorbed it all and there was little left to work efficaciously in Cambridge itself. If Harvard often gave the initiative, and, so to speak, sowed the seed, Boston was unmistakably the fittest soil wherein that seed could sprout, grow and ripen. The very proximity of Boston, the ease of communication between it and Cambridge, and the exceeding activity of musical life in the capital, in which the resident of the university town could participate at little expense or trouble, acted as an obstacle to Cambridge taking active measures to further the public or organized cultivation of music within her own precincts. What would have been the use? Boston was there, only three miles off—just over the way, as it were—with her concerts, theatres, opera and oratorios, and that was enough. There was not even a chance for local vanity to come into play as an incentive to local action—and heaven knows that Cambridge has always had her fair share of local pride; all competition with Boston in the way of musical enterprise would have been hopeless from the outset. Boston had too much the start, besides having more opportunity, more money and more leisure to attend to such things. Cambridge was wisely content to let Boston make music for her. Thus it came about that many of those incentives to musical activity and enterprise which came originally from Harvard, while they worked with often astonishing efficacy in Boston, failed, and for this very reason, to be productive of any very tangible results in Cambridge itself. Boston was inspired with enough zeal for herself and Cambridge too. Naturally it would be idle to claim that all the musical activity for which Boston has long been noted arose from an impulse given by Harvard University; but, although by no means all, it is true that no little of the musical activity in Boston can be traced in the end to such a source. Music is not the only department in which Harvard has done somewhat more to improve Boston than it has to improve Cambridge.

It has seemed worth while to dwell upon this point at such length, in order to explain the otherwise astounding vacancy of the musical annals of Cambridge. For it needs a little explanatory preluding to lead up to a statement such as this: that a New England town, over two centuries and a half old, which has been for nearly the whole of that period the seat of the first university in the country, which has been an incorporated city for forty-four years, and now has a population of upwards of 60,000 souls, has never had a theatre nor a music hall! That is to say, has never had a place especially built for a theatre, nor a hall constructed for the especial purpose of having music publicly performed therein. Much as if Cambridge never had a musical society, association or organization of importance. But it is not so bad as that, as we shall see in the sequel.

In the earlier days what little music was made was almost exclusively confined to the churches. Cambridge, like many another town, had her fair taste of the old New England psalmody. Those old psalm-tunes, harmonized in the clumsiest fashion, and often incorrectly, formed the staple of people's musical diet in those times, both in and out of the church. It seems incredible now that people should ever have taken to such things for the sake of musical enjoy-

ment, and it is highly probable that it was largely a sense of association that helped to make them palatable. The old tunes had become endeared to most of their votaries early in life, and often, no doubt, for quite other reasons than purely musical ones. No man can but have a certain affection through life for the tunes with which his mother used to sing him to sleep, when he was a child. Besides, people went to church in earnest then, and all that was associated with church-going appealed pleasantly to their taste and imagination. It seems as if the early taste for psalm-singing, for which New England was noted,—psalm-singing not only as a part of divine worship, but as a means of social musical recreation,—could only be accounted for in this way; for, even in the earlier colonial period, intercourse with England and the Continent was easy and frequent enough to give people abundant opportunity for making the acquaintance of music that was not only intrinsically better, but infinitely fitter for purposes of recreation than these raw-boned and ill-harmonized old tunes. No doubt, in the beginning, Puritan severity looked considerably askance at all purely secular music; and a remnant of this feeling survived for a long time in greater or less vigor. But with all possible arguments in favor of the superior propriety of singing psalms over all other forms of music, a certain force of endearing association must have been at work to make this exercise seem not only proper and profitable, but enjoyable as well. True it is that this passion for psalm-singing, for other purposes than those of worship, became deeply ingrained in the New England character; indeed, it has not been eradicated yet. Go on a summer's Sunday evening into the parlor of almost any country hotel you please, and your ears will be pretty sure to be greeted with a braying and discordant survival of this old practice. Only what is now done of a Sunday evening was then done at any time. Tate and Brady, with the appropriate music, was for a long time what people looked to for their musical solace. Of course, during the first two decades of the present century, the less good of the old tunes had fallen into disuse, the better ones had been reharmonized, and new ones written. Secular music, too, had in a certain measure supplanted the psalm-tunes as a means of home recreation, and a higher class of church music had, little by little, made its way into the Divine service. Instrumental music, too, had for some time been cultivated by amateurs. Yet it is surprising how late it was before an organ was placed in many of the churches. There was no organ in the First Church in Cambridge until 1827—by a curious coincidence, the year of Beethoven's death—and it is plain enough from some remarks in Dr. Holmes's sermon on the occasion (delivered on September 30th) that this addition was considered no little of an innovation. The learned divine said: "The introduction of an organ, instead of diminishing, should increase the number of singers in the congregation. It is not, you will remember, intended as a substitute for the voice, but as an aid to it." He could not have been more carefully explanatory had a church-organ then been heard of for the first time.

As I have said, the popular musical impulse came first from the churches, in Cambridge as elsewhere in New England, and a general fondness for signing psalm-tunes was the first result. But in Cambridge, whatever attempts were made to indulge this taste in an organized way have long since been forgotten. If any private singing clubs or societies were formed, no trace of them remains; they must have had very fluctuating and brief existences. In Boston the Handel and Haydn Society was formed in 1815, and it is likely enough that this rendered either the formation of a similar society in Cambridge unnecessary, or its survival impossible.

But what general music-loving society in Cambridge apparently did not do, or else did only to little purpose, for itself, some of the students of the University did. On November 9, 1786, was formed the Singing Club of Harvard University, a small club of undergraduates. That the main object of the club was for its members to sing together the then current New England psalmody appears from the records of its expenditures, in which several very grim-sounding psalm-tune books are mentioned among the purchases made by the club. Of other music bought there is little mention made; but now and then we come across small (at times incredibly small) sums of money, disbursed for the purchase of musical instruments. So it would seem as if the singers did not sing wholly unaccompanied. Among the original members of this curious little club we find President Kirkland, Judge Samuel Putnam, and in 1799, Leverett Saltonstall. It disbanded in May, 1803. This Singing Club of Harvard University would hardly have been worth mention here, had it not been the immediate forerunner of another far more important organization, which came in for what legacy of music and musical instruments the older body had to bequeath. This younger organization is one of real historical importance, for it has of later years had an immense, if indirectly exerted, influence upon the musical life of Boston, and by reflection, upon that of Cambridge itself. Let not the reader, especially if he live in Cambridge, smile when I say that this new society was the Pierian Sodality. That the Pierians have never played very well, either in the beginning or since, may be admitted at the outset; the present writer certainly can admit it with a tolerable grace, for he was once a Pierian himself. But the salutary and far reaching influence the Pierian Sodality came in time to exert, was exerted otherwise than through its musical performances.

The Sodality was projected and organized in 1808, by five young sophomores, to wit: Alpheus Bigelow, Benjamin D. Bartlett, Joseph Eaton, John Gardner

and Frederick Kinloch. Its object was the practice and performance of instrumental concerted music by its members. Many distinguished names are in its lists of membership, albeit not many names of musicians. George B. Emerson and Henry K. Oliver, (class of 1817) are to be noted. Later on we find the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop playing the trombone, Francis Boott, the composer, playing the flute, and John S. Dwight, the distinguished critic, playing the clarinet.

The detailed history of the Pierian Sodality belongs more properly to the annals of Harvard University than to those of Cambridge. But a few facts and dates may not be out of the way here. The secretary's records for the first twenty-four years of the Sodality's existence have been totally lost; it is only from the year 1832 that we can begin to follow the club's proceedings accurately. In this year the club was reduced to a single member, who, however, used to hold meetings by himself with laudable regularity, and duly record the same. But it is known that the Sodality's orchestra used to furnish music at the College Exhibitions and to give serenades on its own account as early as 1827. This fashion of serenading lasted until about 1858, when the Glee Club was formed, and open-air nocturnal performances fell more legitimately to its share. The Glee Club was founded by Josiah Bradlee, Benjamin W. Crowninshield, John Homans and C. H. Learoyd. It gave its first public concert, in conjunction with the Pierians, in Lyceum Hall, March 29, 1858,—a custom which has been kept up, with but few interruptions, ever since. It probably reached its highest point of excellence between 1864 and 1866, when George L. Osgood was leading first tenor. It was he, too, by the way, who, in his capacity of class chorister, put a sudden stop, in 1866, to the time-honored custom of omitting three beats from the measure between the phrases of "Fair Harvard" in the Class Day singing. Before his Class Day, people used to wait for this curious laming of the rhythm, as for one of the regular features of the day, and they were never disappointed.

But, to return once more to the Pierian Sodality. It has been already hinted that its historical importance did not reside in its musical performances; it is important and interesting to us here because of one of its offshoots. It was not unnatural that many of its members, on graduating from the University, should feel not only a deep interest in, but almost a sense of responsibility concerning the musical life of the community they were to begin life in. A large proportion of them were Boston men; the fact of their membership in the Pierian Sodality (that is, in a club of instrumental performers) naturally indicated them as ardent music-lovers, while their University degree gave assurance that they were men of a certain liberal culture. It is just such men as these who would instinctively dive to the very heart of musical circles in their after-college life, and more or less take the lead in promoting musical enterprise.

On July 27, 1837, a circular letter was issued by a committee of the Sodality, calling a general meeting of the honorary and immediate members (that is what would now be called the graduate and active members), to be holden in No. 6, University Hall, on Commencement Day, August 30th. This circular was signed by E. S. Dixwell, J. S. Dwight, Henry Gassett, Jr., C. C. Holmes, J. F. Tuckerman and W. T. Davis. It was proposed to unite the old members into a permanent association for the promotion of musical taste and science in the University. The meeting was attended by from thirty to forty gentlemen, J. M. Wainwright being appointed chairman, and Henry S. McKean secretary. A report of the committee was read by John S. Dwight, and several resolutions were adopted. Among them was that the Association should meet annually on Commencement Day, for the pleasure of social intercourse, and for the discussion of plans for promoting the interests of music in the University. It was likewise voted that plans be considered for introducing the study of music into the academic course, and for the formation of a musical library. At an adjourned meeting on the following Commencement Day, August 29, 1838, a constitution was adopted, and the style of General Association of Members of the Pierian Sodality of Harvard University was fixed upon. Two years later, at the fourth annual meeting, it was voted to sever all connection with the parent society, the Pierian Sodality, and the new title, Harvard Musical Association, was adopted.

The early years of the Association can have been neither very prosperous nor full of hope; for, at the eighth annual meeting, holden in Lyceum Hall, August 28, 1844, it was proposed that it should dissolve. But this motion was, luckily, never carried through, and the Association, if it did little or nothing else, continued to meet every Commencement Day; indeed, the very next year (1845) it was incorporated under an act of the Legislature. On March 14, 1848, the Association held its annual meeting (the eleventh) for the first time in Boston, at "the Music Rooms of Mr. Hews, in Washington Street." Henceforth the Harvard Musical Association should be considered as belonging to Boston rather than to Cambridge; but it still maintained its relations with the University, unofficial though they were, and every Commencement Day it had its room in or near the College Yard, where a light lunch, drink, tobacco and social chit-chat awaited the members. This custom was kept up until shortly after 1860, when it fell into disuse.

This is not the place to speak in detail of the influence the Harvard Musical Association has exerted upon music in Boston. Still a few of the results of its energy may well be detailed here, for they are not uninteresting from the bearing they have had upon

the musical life of Cambridge. Curiously enough, among the musical enterprises, the inception of which can be traced to the Harvard Musical Association, there are comparatively few in the promotion of which the Association took any official action, or, indeed, in the history of which it appears at all in its corporate capacity. But at its annual suppers it often happened that one or another member would propose a musical scheme, which would then be freely discussed, its value and the best means of carrying it out determined. Then such members as felt personally interested in it would unite in pushing it, although the Association, as such, would take no official part in the business. Yet it is noteworthy that hardly a piece of musical enterprise was ever mooted by a member of the Association, without its being discussed quite as fully and freely at these meetings as if it had been really official business. In this way, the building of the Boston Music Hall, the purchase of the Great Organ, the introduction of music into the academic course at Harvard, even to the engagement of John K. Paine as organist and instructor in music at the University, are really quite as traceable to the influence and energy of the Harvard Musical Association as were its more avowed pieces of enterprise, such as the giving of chamber concerts and the establishment of the symphony concerts, which were given in Boston for seventeen seasons, from 1866–67 to 1882–83.

What is most important to our present purpose is to note that almost all the musical enterprises, traceable either directly or indirectly to the Harvard Musical Association, were carried out in Boston; thus the influence of the Association was mainly exerted in the direction of centralizing the best musical executive means, and the most favorable conditions for musical performance in the State capital. And so successful were these efforts that, as has already been pointed out, little opportunity or necessity was left for Cambridge to do anything musically for herself. Had Harvard University, in the beginning, shown more disposition to look with favor upon the efforts of the Association to foster the cultivation of music within her own gates, all might have been different. All the original members of the Association were sons of *Alma Mater*, and very much disposed at first to work harmoniously with their Mother for the good cause of Art. But in the early forties, music was not merely ignored, but positively despised in New England, save by especially musical people; and the Overseers and Faculty of Harvard University were by no means ahead of their time in their respect for the art. The most well-meant attempts of the young Association to induce the University officially to recognize the dignity of the art of music were met with rebuff after rebuff, and it is no wonder that its members soon turned their energies to cultivating the art in a more prurient field, namely in Boston, and independent of the University. Had it been otherwise, Harvard University might have been one of the chief musical educators and promoters of musical culture in New England, if not in the whole country —with the Harvard Musical Association as the secret power behind the throne; and Cambridge might, in time, have grown to be a sort of musical centre, in the sense that Oxford was for a long while in England. But this was not to be; at least, it was not to be so soon as, nor to the extent that, it otherwise might have been.

Of course, the city lived its own musical life in private, as other cities do; Cambridge has never lacked its fair share of music-lovers. And, if these went to Boston for their concerts, oratorios and operas, they made no little music among themselves in a quiet, unassuming way at home. But of such home-music little or no trace remains; it forms no part of history.

The University, however, did not forever remain obdurate to the claims of music to be regarded as a legitimate factor of education; musical instruction of a sound and reputable, if rather limited sort, became in time obtainable at College, if it was not recognized as a part of the regular academic course. But a change was to come, and this change was brought on, more than by anything else, by the engagement, in 1863, of John K. Paine as organist and musical instructor to the University, to succeed Levi P. Homer, deceased. Nothing could be more apt to bring the University to a due sense of what it owed to the art of music than the presence, in its own body of instructors, of this ardent, energetic, thoroughly equipped and uncompromising musician. His position in the University must have been a pretty arduous one at first; at that time he was, musically speaking, an ultra-classicist, a determined *Bachianer*, and, as such, could look for little sympathy, much less for comprehension, from even those members of the Faculty who were inclined to be musical. But he, with some others behind him, left no stone unturned to enlarge the scope and emphasize the importance of musical instruction in the University. That old influence, which, years before, the Harvard Musical Association had sought in vain to bring to bear upon the University directly from without, now proved fruitful and efficacious when wielded within its own gates by this determined musician, who was, by the way, also a member of the Harvard Musical Association, and backed up energetically by other members. In 1873 Mr. Paine was appointed Adjunct Professor of Music, and in 1875 he was raised to a full professorship. This was the first chair of music ever created in an American University. The dignity of the art was at last fully recognized by Harvard; music was admitted as a regular elective study in the academic course, and high honors, *Summi Honores*, could be won in it. Thus was the original dream of the Harvard Musical Association, that offshoot of the older Pierian Sodality,

more than realized; and who shall say that the thoughts, efforts and impetus of the Association had not much to do with making its realization possible?

But Professor Paine's influence has not been felt in the University only; it has been active in the general musical life of Cambridge also. Since the erection of the Sanders Theatre, in 1876, Cambridge has shown signs of an ever-increasing determination not to be wholly dependent on Boston for concerts. True, these concerts have been given by imported talent—the Listemann Quartet, the Thomas Orchestra or (as of later years) the Boston Symphony Orchestra—but the funds for their support have been raised in Cambridge itself. And among the foremost of those to whose zeal and energy the maintenance of these concerts has been due, Professor Paine has always been found. Now a regular series of orchestral concerts in Sanders Theatre is as much a matter of course, every winter, as it is in Boston itself.

CHAPTER IX.

CAMBRIDGE—(Continued).

MEDICAL HISTORY.

BY HENRY O. MARCY, A.M., M.D., LL.D.

In the formation of a new settlement, by people representing in a high degree the culture of the period, it is but natural to expect that the civilization represented by it would be a fair exponent of the times. This in an exceptional degree is true of the history of Cambridge, and it finds its exponent in medicine, as well as in the other learned professions. Although in the early period of the settlement of Cambridge the practice of medicine was, in a considerable measure, associated with that of the clerical profession, the records of the colonists clearly show that they recognized the importance of a man specially trained as a surgeon, and to supply the need entered into an agreement with one John Pratt, who came from England and settled in Cambridge. He was undoubtedly the first physician recognized as a "Doctor of Physick." It is recorded on a fly-leaf of the "Colony Records," vol. i., under date of March 5, 1628, that said Mr. Pratt came to Cambridge under an agreement with the "Company of Adventurers." A proposition being made to entertain a surgeon for the plantation, Mr. Pratt was propounded as an able man upon these conditions, namely,—"That £40 Sterling should be allowed him, viz., for his chest £25, the rest for his own salary the first year; provided he continue three years, the company to be at the charge of transporting his wife and a youth, to have £20 a year for the other two years, and to build him a house at the Company's charge, and to allot him one hundred acres of ground; but, if he stay but one year, then the company to be at charge of his bringing back to England, and he to leave his servant and the chest for the company's service." It is in evidence that he practiced with and sought the good of the settlement for some years, but becoming dissatisfied, he wrote a letter of complaint to a friend in England, because of which he was called sharply to account by the magistrate in November, 1685. It will be remembered that, at this time, Cambridge, the so-called New Towne, was the seat of government for the Colony, and the hope was expressed by Governor Dudley that men of ability might be attracted here by the advantages which the settlement offered. In 1683 Wood wrote that, "the inhabitants of the New Towne are most of them very rich and well stored with cattle of all sorts." The Courts, both general and particular, were held in Cambridge exclusively, until May, 1636, when they were removed to Boston. Although not germane to the history of medicine, this letter of John Pratt is of sufficient interest to refer to, somewhat in detail. It is clearly evident that, then as now, the attractions to induce settlers were emphasized in glowing language, and that the deprivations and hardships incident to a new country oftentimes caused a longing to return to old England, and that this homesickness found expression in strong language of discontent. The original letter appears not to be in preservation, but it was deemed of sufficient importance, coming from such a source, to be taken notice of by the authorities, lest therefrom permanent harm should come to the colony. "At the Court of assistants," says Winthrop, November 3, 1635, "John Pratt, of Newtown, was questioned about the letter he wrote into England, wherein he affirmed divers things, which were untrue and were of ill-repute for the state of the country, as that here was nothing but rocks, and sands, and salt marshes, etc. He desired respite for his answer until the next morning; then he gave it in writing, in which, by making his own interpretation of some passages and acknowledging his error in others, he gave satisfaction."[1]

The answer indicates clearly the purport of the letters in question and is on record as follows:[2]

"The answer of me, John Pratt, to such things as I hear and perceive objected against me, as offensive in my letter. First, generally, whatsoever I writ of the improbability or impossibility of subsistence for ourselves or our posterity without tempting God, or without extraordinary means, it was with these two regards: first, I did not mean that which I said in respect of the whole country, or our whole patent in general, but only of that compass of ground wherein these towns are so thick set together; and secondly, I supposed that they intended so to remain, because

[1] Savage's "Winthrop," i. 173, 174; Paige's "History of Cambridge," p. 24.

[2] Paige's "History of Cambridge," pp. 24–26.

(upon conference with divers) I found that men did think it unreasonable that they or any should remove or disperse into other parts of the country ; and upon this ground I thought I could not subsist myself, nor the plantation, nor posterity. But I do acknowledge that, since my letter, there have been sundry places newly found, as Neweberry, Concord, and others which will afford good means of subsistence for men and beasts, in which and other such like new plantations, if the towns shall be fewer and the bounds larger than these are, I conceive they may live comfortably. The like I think of Conecticott, with the plantations there now in hand, and what I conceive so sufficient for myself, I conceive so sufficient also for my posterity. And concerning these towns here so thick planted, I conceive they may subsist in case that, besides the conveniences which they have already near hand, they do improve farms somewhat further off, and do also apply themselves to and do improve the trade of fishing and other trades. As concerning the intimation of the Commonwealth builded upon rocks, sands and salt marshes, I wish I had not made it, because it is construed contrary to my meaning, which I have before expressed. And whereas my letters do seem to extenuate the judgment of such as came before, as having more honesty than skill, they being scholars, citizens, tradesmen, etc., my meaning was not so general as the words do import; for I had an eye only to those that had made larger reports into England of the country than I found to be true in the sense aforesaid. And whereas I may seem to imply that I had altered the minds or judgments of the body of the people, magistrates and others, I did not mean this in respect of the goodness or badness of the land in the whole plantation, but only in point of removal and spreading further into other parts, they afterwards conceiving it necessary that some should remove into other places, here and there, of more enlargement; and whereas I seem to speak of all the magistrates and people, I did indeed mean only all those with whom I had any private speech about those things. And as for the barrenness of the sandy grounds, etc., I spake of them then as I conceived, but now, by experience of mine own, I find that such ground as before I accounted barren, yet, being manured and husbanded, doth bring forth more fruit than I did expect. As for the not prospering of the English grain upon this ground, I do since that time see that rye and oats have prospered better than I expected, but as for other kinds of grain, I do still question whether they will come to such perfection as in our native county from whence they came . . .

"And, as concerning that which I said, that the gospel would be as dear here as in England, I did it to this end, to put some, which intended to come hither only for outward commodity, to look for better grounds, ere they look this way. As for some grounds of my returning, which I concealed from my friends, for fear of doing hurt, I meant only some particular occasions and apprehensions of mine own, not intending to lay any secret blemish upon the State. And whereas I did express the danger of decaying here in our first love, etc., I did it only in regard of the manifold occasions and businesses which, here at first, we meet withal, by which I find in my own experience (and so, I think, do others also), how hard it is to keep our hearts in that holy frame which sometimes they were in where we had less to do in outward things, but not at all intending to impute it as necessary to our condition, much less as a fruit of our precious liberties which we enjoy, which rather tend to the quickening of us, we improving the same as we ought.

"This, my answer (according with the inward consent and meaning of my heart), I do humbly commend to the favorable consideration and acceptance of the Court, desiring in this, as in all things, to approve myself in a conscience void of offence towards God and man.

"JOHN PRATT."

His offence was pardoned and he continued to reside in Cambridge for nearly ten years, when he sailed for England with Capt. Thomas Coytmore, and, together with his wife was wrecked and drowned near the coast of Spain in December, 1646.

"This man was above sixty years old, an experienced surgeon, who had lived in New England many years, and was of the First Church at Cambridge, in Mr. Hooker's time, and had good practice and wanted nothing. But he had been long discontented, because his employment was not so profitable to himself as he desired, and it is like he feared lest he should fall into want in his old age, and therefore he would needs go back into England; for surgeons were then in great request there, occasioned by the war ; but God took him away childless."[1]

The dissatisfaction, of which the letter referred to, written by Surgeon Pratt, is an exponent, grew to such proportions that rival factions centred about the two great ecclesiastics of the day, Mr. Cotton, of Boston, and Mr. Hooker, of Cambridge, both in a measure physicians as well as clergymen, which resulted in Mr. Hooker, accompanied by more than fifty families, removing to Hartford, Conn. Of the original settlers, there are reported to have been but eleven families left, which gave little need of a practitioner of medicine in their midst.

The bitter persecution in England, to which the Puritans had been subjected, had caused them to foresee the possibility of a removal to the New World, and a considerable number of their ministers had, on this account, studied medicine. These men formed a large proportion of the early physicians of the colony. As a rule, they had been liberally educated, and some of them are the authors of the first medical treatises

[1] Savage's "Winthrop," v. i, p. 173 ; ii, p. 239.

published in America. For the most part they practiced only among the members of their own respective societies. During the period of the early settlement of the colonies few men were specially trained in the practice of physic, and medicine was distinctly an art rather than a science,—the period which preceded the teachings of Sydenham, under whose guidance the art of medicine may be said to have taken a new departure. The people believed in specifics, and remedies were prescribed as sovereign cures. Two schools of medical practice prevailed in Europe,—the one taught the use of vegetable substances alone; the other advised, for the most part, mineral compounds. The first of these schools styled themselves the Galenists, since they followed the teachings of Galen: the ancestry of the botanic doctor of the last generation, the eclectic of to-day.

The other school accepted the teachings of Paracelsus and gave "chemical" medicines (so-called), mineral compounds, and a few of the most active vegetable extracts. These men were frequently called chemists. The rivalry between the two schools was naturally a bitter one, but from each comes the name commonly ascribed to the apothecary, as druggist and chemist. The literature of the medical profession was scanty and consisted generally, in America, of certain limited facts concerning disease, together with a knowledge of certain drugs which were to be taken as a remedy for certain diseases. I quote as follows from the "Memorial History of Boston": "I had the privilege of examining and reporting to the Massachusetts Historical Society on a paper of medical directions placed in my hands by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, the president of the society. It is headed, 'For my worthy friend, Mr. Wintrop,' and signed 'Ed. Stafford.' Its date is 1643, and I was not able to decide whether it was intended for Governor John Winthrop, or for his son, the Governor of Connecticut. The list of remedies is made up principally of simples, or vegetable substances; St. John's wort, black hellebore, great bryony root, the four great cold seeds, maiden-hair, fennel, parsley, witch-hazel, elder, clown's all-heal (*stachys palustris*), saffron, fox-glove, jalap, scammony, snake-root, are among these, many of them inert, some dangerous, if not carefully handled. Caranna and tacamahacca, two gums, of which it used to be said, 'Whatever the tacamahacca has not cured the caranna will,' and Burgundy pitch are also enumerated. Of mineral substances, lime-water, salt, saltpetre, *crocus metallorum* (sulphuretted oxide of antimony) are mentioned. "A Wilde Catt's skin on ye place greived" is recommended for pains in the heart or limbs. More formidable to the imagination than any of these is, 'my black powder against ye plague, small-pox, purples, all sorts of feavers, poyson, either by way of prevention or after infections.' This is made by burning toads to charcoal and reducing this to powder. It belongs to that list of abominations which disgraced the old pharmacopœias, but which have disappeared from the armamentarium of regular practitioners. As late, however, as the year 1789, Cullen had to censure Vogel for allowing burnt toads and swollen chicks to remain on his list of remedies.

"The Winthrops—to one of whom Dr. or Mr. Stafford's directions were given—assisted their fellow-citizens with medical counsel as well as in many other ways. The Governor of Connecticut, John Winthrop, treated a great number of medical cases in Hartford, and left a record of his practice extending from 1657 to 1669. This manuscript was also intrusted to me. I examined it very carefully and reported upon it in the lecture before the Massachusetts Medical Society to which I have already referred. From it we may get an idea of what was likely to be the kind of treatment to which our Boston predecessors would be submitted. The excellent Governor seems to have been consulted by a great number of persons, to have had a wider circle of practice, it may be suspected, than many of those who called themselves doctors. The common diseases of all ages and both sexes appear to have come under his care. Measles and their consequences are at first most prominent, and fever and ague had often to be treated. He used the ordinary simples dear to mothers and nurses—elecampane, elder, wormwood, anise, and the rest; and beside these certain mineral remedies. Of these, nitre (saltpetre) was his favorite. Another favorite prescription was spermaceti, which, like Hotspur's fop, he seems to have considered 'the sovereign'st thing on earth,' for inward bruises and often prescribes it after falls and similar injuries. Other remedies were antimony, now and then a little iron, or sulphur, or calomel, rhubarb, jalap, horse-radish (which I remember Cullen recommends for hoarseness), guaiacum and the old mithridate or farrago, which, like so many foolish mixtures, owed all its real virtue to opium. He amused his patients with doses of coral and of amber, and sometimes gave them (let us hope without their knowing it) some of those unmentionable articles which insulted the senses and the stomachs of seventeenth and eighteenth century patients. One medicine which he very often prescribes he calls *rubila*. After long search I found this consisted of four grains of diaphoretic antimony, with twenty grains of nitre and a little salt of tin. I do not remember that the Governor ever mentions bleeding or blistering. Whether busy practitioners found time to bleed their patients as readily as those who had little else to do might be questioned. One of my old friends told me that the Philadelphia doctors used to order blood-letting more frequently than the Boston ones, because there was in that city a set of professional bleeders. . . .

"By the kindness of the late librarian of the American Antiquarian Society I had placed in my hands a manuscript of Cotton Mather, entitled, 'The Angel of Bethesda, an essay upon the Common Maladies of Mankind, offering first the Sentiments of Piety,' etc., and 'a Collection of plain but Potent and Approved

Remedies for the Maladies.' This starting-point is, of course, theological. 'Sickness is, in fact, *Flagellum Dei pro peccatis Mundi.*' The treatise is full of pedantry, superstition, declamation and miscellaneous folly."[1]

John Winthrop, the founder of Boston and Governor of Massachusetts, was well versed in medicine, but his public services to the Colony were so marked that his minor ministrations among friends and neighbors are thrown into the back-ground. The venerable Cotton says of him, just before his death, that he had been "a Help for our Bodies by Physick, for our Estates by Law."[2]

The Apostle Eliot, under date of September 4, 1647, writes to Mr. Shephard, the minister of Cambridge, and expresses the desire that, "Our young Students in Physick may be trained up better than yet they bee, who have onely theoreticall knowledge and are forced to fall to practice before ever they saw an Anatomy made, or duely trained up in making 'experiments,' for we never had but one Anatomy in the Country, which Mr. 'Giles Firmin' (now in England) did make and read upon very well, but no more of that now."

Since anatomy is the old name for a skeleton, Mr. Firmin may be considered to date as the first medical lecturer of America. He excited an interest in the subject to such a degree, that at the session of the General Court, October, 1647, just following the date of Eliot's letter they resolved, "We conceive it very necessary y^e^ such as studies physick, or chirurgery, may have liberty to reade anotomy and to anotomize once in foure yeares some malefacto in case there be such as the Courte shall allow of."[3] Mr. Firmin studied at the University of Cambridge and was learned in medicine. After a time he moved to Ipswich, where he was known as a physician; subsequently, however, he studied theology, returned to England and was ordained, settled as a rector, but continued to practice medicine.

Charles Chauncy, that stern Puritan, president of Harvard College, and also Leonard Hoar, who succeeded him, were regular graduates of medicine at Cambridge, in England. Chauncy left six sons, all of whom were educated at Harvard College and became preachers. "They had," says Cotton Mather, "an Eminent skill in 'Physick' added unto their other Accomplishments; which, like 'him' (their father), they used for the 'Good' of many; as, indeed, it is well known that until Two Hundred Years ago 'Physick in England' was no Profession distinct from Divinity."[4]

John Rogers, the fifth president of the college, was also a practitioner of medicine. Hoar was the first president who was a graduate of the institution, but Rogers was an earlier graduate, who became its president afterwards. Elisha Cooke was a prominent physician, as also a politician. He graduated at Harvard in the class of 1657, being one of the first-natives of the town that studied medicine.

In the notes of the period of the early settlement of Cambridge there is little comment made upon the prevailing diseases as the causes of death. Yellow fever occurred in Boston in 1649, having been introduced from ships arriving from the West Indies. A strict quarantine was established by order of the General Court on March 16th, prohibiting the landing of persons or goods from such vessels. No further sanitary regulations were adopted until October, 1665, when a warrant was issued by the General Court, ordering vessels coming from England to be placed in quarantine. This was on account of the "plague" existing in London at that time, but was repealed two years afterward, owing to the disappearance of the disease. These two orders, adopted to meet the emergencies, comprise the whole legislation of the seventeenth century so far as it relates to quarantine in Massachusetts. The quarantine grounds were near the Castle. In 1693 the yellow fever was brought to Boston from the Barbadoes, but few of the citizens of Boston and vicinity were affected by it. It was recorded in the winter of 1650 that "the Lord was pleased to inflict us with coughs, agues and fevers."

"Under date of 1671, this summer many were visited with ague and fever, and again in September of the next year agues and fevers prevailed, mostly among us about the bay."[5]

John Josselyn writes in September, 1671, of finding the inhabitants exceedingly afflicted with the fever, ague and bloody flux.

In 1721, with the exception of Dr. William Douglass, there was not a single practitioner of Boston who was a regular graduated physician. He died in October, 1752, having passed his whole professional life in Boston, where he had much influence as a physician. Small-pox prevailed in 1721 more extensively and fatally than ever in Boston and its vicinity. A statement of results was made officially in the *Boston News Letter*: "Boston, Feb. 24, 1721–2. By the Selectmen. The number of persons visited with the small-pox since its coming into town in April last having been inquired into by direction from the Selectmen amounts to 5889, 844 of whom died," October recording the exceptional mortality of 411. There is no record of the extent of this scourge in Cambridge, but references to it are found in the *New England Courant* for November, December, January. Under January 22, 1722, it is stated, "On Friday last the General Assembly of this Province met at Cambridge. There not being a sufficient number to make a house on Wednesday, to which day they were before pro-

[1] Oliver Wendell Holmes "Memorial History of Boston," vol. iv., pages 556–557.

[2] Magnolia, book 2, chap. iv., p. 15.

[3] Mass. Historical Collection, iv. 57.

[4] Cotton Mather's "Magnolia" book, iii., chap. 23, page 140.

[5] Church Records, Rev. Mr. Danforth, Roxbury.

rogued, they are adjourned to Tuesday next, when they are to meet a few miles out of town, the small-pox being now in the heart of that place." The Town Records show that a committee was appointed January 29th to provide "for the relief of such persons and families as may stand in need thereof, in case the small-pox spread amongst us."

Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, of Boston, at about this time first introduced inoculation for the small-pox, but he encountered the most violent opposition. Of 286 persons who were inoculated for the small-pox but six died. Rev. Cotton Mather is accredited with having strongly advocated inoculation, based upon his knowledge of the methods of inoculation which had long been practiced in Constantinople, and had been published in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of London."

In 1730 the small-pox again prevailed to an alarming extent in Cambridge. Town-meetings were held to devise means for its extermination. A vote passed indicates the public opinion regarding inoculation; "Whereas, Samuel Danforth, Esq.'s, late practice of inoculation of small-pox amongst us has greatly endangered the town and distressed sundry families amongst us, which is very disagreeable to us; wherefore voted that said Samuel Danforth, Esq., be desired forthwith to remove such inoculated persons into some convenient place, whereby our town mayn't be exposed by them." The college studies were broken up for a time and the students dispersed. Again in 1752 small-pox caused the breaking up of the college work from April 22d until the following autumn.

An epidemic occurred in Cambridge in 1740 which was called the "throat distemper," and is probably the same disease that Dr. Thacher describes as an influenza, somewhat resembling the recent attack of La Grippe which, in the early winter of 1890, spread over both continents. Thacher describes it, "The amazing rapidity with which it spread through the country resembled more a storm agitating the atmosphere than the natural progress of a disease from any contagious source. Almost a whole city, town or neighborhood became affected with its influence in a few days, and as it did not incapacitate the people in general from pursuing their ordinary occupations, it was common to observe in every street and place of resort a constant coughing, hawking, and wheezing, and in public assemblies little else was to be heard or attended to. Although all classes of people experienced the operation of the influenza, it is remarkable that a small number of people, comparatively speaking, were so ill as to require medical attendance, and instances of its fatal termination were of rare occurrence." [1]

It proved so fatal in Cambridge, however, that the students were dismissed from college by a vote passed June 23, 1740. "Whereas, through the holy Providence of God, several families in the town of Cambridge are visited with the throat distemper, and the President's and Steward's families are under very afflicted circumstances by reason of that mortal sickness, and whereas we apprehend that there is great danger of the distemper spreading and prevailing as it hath done formerly in other places, and that the students are much endangered thereby; thereby Voted, that they be immediately dismissed from the college and that the vacation begin from this time, and that the Commencement for this year be not until the expiration of the vacation." [2]

Mr. Paige, in his "History of Cambridge," cites instances from a private note-book of a number of deaths which occurred at this time, and the inference is extremely probable that the cause was the disease which we now know under the name of diphtheria.

Captain Goelet, in 1750, describes Cambridge as follows: "After dinner Jacob Wendell, Abraham Wendell, and self took a horse and went to see Cambridge, which is a neat, pleasant village which consists of about an hundred houses and three colleges, which are a plain, old fabrick, of no manner of architect and at present much out of repair; is situated on one side of the Towne and forms a large square; its apartments are pretty large. Drank a glass of wine with the collegians, returned and stopt at Richardson's, where we bought some fowles, and came home in the evening, which we spent at Weatherhead's with sundry gentlemen." [3]

The next important incidents which occur, relating in a general way to the medical history of Cambridge, are grouped about the period of the Revolutionary War. This little, quiet university town became the focus of the early operative measures which led to the rebellion, culminating in the independence of the States. Her citizens mourned their dead after the battle of Lexington, and Cambridge became the common rendezvous of the troops forming the basis of the Continental Army. The early "New England History and General Register" found the aggregate of troops in Cambridge, in the summer of 1775, a little over eight thousand.

Hospitals were at once established in the larger houses, which were assigned by the Committee of Safety. Drs. John Warren, Isaac Rand, William Eustis, James Thacher, Isaac Foster, Thomas Kittredge, and others, officiated in these hospitals, under the general supervision of Dr. Church. Three houses are still in existence, rendered famous by many previous and subsequent events, which were used, at this time, for hospital purposes.

Between Arrow and Mt. Auburn Sts. was the estate of David Phips, the sheriff of Middlesex, colonel of the Governor's troops, and son of Lieut. Gov. Spencer Phips. This estate was earlier that of Major-General

[1] "Medical Biography," i. 28.

[2] "History of Cambridge," Paige, p. 132.

[3] "N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register."

Daniel Gerkin, Indian superintendent, and it was under Gerkin's roof that Generals Goffe and Whalley, the regicides, were at one time sheltered. This hospital was under the special care of Dr. Dunsmore.

The Rev. Dr. Apthorp's house, erected about 1761, is one of the finest examples of colonial architecture left to us. Since Dr. Apthorp was a representative man in the church episcopate service, he was received with ill-favor by the colonists, although born in Boston, and he removed to England in 1764. The house was styled, in a satirical way, "The palace of one of the humble successors of the Apostles." For a time General Putnam, of Connecticut, occupied it as his headquarters, until the Committee of Safety designated it for hospital purposes.

The celebrated old Brattle house, from the owner of which the street is named, recently purchased by the Social Union, and restored for permanent preservation, was occupied, at the breaking out of the war, by General William Brattle. This house was also used as a hospital, and afterward occupied by General Mifflin, quartermaster-general of the Continental Army. This house was the scene of many interesting events during the siege of Boston.

Dr. Jonathan Potts, a distinguished army surgeon of the Revolution, was the brother-in-law of General Mifflin. Perhaps no residence in Cambridge is associated with the past with greater variety of interesting reminiscences than this of the old Brattle estate, now robbed of its wide acres of lawn and landscape garden. As an interesting incident in the life of Dr. Warren, then the active patriot, better known to history as General Joseph Warren, whose loss the country mourned, killed in the battle of Bunker Hill, I quote the exquisite graphic pen-picture from the diary of Dorothy Quincy: "Several of our brave Cambridge men are killed. Mrs. Hicks sent her eldest boy to look for his father as night came on. He found him lying dead by the roadside, and near him Mr. Moses Richardson and Mr. William Marcy. These three were brought home and hastily buried in one common grave in the churchyard. Ah, the sorrows of that night! How near it brought war to our doors, this first burial of victims of British tyranny! It was no time for funeral ceremonies; and as the terrified and sorrowing friends stood around the rude grave in which was put all that was mortal of these brave men, Dr. Warren tried to comfort them with hopeful words. 'It will soon be over,' he said; 'then rightful honors will be paid to those who fell in defence of our country.' I cannot forget it. The lurid glare of the torches, the group in the graveyard, the tender but hurried burial, without service or even coffins, and Elias Richardson's act of filial love in carefully spreading the cape of his father's overcoat upon the dead man's face, lest the cold earth should fall directly upon it. Dr. Warren himself, they say, had a very narrow escape in the affray. He ran recklessly into it when the British were retreating, and a bullet whizzed past his head, taking off one of the side curls."[1]

The introduction of vaccination into America was by Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, of Cambridge. He was born in Newport, R. I., March 4, 1754; died in Cambridge, Mass., Oct. 2, 1846, aged ninety-two years. He was educated in London, Edinburgh, and Leyden, where he received his medical degree. In 1783 he became Professor of Theory and Practice of Physick at Harvard College, in Cambridge, where he also promoted the study of Natural History, Botany, and Mineralogy. From 1811 to 1825 he was medical supervisor of the military posts in New England. In 1799 Dr. Jenner communicated to him, his discovery of vaccination by means of kine-pox, and Dr. Waterhouse at once tested it by vaccinating his son Daniel, a lad of five years of age, who had the disease in a mild form. His first publication was in the *Columbian Sentinel*, dated at Cambridge, March 12, 1799. It is entitled, "Something Curious in the Medical Line," and is the first account of vaccination given to the public in America; published in a newspaper, so as to call the attention of the daily farmers to such a distemper among their cows. In the year 1800 he published a tract, entitled, "A Prospect of Exterminating the Small-pox," being the history of variola vaccina, or kine-pox, etc. In it he describes inoculating a servant boy of about twelve years of age with some of the infected thread from England. This is probably the method first adopted for preserving the vaccine virus, which came by a "short passage from Bristol," although in the autumn of 1802, Dr. Waterhouse records the receiving of quill points, or tooth-picks, charged with the virus. Some years ago I remember to have seen a small silver box, said to have been presented to Dr. Waterhouse by Dr. Jenner, which contained enclosed virus. The test of the faith he had in the efficacy of the vaccination of his own son recalls Dr. Boylston's heroic courage in inoculating his son for small-pox.

"Still in the back-ground, and a little at one side, for they were not Boston physicians, but lived on the other shore of the river at Cambridge, are three figures belonging to three physicians, each of whom is a typical representative of a class, all distinct images in my memory.

"Benjamin Waterhouse, whose name stands on his title-pages over an inverted pyramid of titles of great dimensions, studied in London, Edinburgh, and Leyden, at the last of which places he took his medical degree in the year 1780, the same in which died the learned Professor Gaubius, a pupil of the world-renowned Boerhaave. He was a relative of the excellent Dr. Fothergill, of London, with whom he used, as he tells us, to drive upon his rounds of medical visits. He will be long and deservedly remembered as having introduced vaccination into the

[1] "The Cambridge of 1776," page 19.

western world. He was for some years Professor of Theory and Practice in Harvard University. He speaks of himself as Director of the Military Department comprehending the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. He may have voluntarily relinquished practice; but whether this were so or not, I never remember hearing of any patient under his care. He had, however, vaccinated great numbers of persons, myself among the rest. He probably liked to write and lecture and talk about medicine better than to practice it. A brisk, dapper old gentleman, with hair tied in a ribbon behind, and I think powdered, marching smartly about with his gold-headed cane, with a look of questioning sagacity, and an utterance of oracular gravity, the good people of Cambridge listened to his learned talk when they were well, and sent for one of the other two doctors when they were sick. Two brief extracts from an essay of his will sufficiently show his way of thinking and prescribing:

"'As to planetary influence, mentioned by Boerhaave and Mead, the various aspects of the sun and moon, their accessions, recessions, perpendicular or oblique irradiations, conjunctions and oppositions, and their effects on us through the medium of our atmosphere, we are not prepared to express a decided opinion. . . . Millipedes have been given with good effect in whooping cough. . . . Physicians in the last century thought they could not practice without millipedes, while too many in this day believe them good for nothing.'

"All this was rather too medieval for Cambridge in the nineteenth century.

"While Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse was walking about with his gold-headed cane, like a London physician *minus* his chariot and his patients, Dr. William Gamage was riding around on a rhubarb-colored horse with his saddle bags behind him, and stopping at door after door. Grim, taciturn, rough in aspect, his visits to the household were the nightmare of the nursery. He would look at the tongue, feel of the pulse, and shake from one of his phials a horrible mound of powdered ipecac, or a revolting heap of rhubarb—good, stirring remedies that meant business, but left a flavor behind them which embittered the recollection of childhood. This was the kind of practice many patients preferred in those days; they liked to know they had taken something energetic and active, of which fact they were soon satisfied after one of Dr. Gamage's prescriptions. While Dr. Waterhouse was airing his erudition on foot and Dr. Gamage was jogging round on horseback with his saddle-bags, Dr. Timothy L. Jennison was driving about in an ancient chaise drawn by a venerable nag, chiefly, it may be suspected, to exercise the quadruped and get the benefit of the fresh air for himself, for his practice could hardly have been considerable, although I do remember hearing that he was employed by one family. I believe he was the safest practitioner of the three, for he was accused of overfondness for old women's harmless vegetable prescriptions, which means that he gave nature a fairer chance than she is apt to have in the hands of learned theorists and heroic routinists. The young man whom Dr. Danforth found it hard to get along with, was his successor in public esteem as a practitioner. Family connection gave me the opportunity of knowing him well. He was my revered friend as well as my instructor, and my longer and fuller acquaintance with him enables me to confirm all that Dr. Green says in his praise." [1]

The Medical Department of Harvard was first established at Cambridge, and while here Dr. Waterhouse held his professorship. I quote from Thacher's "History of Medicine in America," "The University at Cambridge, Mass., has contributed to the interest and advancement of medical science, by an institution founded on the generous benefactions of several enlightened and liberal individuals. Dr. Ezekiel Hersey, of Hingham, who died in 1770, bequeathed one thousand pounds, and his widow, at her decease, a like sum, to be applied to the support of a professor of anatomy and surgery. His brother, Dr. Abner Hersey, of Barnstable, who died in 1786, and Dr. John Cuming, of Concord, were also donors to the amount of five hundred pounds each for the same laudable purpose; and William Erving, Esq., of Boston, left one thousand pounds towards the support of an additional professor. In conformity with the views of the patrons and donors, professors of talents and character were in 1782 appointed, by whom lectures on the several branches were regularly delivered, and students received the honors of the institution. In 1780 Dr. John Warren, while surgeon of a military hospital in Boston, commenced a course of anatomical lectures, and in the following year they were attended by the students of the University. Dr. Warren furnished a plan for a medical school which was adopted by the Corporation of Harvard College, and he was appointed first Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic, and Dr. Aaron Dexter, Professor of Chemistry. This was the first essay made in New England for the establishment of an institution for medical education. George Holmes Hall and John Fleet were the first who were admitted in course to the degree of Doctor in Medicine at the University, in the year 1788. From a spirit of envy and jealousy towards the professors, great opposition was made to the degree being conferred upon the two candidates, and it was by the address and perseverance of Dr. Warren that the object was finally accomplished. In consequence of many inconveniences, both to professors and students, and of the superior advantages which might result from lectures delivered

[1] Oliver Wendell Holmes' "Memorial History of Boston," vol. iv., chap. x., pp. 564–5.

in a more populous situation, the Corporation and Board of Overseers of Harvard University deemed it expedient to establish a medical school in the town of Boston. The several courses of lectures were accordingly transferred, and commenced in that metropolis in December, 1810." [1]

"The establishment of a botanic garden at Cambridge will doubtless prove, at a future period, an excellent auxiliary to the study of botany and pharmacy, and facilitate a knowledge of the indigenous plants of the country and their introduction into our materia medica. Two townships of eastern land have been granted by our Legislature, and a subscription of $30,000 was obtained for the purchase of land and other expenses of this valuable establishment. It was for several years under the management of William D. Peck, as Professor of Natural History, and a Board of Trustees, of which the President of the Medical Society is *ex-officio* a member." [2]

The transfer of the Medical Department of the University to Boston caused the medical interests to centre in Boston rather than in Cambridge. There appears to have been no organization of the Cambridge physicians, as such, either in society or public work, until about 1867, when the Cambridge Medical Improvement Society was formed, with meetings at the residences of its members each month, when papers were presented and discussed, with the reports of cases of interest, etc. The attendance upon these meetings has been good from the very beginning of the organization, with much profit to its members and the general interests of the community.

Out of this organization grew the formation of a public dispensary, where the poor were freely treated and the city divided into districts, with physicians appointed to each.

A fund was slowly accumulated for the purchase of land and the building of a hospital. A Board of Trustees was appointed for this purpose, of which Dr. Morrill Wyman was the most active member, and after years of labor, the result has been the establishment of the Cambridge Hospital, with ample surrounding grounds, which is filling a long-felt want.

The Cambridge Hospital was opened in 1867 by Miss Emily E. Parsons, and was kept open a year, when it was closed for want of a suitable house. It was re-opened in 1869 and was closed again in 1872.

At the request of Miss Parsons the following citizens of Cambridge: Hon. Isaac Livermore, Rev. Sumner R. Mason, Dr. W. W. Wellington, Rev. Kinsley Twining, Benjamin Tilton, Rev. Alexander McKenzie and Dr. H. P. Walcott met November 14, 1870, at the residence of the first-named and voted to apply to the General Court for an act of incorporation, under the name of "The Cambridge Hospital;" on the 23d of February, 1871, an act, signed by Governor Claflin on February 13th, was accepted by the above-named persons, who, with their associates and successors, were made a corporation for the purpose of maintaining a hospital in the city of Cambridge for sick and disabled persons, to be called The Cambridge Hospital.

In the early months of 1872 it became evident, by reason of lack of interest on the part of the community, that the hospital could no longer be kept open, and, with the approval of Miss Parsons, it was closed, by vote of the trustees, May 1, 1872, there being then in the hands of the treasurer $191.47.

In December, 1873, a bequest for $10,000 was received from the estate of Mr. Isaac Fay; $100,805.55 have been received in donations and bequests from this date to May, 1886.

In 1883 the lot of land on which the hospital stands was purchased; the erection of buildings was begun in the early spring of 1884, and the hospital was finished and ready to receive patients 1st May, 1886.

The hospital building is on the south side of Mount Auburn Street, overlooking Charles River.

The site has nine and one-third acres. The soil is dry, gravelly or sandy. The surface upon which the present buildings stand is well raised above the crown of Mt. Auburn Street; it is about twenty-five feet above the level of Charles River and sufficiently distant from its bank; it has a water front of 500 feet. On the opposite bank is a park or meadow of seventy acres, given by Prof. Longfellow and others to Harvard College, "to be held by the grantees as marshes, meadows, gardens, public walks or ornamental grounds, or as the site of college buildings not inconsistent with these uses." Facing the south, the wards have the full influence of the sun and a free course for the very desirable south-west breezes of summer. The river in front and the meadows beyond effectually exclude all dust and noise from that direction, and the view is unobstructed to Corey's Hill, two miles away.

The two wards of one story and the centre building of three stories form three sides of a hollow square, the opening towards the south (the axis of the buildings is but three degrees west of the north and south line). At the south end of each ward is a sun room eight feet wide and extending across the whole width of the ward. Along the north end of the wards is a corridor, glazed in winter, which connects the wards with the centre building, and protects all the rooms occupied by the sick and the hollow square from the cold winds of winter. This plan, known as the Lariboisière plan, seems to be as well calculated for this small hospital as it is for the large hospitals, for which it was first designed.

The centre, forty by fifty feet, has on the lower floor rooms for the physician and the matron, a dining-room, a reception-room, an accident-room and a dispensary. The second floor has rooms for six patients,

[1] Thacher's "History of Medicine in America," vol. i., p. 31.
[2] Thacher's "History of Medicine in America," vol. i., p. 38.

a bath-room and two other rooms. The third story has six rooms for nurses and others.

Each ward is sixty by thirty feet and twelve feet high, the ceiling higher in the middle than at the walls, giving 113 square feet of flooring and 1356 cubic feet of space for each patient; it has ten windows. The sixteen beds are arranged with the heads next the wall and about one foot from it. The door and windows of the south end of the ward are near its middle; this secures the beds from troublesome draughts when they are open. The north end of the building is wider than the ward; in it are the nurses' room and the "tea-kitchen," both opening into the ward; behind this is another room not connected with the ward, for a single very sick patient, so arranged that the friends may visit it without disturbing others. In the extreme end, at the north, separated from the ward by three doors in a corridor, are the lavatory, the bath-room, the water-closet, the linen-room and the clothes-room. It will be observed that these offices are at the north, and the farthest removed from the sick. The arrangement of the nurses' room gives good opportunity for inspection; standing just outside the door of her room the nurse can see every bed and every patient without change of position.

The hospital is arranged for forty beds, but accommodations could be provided for about forty-five patients.

The property of the hospital is held by a corporation which is composed of persons named in the act of incorporation, and such persons as may from time to time be elected by ballot at any legal meeting of the corporation, and of such persons as may at any time give $500 or upward, or the equivalent of the same in one donation. At any meeting each member shall be entitled to one vote. The management is by a board of twelve trustees which elects its secretary and treasurer, and four practitioners of medicine to constitute a board of consultation, a house physician, eight visiting physicians and such other officers as may be necessary for carrying on the hospital. The whole number of patients at this date (April, 1890) treated in the hospital is 886, of out-patients 842.

It has been found quite impossible to collect the data for giving a sketch of the individual members of the medical fraternity during the long period since Cambridge was first settled. Perhaps this would be hardly desirable in a general history, covering so much of public interest, and instead it has been thought wise to furnish in a general way a sketch of the events relating especially to the subjects of general interest viewed from the medical standpoint. The writer is fully aware that there must be, of necessity, many important omissions—a considerable part of which, however, could have been easily filled with a more active co-operation on the part of the living members. The following physicians, members of the Massachusetts Medical Society, have been, or are, residents of Cambridge:

	Admitted.	Died.	Age.
Kneeland, William	1782	1788	56
Waterhouse, Benjamin	1785	1846	92
Wyer, Edward	1786	1788	37
Jennison, Timothy Lindall	1803	1845	85
Gamage, William	1803	1821	76
Chaplin, James Prescott	1808	1828	46
Manning, Samuel	1810	1822	42
Williams, John	1812	1846	99
Wellington, Timothy	1812	1853	70
Foster, Thomas	1815	1831	46
Oliver, Daniel	1818	1842	54
Titus, Samuel	1820	1834	61
Webster, John White	1821	1850	60
Perry, Nathan	1823		
Harris, Thaddeus William	1823	1856	60
Choate, George, retired	1826	1858	
Hooker, Anson	1826	1869	70
Plympton, Sylvanus	1826	1865	71
Hayden, John Cole	1829	1869	67
Appleton, John	1833	1869	60
Bemis, Jonathan Wheeler	1834		
Chaplin, Charles Foster	1834	1857	57
Dana, Francis	1836	1872	65
Sawyer, Samuel	1836	1859	54
Brown, Artemas Zina	1836		
Wyman, Jeffries	1837	1874	60
Wyman, Morril	1837		
Pierce, Charles Henry	1837	1855	41
Wheeler, Lewis	1837	1872	
Wellington, William Williamson	1839		
Howe, Estes	1840		
Martin, Ephraim	1840		
Johnson, Henry Flavel	1840		
Foster, Charles Francis	1841	1865	67
Allen, Charles Hastings	1843		
Clarke, Moses	1845	1864	46
Taylor, John Bunker	1849	1889	67
Bartlett, Benjamin Dixon	1849	1853	63
Alden, Jonathan Phinney	1849	1863	70
Webber, Alonzo Carter	1849		
Nichols, John Smith	1852	1862	34
Morse, James Richards	1854		
Hooker, Anson Parker	1855	1873	41
Wood, Franklin Augustus	1856		
Palmer, John Kinsley	1856	1878	
Nichols, John Taylor Gilman	1859		
Plympton, Henry Sylvanus	1861	1863	25
Flowers, William Caldwell	1863		
Walcott, Henry Pickering	1863		
Marcy, Henry Orlando	1863		
Norris, Albert Lane	1865		
Nichols, George Merrick	1865		
Driver, Stephen	1865		
Crocker, John Myrick	1866		
Vaughn, Charles Everett	1866		
Holt, Alfred Fairbanks	1867		
Coggswell, Edward Russell	1867		
Clarke, Augustus Peck	1867		
Goddard, John Tyler, removed	1867		
Weston, Edward Henry	1867	1889	
Stevens, Edmund Horace	1868		
Hildreth, John Lewis	1868		
Ware, Frederick	1868	1869	26
Edgerly, David Mark	1869		
Folsom, Norton	1869		
Berry, Horace, removed to Jacksonville, Fla.	1871		
Dow, James Arthur	1871		
Otis, Robert Mendum	1871		
Wood, Edward Stickney	1871		
Kelly, Cyrus Kingsbury	1872		
Keniston, James Mortimer, Middletown	1872		
McLeod, Angus	1872	1873	32
Latimer, James Abercrombie	1873		

	Admitted.	Died.	Age.
Rotch, Thomas Morgan	1873		
Walsh, Edmund	1873		
Bryant, Lewis Lincoln	1874		
Coburn, George Albert	1874		
Hills, William Barker	1874		
Howe, Samuel	1874		
Farnham, Edwin	1874		
Ela, Walter	1874		
Morse, Frederick Langdon	1875		
Talbut, James Hartamus	1875	1875	46
Somers, John Edwin	1876		
O'Connel, John David	1876		
Whittemore, Fred. Webster	1877		
Cunningham, Thomas Edward	1877		
Webber, Frank Orlando	1877		
Rice, Frederick Eugene	1878		
Wyman, Samuel Edwin	1878		
Jones, George W	1878		
McIntire, Herbert Bruce	1882		
Church, Moses David	1882		
Nelson, Samuel N	1882		
Dunbar, Franklin Asaph	1882		
Taylor, Frederick Weston	1882		
Wetherbee, Roswell	1882		
Preble, Wallace	1884		
Finnegan, Patrick Joseph	1884		
Foster, Charles Chauncy	1884		
Hahn, A. J.	1884		
Cahill, Charles Sumner	1886		
Wellington, Charles Berwick	1886	1889	
Hooker, Edward Dwight	1887		
Tuttle, Albert H.	1889		

William Kneeland, M.M.S.S., was born in Boston in 1732, and graduated at Harvard College in 1754, having a distinguished part in the exercises previous to his receiving the first honors of the university. He then studied medicine with an eminent physician. While qualifying himself for his profession he pursued various branches of science, and was noted as an eminent scholar, especially in logic and metaphysics. Before entering upon the practice of his profession he was appointed to a tutorship in the college, which he filled with dignity and approbation for the period of nine years. He became a member of the Medical Society in 1782, and died in 1788, aged fifty-six years.

James P. Chaplin, M.D., was born in Groton, Middlesex County. He studied medicine as a pupil of Dr. Warren, of Boston, graduated at Harvard Medical College and settled as a practitioner in Cambridgeport. He was most successful and won a high reputation in his profession. He established a home for the reception and cure of insane patients, and his success was so remarkable that he enlarged his asylum on quite extensive plans for the accommodation and comfort of those placed under his care. His reputation spread far and wide, until he had more applicants than he could receive. His method of cure was a moral one. By his peculiar calm and commanding manner and admirable judgment he was able to control his patients, to which he added the most careful regimen and much exercise. A member of the Massachusetts Medical Society and officer therein, his opinions were always sought and respected. During the twenty-three years that he practiced medicine in Cambridge he was several times prostrated with illness, and in 1810 was reduced very low with spotted fever. In 1824 he met with an accident—the breaking of the tibia of his right leg by the kick of a horse. He was suddenly attacked in August, 1828, with violent pain in his head, great intolerance of light and sound. He continued to suffer more or less until October, when he grew worse and died on the morning of October 12th, after having lain in a comatose state for several hours.

Samuel Manning, M.D., became a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1810. He settled in Cambridge about 1820. By his first wife he had five children. In 1822 he married Mrs. Elizabeth Abbott. He died at the age of forty-two, of pneumonia. The children were carefully educated by Mrs. Manning. One daughter married Prof. Cleveland, the father of Dr. Clement Cleveland, of New York. Few women of Cambridge were so prominent in good works as Mrs. Manning; by all known and beloved. She died in 1885, when nearly ninety-five years of age. She had owned and occupied the celebrated Dr. Apthorp House—Bishop's Palace of Revolutionary fame—for about sixty years.

Anson Hooker, A.M., M.D., was born July 17, 1799, in Westhampton, Mass. He graduated in Williams College in 1818, and at the Harvard Medical School in 1822.

He began his medical career at the south end of Boston, and for a time had charge of a Dispensary District. He removed from Boston to East Cambridge in 1825, and from that time until his death, in November, 1869, he was an active and devoted physician. Dr. Hooker was a man of high character, and of more than ordinary ability. His life was a laborious one, but he was enthusiastic in his love of his profession, and he performed its every duty with conscientious fidelity. He had a genial and cheerful disposition, was eminently social and domestic, and carried sunshine wherever he went. His reputation was good in all branches of the profession; in midwifery he was an expert. His obstetrical practice was very large. Those who have examined his record-books report that they find that he attended about ten thousand cases of labor. His skill in obstetrical operations was proverbial. During the war he was especially detailed by order of Governor Andrew to visit and report upon the condition of the Massachusetts soldiers invalided in the Western United States general hospitals. He performed this duty in a very satisfactory manner, and received the thanks of the Governor for the service rendered.

Dr. Hooker was regarded by the community in which he lived, not only as the good physician, but as the wise counselor and the kind friend.

At various times he was called to fill important offices of trust and responsibility. He served upon the Board of Aldermen and School Committee of Cambridge, and for two years represented the city in the Legislature. His death, at the age of three-score and ten years, was caused by disease of the heart.

The scene at his funeral was impressive. The church in which the services were held was crowded, and the countenances of those present indicated clearly the sadness of their hearts. Places of business were closed, and the whole population seemed to unite in offering a last tribute of affection to one whom they loved and honored. A fitting monument has been erected to his memory by the contribution of his townsmen.[1]

Sylvanus Plympton, M.D., was born in Woburn January 1, 1794; prepared for college at Andover; entered Harvard College in 1814, and graduated in 1818; and from the Harvard Medical School in 1822.

April 5, 1823, was appointed surgeon of the First Regiment of Infantry, in the First Brigade and Third Division, of the militia of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, John Brooks, commander-in-chief.

February 18, 1823, married Mary Bell Warland, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth (Bell) Warland, and actively practiced his profession in Cambridge until prevented by the protracted illness of his later years.

During this time he had won a high position in the esteem of his townspeople and acquired a large practice. He was especially prized in midwifery. In 1842 he was one of the selectmen of Cambridge, and he served two terms in the Massachusetts Legislature. Died February 1, 1864.

John Appleton, M.D., was born in Salem, Mass., January 9, 1809. He attended school in his native town until his fifteenth year, when his father died. Under the direction of his guardian, Major John Prince, clerk of the courts, in the interval of his studies, he was employed in his office. While there, a love of antiquarian and genealogical researches seems to have been developed. In February, 1830, he entered the office of Dr. A. L. Pierson, of Salem, commencing the study of medicine. During the winter of 1830–31 he attended the Medical School at Harvard University. In February, 1833, he graduated as Doctor of Medicine, and took the Boylston prize. He practiced in his profession for a short time in Boston, and subsequently in other towns. He was quite successful in his profession, but its duties were arduous and wore upon his constitution. He was an accomplished musician, and an occasional composer. He painted in oils and water-colors, and sketched with considerable skill.

He accepted the position of assistant librarian of the Historical Society, which position he occupied until December, 1868, a few weeks before his death, when he resigned. While in the position of librarian, he devoted much time in the cataloguing of all the printed books and pamphlets. In this he showed ample historical and bibliographical knowledge for the work. The first volume of the catalogue was published in 1859, and the second in the following year.

Dr. Appleton married at Boston, May 22, 1831, Miss Elizabeth M. Messer, who still survives him. He resided in Cambridge for a number of years and died there February 4, 1869, aged sixty years and twenty-six days, leaving two sons and four daughters.

As a physician he was conscientious, aiding and directing nature in her healing efforts, charitable to the poor, affable and instructive to all, winning the good will and confidence of the sick by his honest and gracious appearance; courteous to his seniors, kind to his juniors, he always secured the confidence and love of all with whom he came in contact.

He was a member of the Cambridge Medical Improvement Society, and published several papers in the Proceedings of the Historical Society,—1, "On the Great Seal of New England," July, 1862; 2, "On the Portrait of King William in the Society's Gallery," September, 1862; 3, "On Almanacs, in the reign of Queen Anne," June, 1863; 4, "On an Amortissement of Louis, Duke of Orleans," October, 1863; 5, "On Early Charts of the Harbor of Boston," September, 1864; 6, "On the William Winthrop MSS.," December, 1864; 7, "On the Portrait of Sebastian Cabot in the Society's Gallery," January, 1865; 8, "On the Alleged Portrait of Rev. John Wilson in the Society's Gallery," September, 1867.

Charles Foster Chaplin M. D., was born in Salem in 1800; he pursued his medical studies under the direction of the late Dr. James P. Chaplin, and received his degree at the Harvard Medical School in 1829. Soon after he opened an office in Cambridgeport, and entered upon the duties of his profession. His practice, at first small, gradually increased, and in a few years he was doing a large and lucrative business. He gained the public confidence by his quiet unobtrusive manners, by his plain common sense and practical skill, and by his devotion to the welfare of those entrusted to his care. He was a man of no pretension, and made no effort to thrust himself into notice; but those who employed him found him a kind friend and an agreeable companion, as well as an intelligent and skillful physician. The interest manifested in him during his long illness, the many and anxious inquiries with regard to his disease, the numerous expressions of gratitude and esteem uttered by those to whom he had formerly been a medical adviser, abundantly testify to his good qualities of mind and heart, and to the deep hold he had upon the affections of those who knew him.

Among his medical brethren he was highly esteemed as a wise counselor and an honorable man. One at least of their number will not soon forget his repeated acts of professional kindness, and the pleasant intercourse they for many years enjoyed as neighbors and friends.

Dr. Chaplin was a lover of the fine arts, in fact his natural tastes inclined him in this direction, rather

[1] By Dr. W. W. Wellington, *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, December 1, 1881, p. 520.

than to those studies strictly appertaining to his profession. Many of his leisure hours were devoted to painting and sculpture; and he has left good specimens of his skill in these departments. He was fond of music and was a good musical performer. He loved gardening; and was never more happy than when engaged in cultivating and ornamenting the pleasant grounds attached to his residence.

He was an illustration of the old mythological affinity of medicine, music and the fine arts.

About four years since he was obliged, on account of increasing illness, to retire from his professional duties. His disease was a chronic affection of the brain, and was protracted and painful. At times his sufferings were intense; but they were borne with patience and resignation. He was cheerful and hopeful; however sick he might be to-day, he always expected to be better to-morrow. Throughout his illness he was soothed and cheered by the untiring and self-sacrificing ministries of a devoted wife, whose offices of affection and love became the more arduous and constant as his bodily powers failed and his mental faculties became dim. He passed away peacefully and quietly, leaving behind him many who will long cherish his memory as a kind friend and a good physician.[1]

Francis Dana, M.D., was son of Francis Dana, Esq., brother of the poet Dana. He was in Harvard College with the class of 1827, but left before graduation, and commenced the study of medicine. He received his degree in 1831 from the Harvard Medical School, and before settling in Cambridge practiced for some time in the western part of the State. The last years of his life he was librarian of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In 1867, at the request of his classmates, the degree of A.B. was conferred upon him, so that he might appear as a member of his class in full standing. He was highly esteemed as a gentleman of the strictest integrity, and as a man of science. He joined the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1836 and died in 1872, at the age of sixty-five, having been in ill health for some time, so that his death was not unexpected.

Jeffries Wyman, A.M. M.D., was born in Chelmsford, Massachusetts, August 11, 1814. His father, Dr. Rufus Wyman, was the first physician at the McLean Asylum for the insane. He was the third son and was named after Dr. John Jeffries, who had been instructor of his father.

He fitted for college at Phillips Academy, Exeter, entered in 1829, and graduated in the class of 1833. He studied medicine with his father and Dr. John Call Dalton, receiving his degree from Harvard Medical College in 1837. He served as house physician at the Massachusetts General Hospital, but never actively entered into the practice of his profession. He was appointed, soon after graduation, demonstrator to Dr. John Collins Warren, the Hersey Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in Harvard University. He was also chosen as curator of the Lowell Institute, and in 1841 he delivered a course of lectures before the institute, and with the money he received from this source he went to Europe for the purpose of pursuing his favorite branches of study, namely, human and comparative anatomy, natural history and physiology. He studied very carefully the collection at the Hunterian Museum in London, and while there was summoned home, on account of his father's death.

In 1843 he was appointed Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the Medical Department of Hampden Sydney College, Richmond, Va. He resigned this in 1847, being chosen Hersey Professor of Anatomy at Harvard. In the furtherance of his work and to illustrate his lectures, he began the formation of the Museum of Comparative Anatomy. In 1852 his health compelled him to visit Florida, and from this time, he suffered more or less as an invalid. Twice he visited Europe, and made a voyage to Sumatra in 1856 and to La Plata in 1858. All these journeyings he made tributary to his scientific purposes. For twenty years he worked quietly, happily, not stimulated by loud applause. In 1866 Mr. George Peabody, of London, laid the foundation, by a large gift of money, of an archæological and ethnological museum, and Dr. Wyman was made curator. He entered with the enthusiasm of youth upon the duties of this office. From 1856 to 1870 he was president of the Boston Society of Natural History. He was also president of the American Association for the Promotion of Science in 1857. These honors came to him unsought. During the few months previous to his death he worked as usual and placed the museums in perfect order. He went to the White Mountains, thinking to derive benefit, but was attacked with several spells of bleeding, and September 4, 1874, a sudden and copious hemorrhage occurred which proved almost at once fatal. Funeral services were held at Appleton Chapel, in Cambridge, and his remains were laid to rest at Mt. Auburn.

Prof. Wyman twice married and left three children, heirs of his honored and memorable name. His earliest article in print was entitled "The Indistinctness of Images formed by Oblique Rays of Light," September, 1837. There is a list of sixty four papers by Prof. Wyman in the Catalogue of the Royal Society of London. This list comprises his works down to 1863. He kept up his contributions to science, the last unpublished manuscript being dated May 20, 1874. His most important contribution to human anatomy in his paper entitled, "Observations on Crania," published in the Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History, April, 1868. In Comparative Anatomy his most elaborate essays are that on the "Nervous System of Rana Pipiens, "Embryology of Rais Batis."

[1] Obituary notice written by Dr. W. W. Wellington, and published in the *Cambridge Chronicle* in 1857.

His pamphlet entitled, "Notes on the Cells of the Bee," is a model of accurate, patient, ingenious research. His experiments on the development of infusoria in infusions of organic matter, after long-continued boiling in sealed vessels, are among the most thorough and satisfactory which have been made on this crucial subject.

He left his admirable collection of Comparative Anatomy to the Boston Society of Natural History, the specimens of morbid anatomy and monstrosity to the Boston Society of Medical Improvement.

Morrill Wyman, A.M., M.D., LL.D., was graduated A.B. from Harvard University in 1833, and M.D. from its Medical Department in 1837.

He is a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, to which he was admitted in 1837; of the Cambridge Society of Medical Improvement; of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and various other societies.

His published writings include: "A Treatise on Ventilation," Cambridge, 1846, "Autumnal Catarrh," New York, 1872, and Boston, 1876. For many years Dr. Wyman has been justly considered a leader in his profession; was for some time Professor of the Practice of Medicine, Medical Department Harvard University; has been honored by the University with the degree of LL.D.

At the completion of his fiftieth year of active practice he retired as a consultant. The occasion was celebrated by a complimentary dinner given him by the Cambridge Medical Improvement Society.

William Williamson Wellington, A.M., M.D., Cambridgeport, Mass., son of Dr. Timothy Wellington, for forty years a physician in West Cambridge (now Arlington).

Born in West Cambridge, July 29, 1814; received his early education chiefly under his father's direction at home and at a private school kept by John Angier in Medford, Mass.

Entered Harvard College at the age of twelve years, in 1826, without conditions. Continued, however, at school two years longer, and after a second examination was again admitted in 1828; graduated in 1832, and received the degree of Master of Arts in 1851. Kept school three years in the Northfield Academy, and for three summers in West Cambridge. Graduated from the Harvard Medical School in 1838, and in the same year established himself in practice in Cambridgeport, Mass.

Is a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, of the Cambridge Society for Medical Improvement, honorary member of the Obstetrical Society of Boston, and associate member of the Massachusetts Medico-Legal Society; was one of the coroners of Middlesex County for ten years; was connected for more than forty years with the School Board of Cambridge.

In 1870 he delivered the annual address before the State Medical Society, which was afterwards published.

Upon the completion of half a century of active professional labor Dr. Wellington was tendered a complimentary dinner by the members of the Cambridge Medical Improvement Society, a notice of which, in the daily press, the editor has thought of sufficient interest to append:

"Dr. J. L. Hildreth, president of the society, presided at the banquet, and the committee of arrangements consisted of Dr. James A. Dow (chairman), Dr. H. O. Marcy and Dr. C. E. Vaughan.

"After the banquet Dr. Wellington gave a very interesting account of his early life. The son of a celebrated physician of wide practice, he was graduated classically in 1833; then taught an academy at a distance from Boston. Of his experiences he gave some delightful reminiscences.

"He studied medicine in Boston, and was the pupil of Drs. J. C. Warren, Jacob Bigelow, John Ware, George Hayward and others. He was trained in clinical teachings by his father and John Perry, of Boston, and was associated intimately in his studies with Dr. Cotting, of Roxbury, a life-long friend.

"After graduation Dr. Wellington was further educated in Paris, then the world's medical Mecca. Dr. Wellington gave a most interesting word-picture of Paris and her distinguished teachers, Louis, Chomel, Andree and others. He was associated there with Dr. H. I. Bowditch, the late Dr. Jackson, of Boston, and others.

"In 1847, Dr. Wellington said, he was present at the first operation performed upon a patient under the influence of ether at the Massachusetts General Hospital, which marked the new era in surgery.

"When Dr. Wellington began the work of the profession in Cambridgeport, it was a borough of only about 3000 inhabitants, with only one other physician, Dr. Wyman settled in Cambridge one year earlier than Dr. Wellington and has also seen the town grow into a city of 70,000 inhabitants, from small beginnings.

"Dr. Morrill Wyman was next called upon to speak. He alluded pleasantly to their relations during so many eventful years, practicing side by side. They did not always think alike, to be sure, he said, but their differences have never affected their harmonious personal friendship and regard for one another.

"Dr. A. C. Webber spoke of his forty years of practice in Cambridge by the side of Dr. Wellington. He had always found him a firm friend and wise counselor, and a generous, courteous gentleman, who was never guilty of taking advantage of his professional brethren. Speaking retrospectively, Dr. Webber alluded to the growth of the city and said that the time was once, when he had to take a lantern with him when going through the streets of our city to answer a call at night, because street-lamps were not then in vogue.

"Dr. H. O. Marcy followed in a happy manner, speaking in the highest terms of 'our guest,' to whom

he said he had often turned for help, wisdom and counsel. Dr. Marcy said the younger physicians of Cambridge ought to be thankful that such men as the senior physicians of this city had been men of such noble character and splendid influence as well as skillful practitioners, and had been an example to their juniors in every respect, worthy of emulation.

"Dr. Wellington is in good health and still actively at work, and has the promise of many years of usefulness yet before him. Long may he remain with us is the wish of the entire community."

Charles H. Allen, M.D., joined the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1843. He resided for a number of years in Temple Street, Cambridgeport, and was a very successful practitioner. He was fond of literature, a writer of considerable repute upon a variety of subjects; was proficient in music. He erected a handsome residence on Craigie Street, in Old Cambridge, about 1870, and retired from active practice. Some years later he removed to Chicago, where he devoted a considerable portion of his time to literary pursuits. He died in 1889.

Moses Clarke, M.D., was born January 18, 1818, and died in East Cambridge, March 29, 1864, aged forty-six years. He was the son of Greenleaf Clarke, Esq., of Atkinson, N. H. His mother was the daughter of Dr. William Cogswell, a surgeon in the Revolutionary War, and successor of Governor Eustis in the charge of the Military Hospital, at West Point. Dr. Clarke received a thorough education at Atkinson and Pembroke Academies, and took his medical degree at Dartmouth College in 1843, having studied under the direction of Dr. Josiah Crosby. He first entered upon the practice of his profession at Derry, N. H., but he remained there only one year, when he removed to Cambridge, where he continued in successful practice almost up to the time of his death. He was a member of the School Committee ten or twelve years, and city physician about the same time. In both of these positions he won the respect and love of his associates. He acted also as superintendent of a Sabbath-school at the Almshouse. He was a man of character and independence, and when he knew his duty in a particular path he did not hesitate in its performance, however rough or thorny the way might be. He was a true man in the fullest sense of the word; deceit formed no element in his character. A relative who knew him well says: "He was affectionate in all the relations of domestic life, patriotic and public-spirited as a citizen, highly respected as a physician, honest and independent in action, heroic in suffering and practical and consistent as a Christian."

John Bunker Taylor, M.D., was born in Hinsdale, N. H., October 16, 1821. He died suddenly at Cambridge, February 15, 1889. His father was a farmer. Young Taylor was possessed of energy, natural talent and a determination to make the best of life. He went through the regular curriculum of the young American country youth of the last generation, developing a good physique on the farm, where he worked summers, attending the district school winters, until sufficiently advanced to enter the Brattle (Vt.) Academy. From there he went to the Union Academy at Meriden, N. H., and completed his preparatory education at the famous seminary at Easthampton, Mass.

He taught school for a time at Chesterfield, and commenced the study of medicine at Northampton. He attended lectures at Pittsfield and entered the office of Dr. Anson Hooker, in Cambridge, as a student, in 1844. He was graduated in medicine from the Medical Department of Harvard University, and joined the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1848.

In 1855 he married Miss Helen M. Reed, of East Cambridge. Four children—two sons and two daughters—have blessed the union. For a number of years Dr. Taylor was a partner in business relations with the late Dr. Anson Hooker. Soon after the commencement of his professional career he was appointed physician to the House of Correction, which position he held until his death. For many years he was a member of the Cambridge School Board. He was one of the trustees of the Cambridge Hospital, and upon the consulting staff from its organization. He held various public and responsible positions and was active in the promotion of temperance and other progressive and reformatory society movements.

Dr. Taylor was most loved by those who knew him best; never demonstrative, yet looked upon as a leader in his section of the city. He possessed more than a fair share of physical vigor, which he gave unreservedly to all who demanded his professional care. His best was freely offered and most fully appreciated at the bedside of the suffering, and his tender sympathies and loving charities will be treasured in kindly remembrance by many hundreds whose only recompense could be given in gratitude and prayers.

In his self-sacrificing daily love he cheerfully practiced the teaching of the Golden Rule, and fell at his post of duty in a touching, almost tragic way, dying on the very couch of the sufferer at whose bedside he was guarding over that most mysterious, almost miraculous of nature's processes, the birth of another independent life.

Anson P. Hooker, M.D., was the son of Dr. Anson Hooker, and was born in Cambridge in 1832. He graduated at Harvard University in the class of 1851, and became a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1855. He was one of the first of the young surgeons to offer his services to Governor Andrew at the breaking out of the Rebellion. He was commissioned surgeon of the Twenty-sixth Massachusetts Volunteers Sept. 10, 1861, and served with honor and distinction in the Department of the Gulf, until he was compelled from disease to resign. He returned home June 18, 1862. The disease continued and hastened his death. He discharged all the trusts imposed upon him with rare ability and great fidelity. He

won the love and respect of all who were associated with him by his amiability of disposition. With a generous heart and open hand, he succored his comrades in distress. He was a wise and safe counselor and a faithful and true friend. His early death in 1873 caused great sorrow among his friends and neighbors, with whom he had spent his whole life, save the time he was absent in service.

Dr. John Kinsley Palmer became a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1856. He early became identified as a pioneer in the movement to secure better advantages for the higher education of woman, and after the establishment of the New England Female Medical College, of which Mrs. Palmer was one of the founders, he accepted the professorship of Materia Medica, in which branch of medicine he was especially an expert. He was an enthusiastic teacher and faithfully discharged the duties of this office for a number of years. He engaged with the late Dr. Henry Thayer, of Cambridge, in the preparation of fluid extracts, a branch of business at that time comparatively new, and aided in founding the large commercial house now so widely known to the trade as Henry Thayer & Co. For a number of years previous to his death Dr. Palmer was a confirmed invalid, suffering from gall-stone. He rightly diagnosticated his disease and often referred to his enemy that he said would take his life—conditions which were verified by autopsy. Dr. Palmer exercised a wide influence for good in the Cambridge community, was an active promoter of its public charities, greatly esteemed and beloved by all who knew him. He came in the direct descent, through a long line of ancestry, from the first settlers of the Colony, and often pointed with pride to his choice collection of heirlooms, among which was a complete set of well-preserved table service of pewter, comprising a hundred and fifty pieces. He was very fond of natural history, especially devoting himself to conchology, in which department he was an authority, and his private collection was one of the most complete in the United States, valued at five thousand dollars. He died November 29, 1878, after a long period of suffering, borne with patient Christian fortitude.

John I. G. Nichols, M.D., was born in Portland, Me., in 1837. M. D. Harvard 1859. Settled in Cambridge soon after graduating and has remained a very busy worker in his profession to the present. He is an enthusiastic devotee to the science of medicine and is widely sought as a counselor by the medical profession.

Dr. Nichols is a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, Boston Society of Medical Observation, Cambridge Medical Improvement Society, of which he has been president and vice-president, Middlesex South District Medical Society, visiting physician to Cambridge Hospital, etc.

Henry Sylvanus Plympton, M.D., acting assistant surgeon U. S. Army, September 29, 1862; assistant Surgeon U. S. Navy, April 28, 1863; died at Cambridge, Mass., September 25, 1863, of disease contracted in the service.

Henry Sylvanus Plymptom was born March 13, 1838, in Cambridge, Mass. His parents were Dr. Sylvanus and Mary Bell (Warland) Plympton. His early boyhood was spent in Cambridge. After about two years in school at Concord, Mass., he returned and entered the Lawrence Scientific School with which he remained connected as a student for three years. He graduated from the Medical School, of Harvard University in 1860, and from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York City in 1861. He was then appointed one of the resident physicians in Bellevue Hospital, where he remained eighteen months as junior, senior and house physician.

September 29, 1862, he was appointed acting assistant surgeon, U. S. Army, and went to De Camp General Hospital, David's Island, New York Harbor, where he remained until April, 1863. Actuated by the feeling that he was not rendering his country as efficient service as he might in a more responsible position, he presented himself for examination for the navy. Having passed the examination very successfully, he was commissioned assistant surgeon in the U. S. Navy, April 28, 1863, and went on duty upon the receiving ship "North Carolina" (under Capt. R. W. W. Meade, commander), at Brooklyn Navy Yard. After a little more than a month he was attacked with pneumonia, caused by over-work and exposure while attending to his duties, and was soon transferred to the Naval Hospital at Brooklyn, where he remained as a patient about three weeks. His disease had now developed into consumption, and he was brought to his home in Cambridge, where he died September 28, 1863. His remains now lie at Mt. Auburn, in lot No. 3327.

Before his death he was united in marriage with Frances W. Young, of Bangor, Maine. He was from childhood of delicate physical constitution; was amiable in disposition and attractive in personal appearance, and was highly esteemed by the members of his profession and personal friends.

William Caldwell Flowers, M.D., was born at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on October 15, 1832. Entered the Harvard Medical School in 1859; graduated in 1861. Returned to Halifax and practiced until July, 1863. Entered the United States service as acting assistant surgeon August 31, 1863, at Lincoln General Hospital, Washington, D. C. January 1, 1864, he was ordered to Lovell General Hospital, Portsmouth Grove, R. I. On duty in the Department of Texas with the Fourth Cavalry from August 20, 1866, to December 7, 1866. On January 31, 1867, he was ordered to South Carolina, and served in the Freedmen's Bureau at Monk's Corner until October 29, 1867.

Reported for duty at Augusta Arsenal, Augusta, Ga., November 2, 1867, where he remained until October 1, 1873. His resignation from the service was

accepted October 9, 1873. Commenced practice in October, 1873, at Cambridgeport, Mass., where he has since resided. He became a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1863, and is also a member of the Cambridge Medical Improvement Society.

Henry P. Walcott, A.M., M.D., was graduated A.B. (Harvard) 1858, M.D. (Bowdoin) 1861.

Dr. Walcott has devoted a large part of his professional life to the study of Sanitary Science and has rendered his city and State most efficient and valuable services. Has been for years health officer of Cambridge and a member of the State Board of Health. Dr. Walcott has been an active worker in the American Health Association, of which he was the president in 1888.

His contributions to Sanitary Science have been many and he is justly esteemed one of the most distinguished authorities in America in this branch of medical knowledge. He is a member of many medical societies, both American and Foreign.

Henry Orlando Marcy, A.M., M.D., LL.D., son of Smith and Fanny (Gibbs) Marcy, was born in Otis, Mass., June 23, 1837. His ancestry was of Puritan stock —paternal (Marcy–Lawton); maternal Gibbs–Morton —dating back to the early settlers of New England. His grandfather, Thomas Marcy, was one of the first settlers in Northern Ohio. His maternal great-grandfather, Israel, and grandfather, Elijah Gibbs, served in the Revolutionary War and were with General Gates at the surrender of General Burgoyne. His father, who served in the War of 1812, was a teacher by profession.

Dr. Marcy received his preliminary and classical education at Wilbraham Academy and Amherst College, and was graduated from the Medical Department of Harvard University 1863. He was commissioned assistant surgeon of the 43d Massachusetts Volununteers in April, 1863, and in the following November surgeon of the first regiment of colored troops recruited in North Carolina. He was appointed medical director of Florida in 1864, and served on the staffs of Generals Van Wyck, Potter and Hatch.

In the autumn of 1863 Dr. Marcy was married to Miss Sarah E. Wendell, of Great Falls, N. H.

At the close of the war he returned to Cambridge, Mass., and entered upon the active practice of his profession.

In the spring of 1869 he went to Europe for the purpose of study and entered the University at Berlin, where he remained a year as a special student of Professors Virchow and Martin. He then visited the various capitals of Europe and studied the hospitals and their service, spending quite a period in London and Edinburgh. He became convinced of the truth of Prof. Lister's teachings and returned to America to adopt, among the first, the now famous, but then (in this country) unknown methods of aseptic and antiseptic surgery.

For the purpose of devoting himself more especially to the surgical diseases of women, Dr. Marcy removed to Boston in 1880 and opened in Cambridge a private hospital for women, which is still in successful operation.

He participated actively in the Seventh International Medical Congress, held in London in 1881, and was president of the Gynæcological Section of the Ninth Congress, held in Washington in 1887.

He has contributed largely to surgical literature, and is an active worker in the American Medical Association, to the vice-presidency of which he was elected in 1879. In 1882 he was president of the Section of Obstetrics and Gynæcology, and for some years a member of the Judicial Council of this association. He is a member of various medical and scientific organizations in both Europe and America, and was president of the American Academy of Medicine in 1884.

The Wesleyan University conferred in 1887 the honorary degree of LL.D. upon Dr. Marcy in recognition of his skill and literary merit.

In 1884 Dr. Marcy published in two volumes the translation of the works of Prof. G. B. Ercolani, of Bologna, Italy, upon the "Reproductive Processes," besides which he has published his own special studies of the uterine mucosa during pregnancy. His best known publications are, "Plastic Splints in Surgery," *Boston Med. and Surg. Journal*, June 28, 1877 (reprint); "Aspiration of the Knee Joint," *Transactions of American Med. Asso.*, 1879 (reprint); "Fracture of the Patella," *Boston Med. and Surg. Jour.*, 1876 (reprint); "Histological Studies of the Development of the Osseous Callous in Man and Animals," *Annals of Anatomy and Surgery*, 1881 (reprint); Cure of Hernia by the Antiseptic Use of the Animal Suture," *Transactions of the American Med. Asso.*, 1878 (reprint 1879); "The Best Methods of Operative Wound Treatment," *The Medical Gazette*, N. Y., 1882 (reprint); "The Comparative Value of Germicides," 1880; "The Relations of Micro-Organisms to Sanitary Science," 1883; "Medical Legislation," *American Med. Asso. Journal*, 1885 (reprint); "The Climatic Treatment of Disease," *American Med. Asso. Journal*, 1885 (reprint); "The Surgical Advantages of the Buried Animal Suture," *The American Med. Asso. Jour.*, 1888 (reprint); "The Histological and Surgical Treatment of Uterine Myoma," 1882 (reprint 1887); "Exploratory Laparotomy," *American Med. Asso. Jour.*, 1889; "General Treatise on Hernia," 1889; "The Perineum: its Anatomy, Physiology and Methods of Restoration after Injury," *Trans. American Association of Obstetricians and Gynæcologists*, 1888; "The Animal Suture: its Place in Surgery," *Trans. American Asso. of Obstetricians and Gynæcologists*, 1889 (reprint); "The Cure of Hemorrhoids by Excision and Closure with the Buried Animal Suture," reprint from *Annals of Surgery*, November, 1889.

Albert Lane Norris, M.D., was born on the 4th of March, 1839, at Epping, N. H.

Besides the education received in his native town he was a student at the Phillips Academy, Exeter, N. H., and later for some time at the Wesleyan Academy, Wilbraham, Mass. Because of ill health he was obliged to relinquish study, and for about four years he engaged in business.

He graduated in medicine at Harvard in 1865, and at once entered the service of the United States as an assistant surgeon under contract. He was commissioned assistant surgeon One Hundred and Fourteenth Infantry, United States Colored Troops, October, 1866, and mustered out April 2, 1867.

Dr. Norris settled in Cambridge in 1867, and early entered upon an extensive practice.

He visited Europe in 1869 for the purposes of study, spending some months in Berlin, Vienna and Edinburgh. He has devoted especial attention to obstetrical studies.

Among his published articles are: 1, "Diaphragmatic Hernia;" 2, "Ectopia Cordis;" 3, "Transfusio Sanguinis;" 4, "Dystocia with Craniotomy;" 5, "Puerperal Metritis." Dr. Norris is a member of the American Medical Association, Massachusetts Medical Society, Boston Society of Medical Observation, Gynæcological Society, Cambridge Medical Improvement Society, Military Order of the Loyal Legion, etc.

Alfred Fairbanks, Holt, M.D., was born in Lyndeboro', Hillsboro' County, New Hampshire, December 16, 1838. His early life was spent on the home farm, attending the schools of his native town a part of each year. In 1855 and for the three following years he attended the academy at Mt. Vernon, N. H., during the fall and spring, teaching school in the winter.

In the summer of 1857 he commenced the study of medicine with the physician of his native town.

In the winter of 1858–59 he attended a full course of lectures at the Harvard Medical School and a part of a course in 1859–60.

In the spring of 1860 he entered Medical School of the University of Vermont, where he graduated in June of that year. Coming to Cambridge a few weeks later, he established himself as a physician, occupying an office on Main St. near Norfolk. Here he remained until April 16, 1861. On the evening of that date he enlisted in a company of volunteers for the war, and on the morning of the 17th started with his comrades for the seat of war. This company was raised by Capt. J. P. Richardson, and was beyond question the first company organized especially for the war of the great Rebellion of 1861.

Dr. Holt served with this company for the three months for which they were mustered. A part of the time, however, he was detailed as hospital steward of the Third Regiment Massachusetts Militia, to which his company was attached.

Returned to Cambridge late in July on the expiration of his term of service, and at once sought admission to the medical corps of the great volunteer army then being organized. Passed his examination before the medical board, and early in November, 1861, he joined what became the Thirtieth Massachusetts Volunteers, then being recruited at Lowell. December 6, 1861, he was mustered as assistant surgeon of that regiment. January 2, 1862, he embarked with his regiment for Ship Island, Miss.

Dr. Holt entered New Orleans with his regiment August 2, 1862, after witnessing the great bombardment, assault and capture of the forts below the city by the United States Navy.

Dr. Holt remained in this department during his service. He participated in nearly all the battles and campaigns in this extreme part of the South. He was complimented in general orders by the department commander for humane bravery in caring for the wounded on the field at the battle of Baton Rouge, La., August 5, 1862.

In December, 1862, Dr. Holt was promoted to surgeon of the First Texas Cavalry, made up of Union men who had been driven from their native State on account of their Union sentiments. Among these men were those who had, before and since the war, held high and important positions, both in their State and the nation.

In December, 1863, Dr. Holt left the medical department and was made the senior major of his regiment. In December, 1864, he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel. For the last two years of the war, or after he left the medical department, he was almost constantly in command of his regiment. He was mustered out of service with his command at San Antonio, Texas, November 1, 1865, having served almost continuously in the field from April 17, 1861. He never lost more than a day or two at a time from sickness and had only one furlough of a month, and that during the winter of 1865, when no active operations were going on. He was slightly wounded in a cavalry fight near Muryazie, La., in the fall of 1864.

In the winter of 1866, Dr. Holt resumed the practice of medicine in Cambridge, where he has since resided; joined the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1867; appointed medical examiner in 1879, an office he still holds; appointed surgeon-general of Massachusetts in January, 1884 (since reappointed by Governors Ames and Brackett); appointed pension examining surgeon on the Boston Board April, 1889, and on the organization of said board was made its president; health officer of Cambridge from 1880 to June, 1889, when he resigned; degree of M.A. conferred by University of Vermont in 1886; member Massachusetts Medical Society, Cambridge Medical Improvement Society (ex-president), American Public Health Association, American Medical Association, Medico-Legal Society (vice-president) and Boston Society Medical Observation.

Edward R. Cogswell, M.D., was born in Maine in 1841. Graduated at Harvard University in class of 1864; received his medical degree at Harvard 1867;

was appointed health officer of Cambridge 1878–79. Author of sanitary condition of Cambridge in report of Massachusetts State Board of Health, 1878.

Few citizens have taken a deeper interest in the welfare of Cambridge. Dr. Cogswell has served the city in various capacities; at present is a member of the Board of Aldermen.

Dr. Cogswell, in common with many of his classmates, left college to enlist in the service of his country. He served with distinction with the troops enlisted for nine months, in the campaigns of North Carolina.

Augustus Peck Clarke, A.M., M.D., son of the late Seth Darling Clarke and Fanny Peck Clarke, was born in Pawtucket, Providence County, R. I., September 24, 1833. His father, Seth Darling Clarke, was of the eighth generation of Joseph Clarke (Joseph[1], Joseph[2], Joseph[3], Joseph[4], Joseph[5], Ichabod[6], Edward[7]) and Alice Pepper, who came from Suffolk County, England, to Dedham, Mass., prior to the year 1640. His mother, Fanny Peck, was of the sixth generation of Joseph Peck (Joseph[1], Nathaniel[2], Nathaniel[3], David[4], Joel[5]), who came in the ship "Diligence" from Beccles, England, to Hingham, Mass., in the year 1638. Dr. Clarke completed his preparatory course in the Grammar School at Providence, R. I., and entered Brown University in September, 1856. Received the degree of A.M. from that University in class of 1860; studied medicine and received the degree of M.D. from Harvard University in class of 1862; entered the army as assistant surgeon of the Sixth New York Cavalry, August, 1861; served in the Peninsular Campaign, conducted by General McClellan, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Savage Station, Va., June 29, 1862, and was afterwards sent to Richmond; promoted to the rank of surgeon of Sixth New York Cavalry, May 5, 1863. At the opening of the campaign made by the Army of the Potomac, under the command of General Grant, in the spring of 1864, Dr. Clarke was appointed surgeon-in-chief of the Second Brigade, First Division of the Cavalry Corps, whose daring achievements rendered immortal the name of Sheridan. Dr. Clarke was chief medical officer of the brigade until the closing campaign of 1865, when he was appointed surgeon-in-chief of the entire First Division of Cavalry. These labors he also performed until the division was disbanded, July 1, 1865. During his four years' service Dr. Clarke participated in upwards of eighty-two battles and engagements with the enemy. October 4, 1865, he was brevetted lieutenant-colonel "for gallant and meritorious conduct during his term of service." Immediately after the close of his military service he removed to Cambridge, Mass., where he soon established a reputation in the practice of medicine, in which profession he has since continued his labors. Dr. Clarke was married in Bristol, R. I., October 23, 1861, to Mary H. Gray, daughter of the late Gideon and Hannah Orne Gray. For 1871-73 Dr. Clarke was elected to the Cambridge Common Council, and for 1874 to the Board of Aldermen. He declined further municipal service. He is a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and has been one of its councilors; is vice-president of the Gynæcological (Medical) Society of Boston, member of the American Academy of Medicine and of the American Association of Obstetricians and Gynæcologists, and of the American Public Health Association. He is a member of the American Medical Association and of the British Medical Association. He was one of the founders of the Cambridge Medical Society and was its secretary several years; also member of the Ninth International Medical Congress at Washington. He is a prominent member of the Cambridge Club, and is president of the Cambridge Art Circle. He is a member of the G. A. R. and of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States. He has been a frequent contributor of articles to the public press and to different medical societies and journals. The following are the titles of some of the papers Dr. Clarke has contributed: "Cases of Tracheotomy," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, 1868; "Series of Histories of Wounds and Other Injuries," "Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion," 1865; "Cases of Puerperal Peritonitis," 1868; "Inguinal Hernia," 1870; "Perforating Ulcer of the Duodenum," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, 1881; "Removal of Intra-Uterine Fibroids," *Ibid.*, 1882; "Cerebral Erysipelas," *Ibid*, 1883; "Hemiplegia," *Journal American Medical Association*, 1884; "Uterine Displacements," *Ibid.*, 1884; "Obstinate Vomiting of Pregnancy," *Ibid.*, 1885; "Vascular Growths of the Female Meatus Urinarius," *Medical Press and Circular*, London, England, 1887, and *Transactions of the Ninth International Medical Congress*, 1887; "Pathogenic Organisms," *Journal of American Medical Association*, 1883; "Rabies and Hydrophobia," *Ibid.*, 1883; "Fracture of the Cervical Vertebræ," *Ibid.*, 1884; "Induced Premature Labor," *Ibid.*, 1885; "Renal Calculi," *Ibid.*, 1885; "Pelvic Cellulitis," *Ibid.*, 1886; "Early and Repeated Tapping in Ascites," *Ibid.*, 1886; "Abortion for Uncontrollable Vomiting of Pregnancy," *Ibid.*, 1888; "Antepartum Hour-Glass Constriction of the Uterus," *Ibid.*, 1888; "Chronic Cystitis in the Female," *American Journal of Obstetrics*, 1889; "Treatment of Certain Cases of Salpingitis," *Transactions of the American Association of Obstetricians and Gynæcologists*, 1888; "Management of the Perineum During Labor," *Ibid.*, 1889; "Rapid Dilatation of the Cervix Uteri," *Transactions of the Gynæcological Society*, Boston, Vol. I, 1889; "Faradism in the Practice of Gynæcology," *Ibid.*, 1889; "The Treatment of Placenta Prævia," 1890; "On the Importance of Early Recognition of Pyosalpinx as a Cause of Suppurative Pelvic Inflammation," 1890.

Edmund H. Stevens, born at Stansted, Canada, January 2, 1846, father and mother being from

New Hampshire; entered college at sixteen; left college at end of second year, and began the study of medicine at the Harvard Medical School. After taking one course of lectures, entered the U. S. Navy in April, 1864, as a medical cadet; was wounded at the battle of Mobile August 5, 1864; was discharged from the navy in December, 1864; after a second course of lectures, entered U. S. Navy as a contract surgeon March, 1865; served three months in Virginia. Graduated in medicine from Harvard Medical School in 1867; from April 1, 1867, to April 1, 1871, was health officer on quarantine, Boston; settled in Cambridge April 1, 1871; was married to Melissa E. Paine, May, 1869; member Massachusetts Medical Society; member Boston Society for Medical Observation; member Cambridge Society for Medical Improvement; member Cambridge School Board from 1876 to 1882; visiting physician Cambridge Hospital.

James Arthur Dow, born in Bath, N. H., December 18, 1844; educated at Newbury (Vermont) Seminary, and at the University of Vermont Medical College; graduating in June, 1867; practiced in Windsor, Vt., until 1870, then located in Cambridge; is a Fellow of the Massachusetts Medical Society; member of the Cambridge Medical Society; has been for three years visiting physician at the Cambridge Hospital.

Edward S. Wood, M.D., graduated at Harvard College in 1867, and at the Harvard Medical School in 1871. Fel. Am. Acad. Arts and Sci.; Mem. Am. Pub. Health Assoc.; Mass. Med.-Leg. Soc.; Bos. Soc. Med. Observ.; Bos. Soc. Med. Sci.; Bos. Soc. Med. Improv.; Mem. Revision Com. U. S. Pharmacop., 1880; Professor Chem. Harv. Univ.; Chem. Mass. Gen. Hosp.; editor (with Dr. R. Amory) of "Wharton & Stille's Medical Jurisprudence, Volume on Poisons," 4th ed.; author, "Illuminating Gas in its Relation to Health," *Rep. and Papers Am. Pub. Health Assoc.*, iii; Trans., "Poisoning by the Heavy Metals and their Salts, including Arsenic and Phosphorus," *Ziemssen's Cyclop.* xviii; Contrib., "The Relation which Chemistry bears to Forensic Medicine," Trans. Mass. Med.-Leg. Soc. 1.

Frederick W. Taylor, M.D., was born in Cambridge, June 22, 1856; graduated from Harvard University, in the class of 1878; received his medical degree from the Medical Department of Harvard College in 1882; was house pupil Massachusetts General Hospital, 1881–82; student of medicine in Germany, 1882–83, since which time he has been in the practice of medicine in North Cambridge; is a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, Cambridge Medical Improvement Society, and is one of the physicians to the Cambridge Hospital.

A biographical sketch of each member of the medical profession to the present would be of much interest and value; but the limit of this article prevents the completion of a subject left to some future historian.

The editor deeply regrets the necessary omission of an outline, at least, of the lives of some of the members of the profession, both past and present, who have been and are men eminent in letters and science.

CHAPTER X.

CAMBRIDGE—(Continued).

MILITARY.

BY COL. WILLIAM A. BANCROFT.

"On yonder hill the lion fell,
But here was chipped the eagle's shell."—*Holmes.*

As the headquarters of Washington, and as the camp of a large portion of the American army during the siege of Boston, Cambridge possesses more than a local prominence in the military history of the country; but if the stirring scenes of 1775–76 which were enacted within her borders shall be deemed as to her mere chance events, still as the town which, out of her small population, furnished 450 men for the War of the Revolution, and as the city which sent the first company of citizen volunteers raised to support the national government at the outbreak of the War of the Rebellion, and followed them with an enrollment of men equaling one-sixth of her entire population, there can be no doubt of the patriotic military spirit of her citizens.

While there were exempt from active participation in the training and service of the militia the leading magistrates and clergy, and while old age and infirmity furnished grounds for excusing others, yet, substantially, every male person of arms-bearing age, in the little groups of people which formed the early settlements of the colony, was required to perform active service in the militia.

At first, as military commanders, the leading spirits selected one or two men in each plantation—men usually who had either seen actual service in war in the old country or had acquired some knowledge and experience in military matters by serving with regular troops. Plymouth had the doughty Myles Standish and Cambridge had Daniel Patrick. Later, as the population increased, and something like a military organization was effected, when companies were formed into regiments, and regiments which were composed of the militia of a given number of settlements became a part of a larger body, more officers were required, and the method of selection by election, applied to every other office, was resorted to. This method has been followed ever since, and is engrafted in the Constitution of the Commonwealth, although some have thought that the principle of the original selection was the better. But, be that as it may, a plentiful supply of officers was made. In Cambridge alone, from the first settlement to the

Revolution—from Captain Patrick to Major-General Brattle—the number of military titles bestowed was not small. In fact, it is not improbable that they exceeded in frequency those met with at the present day in some of the Southern and Western States.

Some one has said that the four corner-stones upon which the structure of New England society was built were the church, the public school, the town-meeting and the militia. For generations, certainly, in the old colony days, these institutions existed side by side, and the influences which they have exerted and still exert are potent. Although the militia in time became necessarily, under the changed conditions of the country, comparatively unimportant, and, as originally constituted and made use of, long ago ceased to exist, leaving but a form of language upon the statute-book, still, as the first of the successive stages through which our "force of last resort" has passed, it will be interesting as a part of the following sketch to get some glimpses of the institution as it existed in Cambridge.

It is said that Daniel Patrick, the first Cambridge captain, was induced by Winthrop and his companions to leave Holland, where he served as a common soldier in the sovereign's guard, to accompany them in their venture, and to become for them a military adviser and commander. Rapid promotion it must have seemed to Private Patrick to rise from the ranks at one step to the position of commander of the forces, although in a somewhat less numerous and well-appointed army than that of Holland. Judging from his name, Holland was not the birth-place of this early Cantabrigian man of war, but this circumstance should not detract at all from his military prowess, if, as is probable, he was one of that race whose exploits in the armies both of Europe and of America have proved it to be, on many a hard-fought field, and with many a deed of desperate valor, pre-eminently a race of soldiers. Captain Patrick came to Cambridge, probably from Watertown, in 1632, although it may have been earlier, for he was in Charlestown in 1630, where it is probable that he was, in whole or in part, supported at the public expense, that he might the better devote his energies to the purpose for which he had migrated from Europe. During his residence in Cambridge he received from the authorities a grant of land, which has perpetuated to the present day his title, if not his name. What Cambridge lad, or Harvard student of aquatic bent, but knows of that grassy, pine-capped knoll on the bank of the Charles River just south of the foot of Magazine Street, whose surrounding marsh at the highest tides is still completely covered with water, leaving it the "Captain's Island," as it is, and as it has been, called for over two and a half centuries? What more enduring memorial could have been given him?

In the Pequot War Cambridge is said to have furnished twelve soldiers, presumedly under Patrick's leadership, but it is also recorded that in this expedition he had command of forty men. His military talents, no doubt, led the commander-in-chief to consolidate the Cambridge troops with those from other plantations, and place the whole, who, geographically at least, must have corresponded to a regiment, under Patrick as regimental commander. He continued to reside in Cambridge in the pursuit of his chosen profession until November, 1637, when he removed to Ipswich. Afterwards he went to Stamford, Connecticut, where, in 1643, renewing, as it were, his earlier associations, he met his death at the hands of a Dutchman.

When the regimental organizations were perfected in 1636 Cambridge, besides its company officers, furnished the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment to which it was assigned in the person of Thomas Dudley, who had already been Governor, and who was afterwards elected major-general of all the militia. Later, either in the same or in another regiment, Cambridge furnished a colonel, John Haynes, who also had been Governor, and who was afterwards Governor of Connecticut, and a lieutenant-colonel, Roger Harlakenden. Among the earlier officers was George Cooke, chosen a captain of Cambridge militia about 1637, who was, perhaps, an original member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, and who certainly was its captain in 1643. Cooke returned to England in 1645, where he fought under Cromwell in the Commonwealth's army, became a colonel and finally lost his life in one of the battles in Ireland. When he was a Cambridge captain he had as his ensign one Samuel Shepard. The latter went to England with his captain, became a major, very likely in Cooke's regiment, and, like Cooke, saw service in Ireland, where it is probable that he too departed this life, though not in battle. Cromwell's campaigns in Ireland were arduous and full of hardship. Did the exigencies of their service permit, it is easy to think of these two soldiers, ere they were separated by death, turning back in memory and in conversation to the little hamlet on the banks of the peaceful Charles, where, as militia officers, they had trained together and unconsciously had prepared themselves for the sternest duties of military life.

Without much doubt the successor of George Cooke as captain of the Cambridge company, or train band, was Daniel Gookin, who came to be a person of considerable importance in the colony. In accordance with the custom of the time, although he received high military promotion, he retained, probably as a kind of honorary captain, the position of commander of the Cambridge company for forty years. By the General Court he was chosen, May 5, 1676, sergeant-major of the Middlesex regiment, a position which has no exact counterpart in a modern military organization, but appears to have been that of a field officer with executive powers, subordinate, no doubt, to those of a regimental commander. Be-

fore this appointment, however, Captain Gookin had performed the duties of this office, and in "King Phillip's War" he appears to have been in command of all the Middlesex County militia, and to have issued orders in accordance therewith. His instructions to Captain Joseph Sill, also a Cambridge man, to put himself in command of the men from Charlestown, Watertown and Cambridge, are characteristic of the man and of the time. They close as follows: "So, desiring the ever-living God to accompany you and your company with his gracious conduct and presence, and that he will for Christ's sake appear in all the mounts of difficulty, and cover all your heads in the day of battle, and deliver the bloodthirsty and cruel enemy of God and his people into your hands, and make you executioners of his just indignation upon them, and return you victorious unto us, I commit you and your company unto God, and remain your very loving friend, Daniel Gookin, Senior."

It was in the spring of this year (1676), right in the midst of their planting season, that the danger from the Indians became so imminent that the authorities began to build a stockade around the more thickly-settled portion of the town. As it was a military measure, the militia officers were necessarily concerned, and they, with the selectmen, were empowered to direct the construction of the defences. Before the completion of the stockade the danger subsided, and much of the timber which had been got out was used in the repair of the bridge to Boston, or the "Great Bridge," as it was then called, which crossed the Charles at the foot of the present Boylston Street, where now is the North Harvard Street Bridge, of Brighton.

Five years after he was chosen sergeant-major, at the general election held May 11, 1681. Gookin was elected major-general of all the militia of the colony, and this office he kept until he was seventy-four years of age, or as long as the colony charter lasted. General Gookin was a man of much force of character, and this, together with his prominence in the affairs of the colony (he held civil office for quite as many years as he did military), no doubt attracted the attention of Oliver Cromwell, who selected him to assist in the promotion of a scheme for colonizing Jamaica with people from New England. Gookin was a selectman, a representative to the General Court, in which, during one year of his service, he was Speaker of the House, and held the office of Assistant, corresponding to that of Councilor, from 1652 to 1686, with the exception of the year 1676. Of strong convictions was this Daniel Gookin, and to them, no doubt, he owed his defeat for office in that year, for, having befriended the Praying Indians, the feeling against him became so great, that his election was thereby prevented. Of stern, soldierly qualities, this Cambridge militia officer was uncompromising also in religious matters, and, although an assistant of John Eliot in the conversion of the Indians, when the Quakers proposed to follow their peculiar doctrines in the colony, they found little consideration at his hands. He made two visits to England, and upon his last return to the colony, brought with him to Cambridge the two regicides, Generals Goffe and Whalley. For this he was denounced by the royalists in the colony, but during the differences which followed the ascension of Charles II. to the throne, he stood stoutly for the chartered right of the colonists. Verily, in those days they made militia officers out of the right stuff!

Up to the time of the abrogation of the colony charter, military service was required of substantially all able-bodied males of sixteen years of age and upwards. Occasionally, upon application to the Court, individuals were exempted from service as private soldiers, chiefly on account of their advanced age; but those who held commissions as officers evinced no disposition to retire for any such reason. On the contrary, there are many instances of service among officers at an advanced age. One is that of Samuel Green, of whom it was said in an obituary that "this Captain Green was a commission officer of the military company of Cambridge, who chose him for above sixty years together; and he died there January 1, 1701–2, æ. 87, highly esteemed and beloved both for piety and a martial genius. He took such great delight in the military exercise, that the arrival of their training-days would always raise his joy and spirit; and when he was grown so aged that he could not walk, he would be carried out in his chair into the field, to view and order his company."

Was the saying, "Few die and none resign," current then, as now?

In the forces raised in the first half of the 18th century to operate against the French and Indians, Cambridge was represented by both officers and men. Among the former was John Leverett, afterwards president of Harvard College, and there also appear the names of Captain Samuel Gookin, son, and Lieutenant Samuel Gookin, grandson of General Daniel Gookin. The former was High Sheriff, or "Marshal-General" of the colony, and, after the abolition of this office, was High Sheriff of Suffolk and afterwards of Middlesex. His son, at the age of nineteen, he appointed a deputy; and this office the lieutenant retained for sixty-four years. Surely, if there was a spoils system then, this official was spared.

In the expedition against Port Royal (1710), Edmund Goffe, a lieutenant-colonel, was the Cambridge officer of the highest rank. It appears that he was afterwards commissioned "Colonel of all the forces in the western frontiers of Middlesex and Essex, together with the town of Brookfield." He, too, was High Sheriff of Middlesex.

Another Cambridge captain was Ammi Ruhamah Cutter. He graduated from Harvard College in 1725, entered the ministry, and was ordained at North Yar-

mouth, but five years later he was dismissed from his charge on account of his Arminian tendencies. He then adopted the profession of a physician, which he followed for a number of years. He was, no doubt, an active member of the militia in Cambridge. After several years in the service of the country, he appears among the forces before Louisbourg, with the rank of captain, and while engaged there he died.

During the French and Indian War Cambridge was well represented in the army, although by no officer of high rank, sending altogether several companies of soldiers. On one occasion, towards the close of the war, a Cambridge officer, Captain William Angier, showed himself equal to an emergency which threatened serious disaster. The regiment to which his company belonged formed the garrison of Fort Cumberland, in Nova Scotia. Before they were relieved by other troops, the regiment's term of service expired, and it became evident that the enlisted men were preparing to abandon the fort and to return home. Had this desertion been accomplished the fort, no doubt, would have fallen into the hands of the enemy. To avert such a consequence, the commanding officer gave orders to disarm the men. This order was to be executed by the company commanders, and the first company to be paraded for the purpose was Captain Angier's. The first man, upon the captain's order, handed over his piece, but the second not only refused to obey the order, but, when Captain Angier seized the piece to disarm the man, the latter resisted vigorously, and several other men leveled their pieces at the captain's head. It was a critical moment, but, without hesitation, Captain Angier drew his sword and made a pass at the mutineer, with such effect that his fingers were cut, and the captain was able to wrest the piece from him. Overawed by Angier's behavior, the other men quietly surrendered their pieces, and the crisis was passed. This was not the end of the affair, however, and the captain became exposed to still further risk as the result of this performance of duty. What followed suggests, also, something in the nature of a precedent for the recent alleged bestowal of pensions by the United States authorities upon deserters. When the troops returned to their homes, Jackson, the man whose fingers had been cut, brought suit against Captain Angier for his injuries, and obtained a verdict of six pounds and costs, amounting altogether to fifteen pounds, and this sum the captain was obliged to pay. This was, indeed, subordinating the military to the civil authority, but the principle is a familiar one, and, as was right, upon Captain Angier's petition to the General Court, he was reimbursed out of the public treasury for his pecuniary loss, and thus was reconciled military discipline, the regard for law, and the public spirit of the community. Such was the custom of our ancestors! About half a century after this another Jackson, and he, too, a soldier, was a party in a legal proceeding not unlike the above. The later Jackson's name was Andrew, but he was the defendant. While in command at New Orleans, General Jackson set at nought the authority of a certain judge, who, upon the cessation of hostilities, had the general brought before him on process, and fined him for contempt. The Congress afterwards voted the old hero the amount of the fine.

One of the military organizations which flourished in the eighteenth century, nearly up to the time of the Revolution, and many of whose members were Cambridge men, was a troop of horse. Like most mounted militia companies the character of its membership appears to have been above the average of that of foot companies, and, by special privilege, its officers had the constructive rank of colonel, lieutenant-colonel and major, although in reality its captain, lieutenant and ensign. This privilege of holding constructive rank was possessed by the officers of the present First Corps of Cadets of Boston until 1874, and to them it was doubtless given when that organization was contemporary with this troop of horse. The higher social standing of the members of these organizations was, no doubt, satisfied by this elevation in the rank of their officers, who were usually men upon whom the rank was worthily bestowed. Among the Cambridge commanders of the troop of horse were, probably, Colonel John Vassall, the elder, and certainly Colonel Spencer Phips. Major John Vassall, son of Colonel Vassall, was also an officer in this corps. It was Colonel Vassall who built the historic mansion which, after it was abandoned by its royalist owner, was occupied by Washington as headquarters, and in the present century became the home of the poet Longfellow.

Among the Cambridge militia officers who figured in the decades just prior to the War of the Revolution was William Brattle. In what capacity he first did military service it is uncertain, but in 1729, when but twenty-two years of age, he held the rank of major, and in 1733 was the captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. By the year 1739 he had risen to the rank of colonel, held the position of adjutant-general in 1758, was a brigadier-general in 1760, and became major-general of all the Province militia in 1771. Although holding military rank during a period when the country was engaged in actual hostilities, his military activities were confined to the raising of troops and the administration of military affairs in the Province of Massachusetts Bay. But active he must have been, for he followed successively the professions of medicine, theology and law, holding meanwhile, besides his military offices, the civil offices of justice of the peace; selectman, altogether twenty-one years, from 1729 to 1772; representative ten years; councilor from 1755 to 1773, with the exception of 1769, and Attorney-General in 1736 and in 1747. In politics his advocacy of the popular cause, it is surmised, lost him his seat as a councilor in 1769, when he was negatived by the Royal Governor; but be that as it may, he became an

ardent royalist, was allowed the next year to resume his seat in the Council, and as a further reward, no doubt, received his commission as major-general.

To his political about-face, however, General Brattle owed the loss of his residence in Cambridge and in the country; for the time was approaching when the dwellers upon "Tory Row" would no longer find congenial society on the Cambridge side of the Charles, outside of their own circle; when they must either espouse the popular side, or, bidding adieu to their delightful farms and gardens, leave them to be confiscated by their late fellow-townsmen, and seek protection for themselves from the British forces now landed in Boston. The latter course Brattle took, and when the British evacuated Boston, in the spring of 1776, he went with them to Halifax and there, in the fall of the year, he died.

Cambridge was soon to be an armed camp. But first her baptism of blood. The month of April, 1775, had come, and on Cambridge soil it was that the British troops who occupied Boston first set foot with a hostile purpose. Landing at Lechmere's Point (now East Cambridge) on the night of the 18th of April, they began their march towards Lexington and Concord. But Cambridge was prepared. The old Tory militia officers had given way to patriots. Captain Thomas Gardner, who succeeded General Brattle as the commander of the Cambridge militia company, had been elected colonel of the First Middlesex Regiment and his lieutenant, Samuel Thatcher, had succeeded him as captain. Although not apprised of the British movement until after the landing was effected and the regulars had left the borders of the town, for Revere, who gave the alarm, passed out into the country on the other flank of the British, whose advance must have been undiscovered by the immediate neighborhood through which they marched until they were well within the limits of the present town of Arlington—Captain Thatcher assembled his company early on the morning of the 19th, when the alarm reached him, and led them to the conflict. During the day they marched twenty-eight miles, and, together with the Menotomy minute-men, a company formed in the northwest part of the town, under Captain Benjamin Locke, were actively engaged with the enemy, whom they doubtless intercepted on their return. The brigade under Lord Percy, sent by Gage after urgent calls to reinforce the column led by Colonel Smith, passed through Cambridge about the middle of the day, having come out of Boston by way of the Neck and having entered Cambridge by passing over the "Great Bridge," whose planks, in anticipation of Percy's approach, had been taken up, but, with a foresight that was hardly calculated to accomplish the immediate purpose of their removal, had been carefully piled near by, so that they were readily replaced. Although the events of this day have been dignified by the name of a battle, in strictness they were hardly such. The march out both by Smith and Percy was made without opposition, unless the conduct of the minute-men on Lexington Common can be so termed —conduct which our patriotism says was heroic, and the result of which contributed to intensify the hatred against King George, but which a professional soldier would, under the circumstances, regard as akin to recklessness and of no avail as a military proceeding. The return, to be sure, was an entirely different affair, but in no sense a battle. It was still a march, made certainly under the most harassing conditions, and indeed most perilous to the royal troops, but still the column moved on until its objective-point was reached. Nowhere except on Lexington Common and at Concord bridge did opposing forces face each other in anything like a battle order. In the first instance the groups of patriots melted away so quickly that the British have always been charged with wanton slaughter, and if Major Pitcairn, who insisted to the day of his death that the Americans fired first, was right, this was not a battle. In the second instance, it was but a detachment of the King's troops whom the men of Middlesex faced, and hardly more than one volley on either side was fired when the detachment was withdrawn. But bloodshed there was and plenty of it before the exhausted troops of the King dropped panting to the ground under cover of the guns of the vessels lying in the Charles. The whole country was aroused. Men marched on the alarm from towns thirty miles distant, but there was no concert of action on the part of the Americans. By reason of this fact, and of the admirable order of march adopted by Smith, his troops were able to reach, not without severe loss, the point just east of Lexington village where he found Lord Percy with the reinforcements. When the consolidated column took up its march, it was through one continuous ambuscade of individual foes. Considering the number of men who claim to have opposed the march of the King's forces on that day, and that the number was large there can be no doubt, much credit ought to be given to the King's officers for the manner in which the troops were handled. The circumstances were to them of the most trying description. Exhausted, as many of them were, by loss of sleep, by their long march, by the heat of the day, through lack of provisions (a supply train had been captured by the old men of Menotomy), and above all by the constant fighting, the task of getting back to Charlestown Neck must have seemed to them well-nigh hopeless. The resolution of the officers must indeed have been high, and the discipline of the men that of the best, to have accomplished what they did. Private soldiers, in some instances committed deeds in their nature barbarous, but, driven to desperation by the terrible fire of their hidden foes, it cannot be said that the conduct of the regulars, under the circumstances, was unusually atrocious. But for the unfortunate affair in the morning on Lexington Common, where it is probable that there was a needless destruction of hu-

man life, it can safely be said, in the light of history, that the behavior of her troops on that day detracted nothing from Britain's martial glory.

Hotter and hotter became the fire and more numerous the assailants as the bleeding column entered the territory of Cambridge, whose was the melancholy satisfaction of having more men killed upon her soil than did any other town. The loss of the Provincials in killed on that day is said to have been altogether forty-nine. Of the British fully seventy-three were killed.

Of these numbers twenty-six Americans and nearly twice as many British soldiers fell within the town lines of Cambridge, so that of those who met their death more than half on each side were here slain. Among them were six Cambridge men—William Marcy, Moses Richardson, John Hicks, Jason Russell, Jabez Wyman and Jason Winship. A remarkable experience on that day was that of Captain Samuel Whittemore, another inhabitant of Cambridge in that part called Menotomy. It may be gathered from his obituary published in the *Columbian Sentinel:* "Died at Menotomy the 2d instant (February, 1793), Capt. Samuel Whittemore, Aet. 99. The manly and moral virtues in all the varied relations of brother, husband, father and friend, were invariably exhibited in this gentleman. He was not more remarkable for his longevity and his numerous descendants (his progeny being 185, one of which is the fifth generation) than for his patriotism. When the British troops marched to Lexington he was 81 years of age, and one of the first on the parade; he was armed with a gun and horse-pistol. After an animated exhortation to the collected militia to the exercise of bravery and courage, he exclaimed,—'If I can only be the instrument of killing one of my country's foes, I shall die in peace.' The prayer of this venerable old man was heard, for on the return of the troops he lay behind a stone wall, and, discharging his gun, a soldier immediately fell; he then discharged his pistol and killed another, at which instant a bullet struck his face and shot away part of his cheek-bone, on which a number of the soldiers ran up to the wall and gorged their malice on his wounded head. They were heard to exclaim,—'We have killed the old rebel.' About four hours after he was found in a mangled situation; his head was covered with blood from the wounds of the bayonets —which were six or eight—but providentially none penetrated so far as to destroy him. His hat and clothes were shot through in many places; yet he survived to see the complete overthrow of his enemies, and his country enjoy all the blessings of peace and independence. His funeral will be to-morrow at 4 o'clock P.M., from his house at Menotomy, which his relations and friends are requested to attend." A pretty good record for a militia captain! A memorial stone by the wayside in Arlington tells briefly the story of his heroism and of his marvelous escape from death. Seth Russell and Samuel Frost, of Menotomy, were taken prisoners on that day, and were held until June 6th, when an exchange was effected.

By as much as the British troops fought their way pluckily and even savagely down the old Cambridge road to Charlestown, by so much the more did the spirit and valor of the men of Cambridge and their fellow-countrymen shine forth. Undisturbed as had been their outward march through Cambridge town, it was left by the British on their retreat, for such had the movement now become, after suffering their heaviest loss and with their ranks practically disorganized. The red-coats had not much further to go, and fortunate for them it was. Bloody ground was Cambridge on that day of fighting—a solitary day in her 260 years of existence. Hospitals were established, and their number was increased two months later after the carnage on Bunker Hill. Excitement and alarm filled the town into which there soon poured companies of minute men and individual soldiers in response to the circulars which were sent out by the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, one addressed to the towns, and dated April 20th, urging them "to hasten and encourage, by all possible means, the enlistment of men to form an army," and another, dated April 26th, addressed to the other New England Colonies, asking for as many troops as they could spare for the assistance of Massachusetts. Many of the inhabitants left their homes, and by April 22d the volunteers from out of town had become so numerous and apparently so free with what they could lay hands upon, that it became necessary to issue a general order threatening punishment to any soldier who should injure property. On the 26th of April the regiments at Waltham and Watertown were ordered to march to Cambridge, where General Israel Putnam—"Old Put" —had command.

The Provincial Congress, which was sitting at Concord, had resolved that it was necessary to raise an army of 30,000 men, and that Massachusetts should raise, of this number, 16,500 men. In the plan for its organization, fifty-nine men were to form a company, and ten companies a regiment. Artemas Ward was appointed commander-in-chief, and at once established his headquarters at Cambridge, in a house belonging to one Jonathan Hastings, afterwards better known as the Holmes House, which stood, until a few years ago, near the site of the present Hemenway Gymnasium of Harvard University. Many of the soldiers were quartered in the buildings of the College, whose library, apparatus and other valuables it was resolved should be moved to Andover, from which place a part was afterwards removed to Concord, where instruction was given. Other troops were quartered in private houses. The Committee of Safety occupied the Borland House, now known as the Plympton House, between Harvard and Mount Auburn Streets, near Plympton.

Not much was done at first towards the organiza-

tion of the army. Acting independently, although with a common purpose, the Colonies found it difficult to establish subordination, and, until after Washington took command, the troops that occupied Cambridge were governed largely by their respective Colonial authorities, although, by courtesy, observing the orders of General Ward.

There were soon in Cambridge fifteen Massachusetts regiments of foot and a battalion of artillery, but partially organized, under Colonel Gridley. Of the Connecticut troops, General Putnam's regiment was quartered along the present Inman Street, where the general had his headquarters. Little's regiment was at West Cambridge. Other troops were at a breastwork which had been thrown up near the base of Prospect Hill, and a strong detachment was stationed at Lechmere's Point. The Common was used as a drill-ground by the troops who were quartered in the College buildings and near by.

The American leaders were not unanimous as to the plan of action, and particularly as to the advisability of occupying advanced positions which commanded the town of Boston, where the British had remained since the 19th of April. Finally, however, it was determined to take possession of Bunker Hill and Dorchester Heights, but not until the army should be better organized and equipped. Soon after this determination was reached, however, it was learned that Gage intended to occupy Dorchester Heights on June 19th with British troops. Accordingly, to divert his attention and to thwart his purpose, if possible, it was determined to occupy Bunker Hill at once.

"On Friday, the sixteenth of June," says Frothingham, "the commanders of the army, in accordance with the recommendation of the Committee of Safety, took measures to fortify Bunker Hill. Orders were issued for Prescott's, Frye's and Bridge's regiments and a fatigue party of 200 Connecticut troops to parade at six o'clock in the evening, with all the in trenching tools, in the Cambridge camp. They were also ordered to supply themselves with packs and blankets and with provisions for twenty-four hours. Also Captain Samuel Gridley's company of artillery, of forty-nine men and two field-pieces, was ordered to parade. The Connecticut men, drafted from several companies, were put under the gallant Thomas Knowlton, a captain in General Putnam's regiment. The detachment was placed under the command of Colonel William Prescott, of Pepperell, who had orders in writing from General Ward to proceed that evening to Bunker Hill, build fortifications to be planned by Col. Richard Gridley, the chief engineer, and defend them until he should be relieved, the order not to be communicated until the detachment had passed Charlestown Neck. The regiments and fatigue party ordered to parade would have constituted a force of at least fourteen hundred; but only three hundred of Prescott's regiment, a part of Bridge's and a part of Frye's, under Lieutenant-Colonel Brickett, the artillery and the two hundred Connecticut troops were ordered to march. Hence the number may be fairly estimated at twelve hundred. It was understood that reinforcements and refreshments should be sent to Colonel Prescott on the following morning. This detachment paraded on Cambridge Common at the time appointed, and, after a fervent and impressive prayer by President Langdon, of Harvard College, it commenced, about nine o'clock, its memorable march for Charlestown." Proceeding to Charlestown, the fortifying party constructed the redoubt and breastwork which provoked the battle of the following day.

Awakened early in the morning by the British cannon firing upon the newly-made fortifications, which had been discovered at daybreak, Cambridge passed another day of confusion and alarm. Before night came, the lack of machinery with which to manœuvre the large force of men which had been assembled became painfully apparent to General Ward. Although aware that the detachment on Bunker Hill would be attacked, and, in view of their labors and situation, that they needed both refreshments and reinforcements, he was unable to supply adequately either. Ill supplied with staff officers, and because of the unorganized condition of the patriot troops, he could neither keep himself informed as to the exact state of affairs, nor could he with certainty make provision for such needs as were made known to him. So Prescott's men suffered, and finally lost the day, through lack of ammunition at the critical moment. But the lesson was a wholesome one, and no doubt Washington's labors were made less difficult when he set about the organization of the army in July.

On this day the heroic Colonel Gardner, of Cambridge, received his death-wound and gained immortal fame. Early in the day his regiment, together with General Ward's own and Patterson's, was held in reserve, being stationed in the road leading to Lechmere's Point, but later was ordered forward. Upon reaching Bunker Hill, by the orders of Gen. Putnam the regiment was divided, part of it to work upon the defences which had been commenced at this place, one company to proceed to the rail fence, and the remainder, under command of its colonel, to reinforce the redoubt, which was now about to receive the third assault of the British. When descending the hill towards the redoubt a musket-ball struck Colonel Gardner in the groin and inflicted a mortal wound. As he was carried off the field he was met by his son, a youth of nineteen, serving as a lieutenant in Captain Trevett's company, who on beholding the agonizing sight, was anxious to assist in caring for his father. He was restrained, however, by the colonel, who, after a heartrending interview, bade him go forward to his duty. A few days after the battle, it is related that Colonel Gardner was asked if he was well enough to see his son. "Yes," answered the

hero, "if he has done his duty." The son had distinguished himself in the action and worthily upheld the reputation of his father.

Colonel Gardner lingered in great agony until July 3d, when death came. The orders of Washington, who, on the same day, took command of the army, relating to the loss of this officer were as follows:— "July 4, 1775. . . . Colonel Gardner is to be buried to-morrow at three o'clock P.M., with the military honors due to so brave and gallant an officer, who fought, bled and died in the cause of his country and mankind. His own regiment, except the company at Malden, to attend on this mournful occasion. The places of these companies on the lines on Prospect Hill to be supplied by Colonel Glover's Regiment till the funeral is over." Colonel Gardner had been one of the foremost citizens of Cambridge; was Selectman from 1769 until his death; a Representative from 1769 until the General Court was superseded by the First Provincial Congress, of which, and also of the Second Congress, he was a member; was a member of the Committee of Correspondence, elected by the town in 1772, and by the House of Representatives in 1773, and of the Committee of Safety, elected by Congress, April 14, 1775.

After the battle, Colonel Prescott reported to headquarters in Cambridge the result and received the thanks of General Ward, whom he found, however, in great apprehension lest the enemy should advance on Cambridge. Prescott assured him that such a thing was not likely to be done by the British, who had suffered great loss in killed and wounded, and even offered to re-take the hill that night or perish in the attempt, if three regiments of fifteen hundred men, well equipped with ammunition and bayonets, were put under his command. But General Ward decided that the condition of the army would not justify so bold a measure. "Prescott had not yet done enough to satisfy himself, though he had done enough to satisfy his country. He had not, indeed, secured final victory, but he had secured a glorious immortality."

But now to Cambridge had come the leader who was to secure both victory and immortality, whose service was to overshadow that of all others, no matter how distinguished—a man whose character was to become an object of veneration, not alone to America and to Europe, but to all mankind. Under the elm by him made famous, "the great Virginian drew his blade" on July 3d, and looked for the first time upon the faces of the New Englanders assembled on Cambridge Common. Of majestic presence, Washington appears to have made upon the army, at the beginning of his service as commander-in-chief, the favorable impression which he ever afterwards uniformly sustained.

Upon Washington's arrival, the works which were begun by the Americans immediately after the battle of Bunker Hill, were still further extended, and the army was organized into three divisions, that at Cambridge, under Major-General Israel Putnam, consisting of his own brigade and that of Brigadier-General Heath, forming the centre. The earthworks which were thrown up in Cambridge made a chain extending across the town, on a line northeast and southwest from the work at the base of Prospect Hill, just outside of Cambridge, near Union Square, Somerville, to the Charles River. On Dana Hill, then called Butler's, a line of fortifications were thrown up which extended from Broadway northerly. Another work was built at what is now the corner of Putnam Avenue and Franklin Street, and ten years ago traces of this were distinctly visible. This work commanded the river as far down as where now stands the Riverside Press. Here another fort covered the interval to Captain's Island, where still another work was thrown up. Farther down, still substantially preserved, through the public spirit of the Dana family and at the joint expense of the city, the Commonwealth and the National Government, which contributed three cannon, stood a three-gun battery, now known as Fort Washington. Subsequently a strong work was constructed at Lechmere's Point.

In the fall of 1775 the troops in General Putnam's division, occupying Cambridge and a portion of the present territory of Somerville, were posted very nearly as follows: Colonel Patterson's regiment, at the base of Prospect Hill, at the work near Union Square, called Fort No. 3; General Heath's regiment, at the Putnam Avenue work, called Fort No. 2; Colonel Phinney's regiment, at the works north of Fort No. 2, on Dana Hill; Colonel Scammon's regiment, at the Riverside work, called Fort No. 1; Colonel William Prescott's regiment, at Cambridge; Colonel Glover's regiment, at Cambridge; Colonel Frye's regiment at Cambridge; Colonel Bridge's regiment, at Cambridge; Colonel Woodbridge's regiment, on the Charlestown road to Menotomy, west of Prospect Hill; Colonel Sargent's regiment, at Inman's Farm.

General Washington at first took quarters at the President's house, on the college grounds, one room having been reserved for the President; but this arrangement was not satisfactory, and after remaining but four days he removed to the Vassall house.

Once or twice, between the battle of Bunker Hill and the evacuation of Boston by the British, there was skirmishing in Cambridge between parties of the opposing forces. General Heath, in his "Memoirs," mentions the following: "November 9th. At the top of high water, the tide being very full, some British Light Infantry, in boats, came over from Boston, and landed on Lechmere's Point; the centinels on the Point came off; the alarm was given; and several hundred Americans forded over the Causeway, in the face of the British, the water at least two feet deep. The British, seeing the spirit of the Americans, although they were very advantageously posted, made a precipitate retreat to their boats. Three or four

Three companies of this regiment—A, B and F—were recruited in Cambridge. On December 4, 1862, he was promoted to be major, and on July 16, 1863, he was made lieutenant-colonel of the Thirty-Eighth which he commanded for the most of the time during the rest of the war, as its colonel was absent. For some time he was, as senior officer, in command of the Third Brigade, Second Division of the Nineteenth Corps. In the battle at Opequan Creek, September 19, 1864, he was severely wounded and was mustered out in July, 1865.

A contemporary writer has described Colonel Richardson's bearing while in the army in the following words:

"The entire absence, in this officer, of that pomp assumed by many of the Eastern officers, and which was seldom found in the Western regiments, together with his desire to make the duties of the rank and file as agreeable as was compatible with good discipline, and his superior military acquirements, had won the attachment of his regiment."

And again of his conduct at Mansura Plains:

"Lt.-Col. Richardson left the ambulance in which he had been obliged to perform the greater part of the march, put himself at the head of the (Third) Brigade, and manœuvred it over the field of battle as coolly and with as much skill as when on the parade-ground at Camp Kearney."

A proud hour of Colonel Richardson's life it was on the day when the shattered remnant of his regiment, after the close of the war, passed through the streets of Cambridge, escorted by military and civic organizations, welcomed by all the people, with old and young alike assembled to do it honor. The *Cambridge Chronicle*, of that date, says:

"It was a magnificent scene as the procession passed from Broadway to North avenue, and through the square. The profusion of flowers among the military escort and veterans, the gaily caparisoned horses of the marshal and his aids, the tall figure of Col. Richardson, mounted on a splendid charger, bowing his acknowledgments on either hand, the proud bearing of the veterans, their torn and shot-riddled colors—all combined to make a display worthy of transfer to canvass."

Subsequently, Colonel Richardson accepted a commission as first-lieutenant in the Regular Army, and was assigned to duty with his regiment in the Southwest. His knowledge of law, however, soon secured him a detail as judge advocate, and later, upon resigning from the army, he was appointed judge of a local court in Texas, where, in the city of Austin, he has since resided. Beloved, respected and honored, no name stands higher on the martial roll of Cambridge than that of James Prentiss Richardson.

The first-lieutenant of the company, Samuel E. Chamberlain, had, when quite young, seen service in the Mexican War. On November 25, 1861, he was commissioned captain of a company in the First Massachusetts Cavalry; major October 30, 1862; lieutenant-colonel March 5, 1864; colonel of the Fifth Massachusetts Cavalry, July 26, 1865; and was discharged October 31, 1865, with the brevet rank of brigadier-general. When leading a detachment at Kelly's Ford, March 17, 1863, he received a painful and dangerous wound from a bullet which entered his left cheek-bone, and which was long afterwards taken out from between his shoulder-blades. With characteristic pluck he soon returned to his post and continued to perform valuable service until his discharge, on the date above given.

The second lieutenant was Edwin F. Richardson. Like Colonel Richardson and General Chamberlain, he, too, re-entered the service, receiving, on October 1, 1861, a commission as first lieutenant in the Twenty-second Massachusetts. Subsequently he gave up his commission, but soon after enlisted as a private, became a sergeant and received a mortal wound in battle May 18, 1864. He lingered in great agony until May 26th, when he was released by death. His body lies buried in the soldiers' lot in Cambridge Cemetery. Lieutenant Richardson was very popular with the members of the company, and his name is warmly cherished in the memory of its survivors and by all who knew him. Of the members of the company, the venerable Rev. Lucius R. Paige says, in a note to his "History of Cambridge:"—"As nearly as can be ascertained, the whole number re-enlisted, with only two exceptions; twenty-seven of them received commissions, and twenty-one were killed in battle or died of wounds and disease contracted in the service." A glorious record!

And glory there was gained, too, by other Cambridge men among the thousands which Cambridge sent to the front, of whom about two hundred were commissioned officers.

Mr. Paige gives the following list:

Brigadier-Generals, Henry L. Eustis, Charles Russell Lowell; Brevet Brigadier-Generals, Samuel E. Chamberlain, Charles F. Walcott; Colonels, P. Stearns Davis, Norwood P. Hallowell, Albert Ordway, Edmund Rice; Brevet Colonel, James B. Smith; Lieutenant-Colonels, William W. Bullock, Jeremiah W. Coveney, J. Durrell Green, William H. Lounsbury, George A. Meacham, David P. Muzzey, James P. Richardson, Samuel W. Richardson, Albert Stickney; Majors, Ezra P. Gould, C. Frederick Livermore, Charles C. Parsons, Henry L. Patten, John T. Richards, Atherton H. Stevens, Jr.; Brevet Major, Charles J. Mills; Captains, Thomas H. Annable, Thomas O. Barri, Joseph H. Baxter, James B. Bell, George N. Benuett, Robert T. Bourne, John T. Burgess, Richard Cary, Charles H. Chapman, Joseph H. Clark, J. Warren Cotton, Lewis S. Dabney, Alexander J. Dallas, George H. Dana, James T. Davis, Horace Dexter, Edward G. Dyke, Charles W. Folsom, William H. Gertz, Joseph A. Hildreth, Arthur Hodges, George F. Holman, Henry A. Homer, Henry P. Hoppin, Samuel D. Hovey, William G. Howe, Alpheus Hyatt, William H. Jewell, Edward B. P. Kinsley, Leodagar M. Lipp, Roger S. Littlefield, Frederick A. Lull, John W. McGregor, Samuel McKeever, Robert R. Newell, William J. O'Brien, William Plumer, Josiah Porter, Thomas R. Robeson, J. Emery Round, Taylor P. Rundlett, John S. Sawyer, George A. Schmitt, J. Lewis Stackpole, George H. Taylor, Levi P. Thompson, George O. Tyler, Charles C. Wehrun, Henry C. Wells, Thomas R. Wells, Edward E. White, William H. Whitney, John B. Whorf, John Wilder, John C. Willey, Andrew Wilson, John T. Wilson, J. Henry Wyman; Brevet Captain, Benjamin Vaughn; Surgeons, Alfred F. Holt, Anson P. Hooker, Alfred A. Stocker, A. Carter Webber; Assistant Surgeon, Henry Q. Marcy; First Lieutenants, John S. Allanson, William B. Allyn, John Bigelow, George W. Booth, William S Buck, Isaac H. Bullard, John H. Butler, A. L. Chamberlain, Daniel H. Chamberlain, Frederick Chandler, William H. Clark, Theodore Collamore, Marcus M. Collis, John H. Conant, George H. Copeland, Calvin A. Damon, Henry C. Dana, Charles M. Duran, Gerald Fitzgerald, Charles F. Foster, John C. Gaffney, Thomas L. Harmon, John C. Heymer, Charles V. Holt, George H. Howard, Eli P. Kinsley, Thomas J. Langley, James R. Lawrence, Edward M. Livermore,

Charles A. Longfellow, James J. Lowell, Alphonso M. Lunt, Timothy McCarty, William McDermott, Lebbeus H. Mitchell, William Mullett, James Munroe, Isaac H. Pinkham, John H. Rafferty, W. Carey Rice, Darius P. Richards, Edwin F. Richardson, Ezra Ripley, William A. Robinson, Nathan Russell, Jr., Frank N. Scott, Jared Shepard, George B. Smith, George W. Smith, Charles B. Stevens, Frank E. Stimson, William B. Storer, Humphrey Sullivan, Robert Torrey, Jr., Emory Washburn, Jr., Charles P. Welch, Austin C. Wellington, William L. Whitney, Jr.; Second Lieutenants, Leonard C. Alden, Pardon Almy, Jr., Rudolph N. Anderson, John V. Apthorp, Charles P. Blaisdell, George L. Bradbury, Amos W. Bridges, Joseph P. Burrage, Edward F. Campbell, Howard Carroll, William M. Cloney, George Cole, Daniel G. E. Dickenson, Lowell Ellison, George A. Fisher, Thomas J. Fletcher, Nathan G. Gooch, James B. Hancock, Stephen S. Harris, Harrison Hinkley, Henry C. Hobbs, Andrew J. Holbrook, George M. Joy, Henry B. Leighton, John McClintock, Edmund Miles, Daniel S. Parker, William L. Putnam, Hiram Rowe, George P. Small, William H. B Smith, William A. Tarbell, William H. Tibbetts, Payson E. Tucker, Oliver H. Webber, Nathaniel S. Wentworth.

Navy.—Rear Admiral, Charles H. Davis; Assistant Surgeons, William Longshaw, Jr., Henry S. Plympton; Assistant Engineer, John M. Whittemore.

The name of Lieutenant John Read is added.

During a portion of the years 1862 and 1863 a camp of rendezvous and instruction for recruits was maintained on the open lot of land lying partly in North Cambridge and partly in West Somerville, and was designated as "Camp Cameron." Barracks were erected, and a large number of men were quartered here at different times. Bounty-jumpers, however, were afforded too good an opportunity to leave, and it was finally abandoned for Port Independence in Boston Harbor, from which it was more difficult to desert. On one occasion, at least, during the war, it was deemed prudent to put a guard over the munitions of war stored in the arsenal, which, until quite recently, stood on Garden Street, and also over the powder magazine at "Captain's Island." This duty was performed largely by Harvard students, who were thanked by the military authorities.

Nearly three hundred and fifty Cambridge men, of whom about thirty-five were officers, died in the service. On Cambridge Common stands their monument, the corner-stone of which was laid by the mayor and City Council, June 17, 1869. Its inscription is as follows: "THE SOLDIERS AND SAILORS OF CAMBRIDGE, WHOSE NAMES ARE HERE INSCRIBED, DIED IN THE SERVICE OF THEIR COUNTRY, IN THE WAR FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF THE UNION. TO PERPETUATE THE MEMORY OF THEIR VALOR AND PATRIOTISM, THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED BY THE CITY, A.D. 1869–70." The names appear upon eight tablets, headed by that of Charles Russell Lowell, than whom, at no time and in no country, did braver officer draw sword,—a fit leader of this immortal band.

At the present time Cambridge has two militia companies of infantry, which are both designated by the letter B,—one called the "Massachusetts Guards," attached to the First Regiment, and the other, styled the "Cambridge City Guard," attached to the Fifth Regiment. The former has its armory in the city building at Central Square, Cambridgeport, and the latter's armory is in the city building at Brattle Square in Old Cambridge. Besides the members of these two organizations, many Cambridge citizens are enrolled as members of different organizations of the State militia, chiefly in the First, Fifth and Ninth Regiments of Infantry, the First Corps of Cadets, the First Battalion of Light Artillery, the First Battalion of Cavalry and in the Signal and Ambulance Corps of the two brigades. The armories furnished by the city are among the very best in the State, and since the introduction of rifle practice as a part of the training of the State force, the city has furnished an excellent rifle range, with barrier and targets of the most approved description. The present range was constructed but a little over a year ago at Cider Mill Pond, on the Belmont line, where a firing shed, with all necessary appointments for heating, etc., was built, so that the militia are able to use the range at all seasons of the year.

The company known as the "Cambridge City Guard" dates its existence from the year 1873, when Mr. John C. Sylvia and others of North Cambridge petitioned the Governor for leave to form a military company in Cambridge, to be attached to the volunteer militia. The petition having been granted, a sufficient number of men were mustered into the service on April 8, 1873, and on the same day George A. Keeler was elected captain, and the company was assigned to the Fifth Regiment as Company "L;" but during the next month the letter was changed to "K," and in December, 1878, the letter was again changed to "B," by which designation it has since been known. Captain Keeler, at the time of his election, was a very young man to hold the position, having hardly more than attained his majority; but, having been trained at school in military drill, and possessed of a dignified presence and a rare control over men, his company was one of the best in the regiment. In the year 1875, under Captain Keeler's command, the company participated with the Fifth Regiment in the centennial observance of the battles of Lexington and Concord, passing over much the same territory as did Captain Thatcher's company a hundred years before, and also in the observance of the centennial anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill. On this last occasion the company entertained as its guests the Norfolk Light Artillery Blues of Norfolk, Va., many of whose members had fought on the Confederate side during the War of the Rebellion, and which, during the war, as a battery of light artillery, had performed distinguished service. The Norfolk company brought with them, as their guests, General (since Governor) Fitz Hugh Lee, of Virginia, and other eminent citizens of the South, and were banqueted in the evening by the Cambridge company at Porter's Hotel, at which Governor Emory Washburn and other leading citizens joined with the members of the company in welcoming their guests. Many eloquent speeches were made, and on the following day the Virginians were driven about Cam-

bridge and vicinity by the members of the Cambridge company, and were given a dinner at the Prospect House in Waltham. On the 19th the visiting organization was escorted to the Norfolk boat by the City Guard, in whose honor the visitors used one of their field-pieces in firing a salute as they sailed away from the wharf.

In July, 1875, Captain Keeler resigned to attend to his private concerns; but it is interesting to note that this excellent officer re-entered the military service of the State in the following year as a member of the First Corps of Cadets, in which he served for two years. In July, 1886, he again entered the militia as guidon sergeant of the First Battalion of Cavalry, was appointed adjutant on September 3d of the same year, and on January 10, 1889, he was appointed by Brigadier-General Peach, commanding the Second Brigade, captain and aide-de-camp upon his staff. This position Captain Keeler held until the beginning of the present year, when he was appointed by Governor Brackett colonel and assistant inspector-general upon the staff of the commander-in-chief. After the resignation of Captain Keeler, the company elected its first lieutenant, William L. B. Robinson, captain. Captain Robinson remained in command of the company until March, 1879, when he resigned, and the company elected as its commander First Lieutenant William A. Bancroft. Captain Bancroft commanded the company until he was elected colonel of the regiment February 7, 1882. On the 20th of the same month First Lieutenant Thomas C. Henderson was elected captain. Captain Henderson resigned after holding the position for about a year, and on March 12, 1883, First Lieutenant Charles H. Cutler was elected Captain. Under Captain Cutler's command, the company entered a prize drill at Hingham, and obtained the first prize of $100, and in the winter of 1883–84 a fair was held by the company for the purpose of raising funds, which resulted in putting nearly $1600 in the company treasury. At the inspection of the company made in the spring of 1884 by the inspector general of the State, the company was marked first in the regiment. Soon after this inspection Captain Cutler resigned, and Captain Henderson was again elected company commander. While Captain Henderson was a second time in command, the company went to New York at its own expense on the occasion of the funeral of General Grant, and formed a part of the military escort.

On February 21, 1887, during the time of the street railway strike, in obedience to a precept issued by the mayor, the members of the company were called to its armory and held in readiness to suppress disorder in case of need, disturbances having broken out previously in different parts of the city. The services of the company were not needed, however; but the promptness with which the members of the company and also those of Company B of the First Regiment, who were likewise called upon, responded, was recognized both by the mayor and also by the commander-in-chief in general orders. Captain Henderson having been elected a major of the regiment, he was succeeded by First Lieutenant Samuel T. Sinclair, who was elected captain June 11, 1888. During Captain Sinclair's service as commander, the company went to New York with the regiment, which had been detailed, on account of its military proficiency, as escort to the State delegation at the centennial observance of the inauguration of Washington as the first President of the United States. Captain Sinclair resigned November 21, 1889, and was succeeded on December 2, 1889, by First Lieutenant Richard W. Sutton, who had formerly served in the ranks of the company as private, corporal, sergeant and first sergeant, but who had been sergeant-major and afterwards adjutant, and who, at the time of his election as captain of Company B, was paymaster of the regiment. A thorough tactician and a good disciplinarian, with a long experience in the service of the militia, Captain Sutton has already proved himself to be an able company commander, and to-day the company maintains a high standard of efficiency.

During the past fifteen years the policy of the State military authorities has been to disband organizations which have fallen below the standard of efficiency, and that has been kept so high that many a company which formerly would have been considered far above the disbanding limit has found itself outside the militia by reason of orders issued from the State Headquarters. Although subjected to many a rigid inspection, it is believed that at no time since its organization in, 1873, has the Cambridge City Guard been found by the State authorities in such a condition as to its military efficiency as to suggest the possibility of its disbandment. And the same can also be said, since the transfer to Cambridge, of its associate company, to which the following relates:—

In the year 1873 Captain Austin C. Wellington, of the Boston "Tigers," was elected major of the First Battalion of Infantry of the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, consisting of his own and three other companies. Major Wellington at once took steps to improve the efficiency of his battalion, which he afterwards made famous in the militia for the high standard it reached, and as a part of his plan it was determined to transfer one of the companies, the "Washington Light Guard," to Cambridge, where a better class of men would enlist and where the company would receive financial assistance from the citizens. After enough Cambridge men had been mustered in to make a majority of its members, the company voted, under the provisions of the militia law, to change the location of its armory from Boston to Cambridge. This removal of the company was approved, its name was changed to the "Massachusetts Guards" and on January 23, 1874, the company chose as its cap-

tain, Levi Hawkes, than whom no man in Cambridge is better qualified for the position, as his management of the company showed, could have been found. Captain Hawkes was one of the members of James P. Richardson's company, and afterwards enlisted, August 19, 1861, in the Eighteenth Massachusetts Volunteers, in which, as private, corporal, sergeant and sergeant-major of the regiment, which last position he had held for some time previous to the expiration of the regiment's term of service, September 22, 1864, he gained an enviable reputation for his soldierly qualities. Unsurpassed as a drill-master, familiar with military routine and a strict diciplinarian, he might have been a failure as a militia officer, because of the conditions, so different from those to which he had been accustomed in the army. But like a thorough soldier, he grasped at once the needs of a militia company, and during the five years and nine months in which he continued in command he never gave the military authorities nor the citizens of Cambridge cause to bestow anything but praise upon his management of the company. When, after a long term of service, the demands of his private business induced him to resign, it must have been with the consciousness of duty well performed. An ideal citizen soldier, sustaining the martial character in war and in peace—one in the long line of militia captains of whose character and of whose services Cambridge has had no reason to feel ashamed. After the resignation of Captain Hawkes the company elected, on November 3, 1879, the first lieutenant, William E. Lloyd, of Arlington, captain. Captain Lloyd resigned February 26, 1881; the company's next commander was Captain Albert F. Fessenden, elected March 30, 1881. Captain Fessenden was one of the youngest captains in the militia, but proved to be a most capable company commander, and the company, during the two years in which he was in command, maintained its high standard of excellence. Captain Fessenden resigned on April 25, 1883, and was succeeded by First Lieutenant William L. Fox, who was elected captain on April 30th of the same year. While Captain Fox was in command of the company the First Regiment was designated by the commander-in-chief for instruction in heavy artillery drill, and in this branch of duty Captain Fox was the pioneer in the regiment. Captain Fox resigned on January 10, 1884, but afterwards joined another company in the regiment, was appointed its first sergeant and soon became its commander, was transferred to a third company of which he became the captain and in 1888 was transferred to the Fifth Regiment as captain of Company H. Captain Fox holds a high place as a drill-master in the militia and is well known in Middlesex County as an instructor in military drill in the schools of several cities and towns. First Lieutenant Harrison G. Wells was elected captain of the company on January 21, 1884, and administered its affairs so faithfully and capably as to receive warm praise from Colonel Wellington, the regiment's untiring commander, whose activity in behalf of his regiment was then at its height. Captain Wells resigned July 11, 1885, and was succeeded by First Lieutenant Frank W. Dallinger, the present commander, who was elected captain on the 20th of the same month. Captain Dallinger had enlisted in the company, but so diligently did he apply himself that he mastered a knowledge of his duties in a surprisingly short time and has come to be one of the most active officers in the militia. Well known throughout the State as commander of his company and as a member of the military committee of the Legislature, under him the company has performed its part in the tours of duty which have made the First Regiment famous beyond the borders of the Commonwealth—at the funeral of General Grant in New York in 1885, and at Philadelphia in 1887, where the regiment, by virtue of its attainment to the first place in military excellence, was detailed by the commander-in-chief as escort to the Massachusetts delegation at the Centennial observance of the adoption of the Federal Constitution.

Captain Dallinger has given much attention to instruction in rifle practice, and during one year, at least, every officer and man in the company was a qualified marksman.

It is but just to say that the Cambridge militia companies of to-day are both ably commanded.

An event of much interest to Cambridge people was the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the departure of the company which Colonel Richardson raised for service in the War of the Rebellion. Committees of the City Council and of the citizens at large united in preparations to make the day one long to be remembered by the present generation. A procession passed through the streets headed by Major-General Hincks, himself a veteran of the war and an officer of high rank on the retired list of the regular army, as chief marshal, with a brilliant staff, and containing the two city militia companies, the posts of the Grand Army of the Republic and other veterans of the war, escorting about forty survivors of Richardson's company. The tall form of their now venerable commander again appeared at their head, and the heroic figure of General Chamberlain, their first lieutenant, with his battle-scarred face, was seen once more in their midst. A perfect day and a route of procession lavishly decorated assisted the assembled thousands to greet the hero and his comrades who, a quarter century before, had been ready at the nation's call. Now there were but forty; then there were ninety-five. Years before most of the absent had joined the shadowy army "on Fame's eternal camping-ground;" but on this day none were forgotten, either living or dead. The company was banqueted in the afternoon, and in the evening appropriate exercises, presided over by the mayor of the city, were held in Union Hall, at which those present were privileged to hear

a short address from Colonel Richardson. An incident of the banquet was the presentation of an excellent life size portrait of Lieutenant Richardson—the gift of Mrs. Richardson to her lamented husband's surviving comrades.

Four posts of the Grand Army of the Republic are established in Cambridge, and once a year through the city streets, escorted by the military companies, march the members of this self-limited organization, whose purpose it is, while still its members live, to cherish the memory of their sleeping companions in arms. Nowhere in the broad land is Memorial Day observed with surroundings more impressive and amid associations more suggestive than in the cemeteries at Mount Auburn, at the Soldiers' Monument on Cambridge Common, and in the stately hall of Harvard University, where are recorded the names of those who, taught here in the classic tongue that it is sweet and honorable to die for country, showed to the world by their sacrifice how well they had learned the lesson of patriotism and of loyalty to the flag.

Later in the year the citizens of Cambridge are accustomed to see His Excellency, the Governor of the Commonwealth, on his way to attend the Harvard Commencement, riding in an open barouche, drawn by four horses and escorted by the "National Lancers," now officially designated in the militia of the Commonwealth as Company A, First Battalion of Cavalry, a number of whose members reside in Cambridge. The mounted trumpeters blowing martial music, the guard of honor flanking the carriage of His Excellency, the brilliantly-uniformed staff in carriages which follow, the scarlet coats and nodding plumes of the troopers with their pennoned lances glistening in the sunlight, all suggest the pomp of the royal governors of the eighteenth century, which custom has imposed upon their republican successors, some of whom, it must be confessed, if the spectators may judge from the expression of their countenances as they pass through Harvard Square, are in doubt whether to affect the solemnity of a funeral or the hilarity of a pic-nic. But, distasteful or otherwise as the custom of taking escort may be to the eminent citizen selected for the time being to fill the executive chair, it is to be hoped that it will long be observed when the official head of the Commonwealth pays his annual visit to the university upon which that Commonwealth bestowed so much assistance in the days of the generations long passed away, when perhaps the custom itself first arose; if, indeed, it be for no other purpose than to remind the public of the care which the fathers of our Commonwealth took to found a college ere scarce they had founded a state.

Within the past few years both of the regiments to which the Cambridge companies are attached have been called here to perform the mournful duty of an escort at the last sad rites paid to officers beloved in their respective regiments—the Fifth, in the spring of 1886, at the burial of Colonel Ezra J. Trull, an officer of General Peach's staff, and captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, who commanded the regiment from 1875 to 1882, and the First, in the fall of 1888, at the burial of Colonel Wellington, stricken down while holding the commission as commander of the regiment, which he had received in 1882. Both colonels were veteran officers of the War of the Rebellion, active in business, social and political matters, and both had spent a score of the best years of their lives in the militia service. Both rest in Mount Auburn, where, a farewell salute, echoed the triple volleys of the regiments they had commanded, and where sounded, in the sweet notes of the bugle, the soldier's good-night. The Fifth Regiment, in 1886, assembled in Cambridge for its annual drill. By permission of the authorities of Harvard College, tents were pitched on Jarvis Field, and a full day's duty was performed by the command, including guard mount and battalion drill in the forenoon, and after dinner, in the armory of Co. B, in the afternoon, a skirmish drill by bugle, in which blank cartridges were used, a review by the mayor of the city and a dress-parade, followed by muster for pay. The evolutions of the regiment were witnessed by thousands of spectators, to many of whom the sight was a novel one. The same regiment assembled here again in the fall of 1888, on the day of the mobilization of the entire State force, when five thousand men were concentrated in Boston in a few hours' time, were put in motion on the minute previously ordered, were marched over a route of parade, and were dismissed and sent to their homes as quickly as they had come together, without disorder, and with as much precision of movement as though it were a daily event of their lives.

CHAPTER XI.

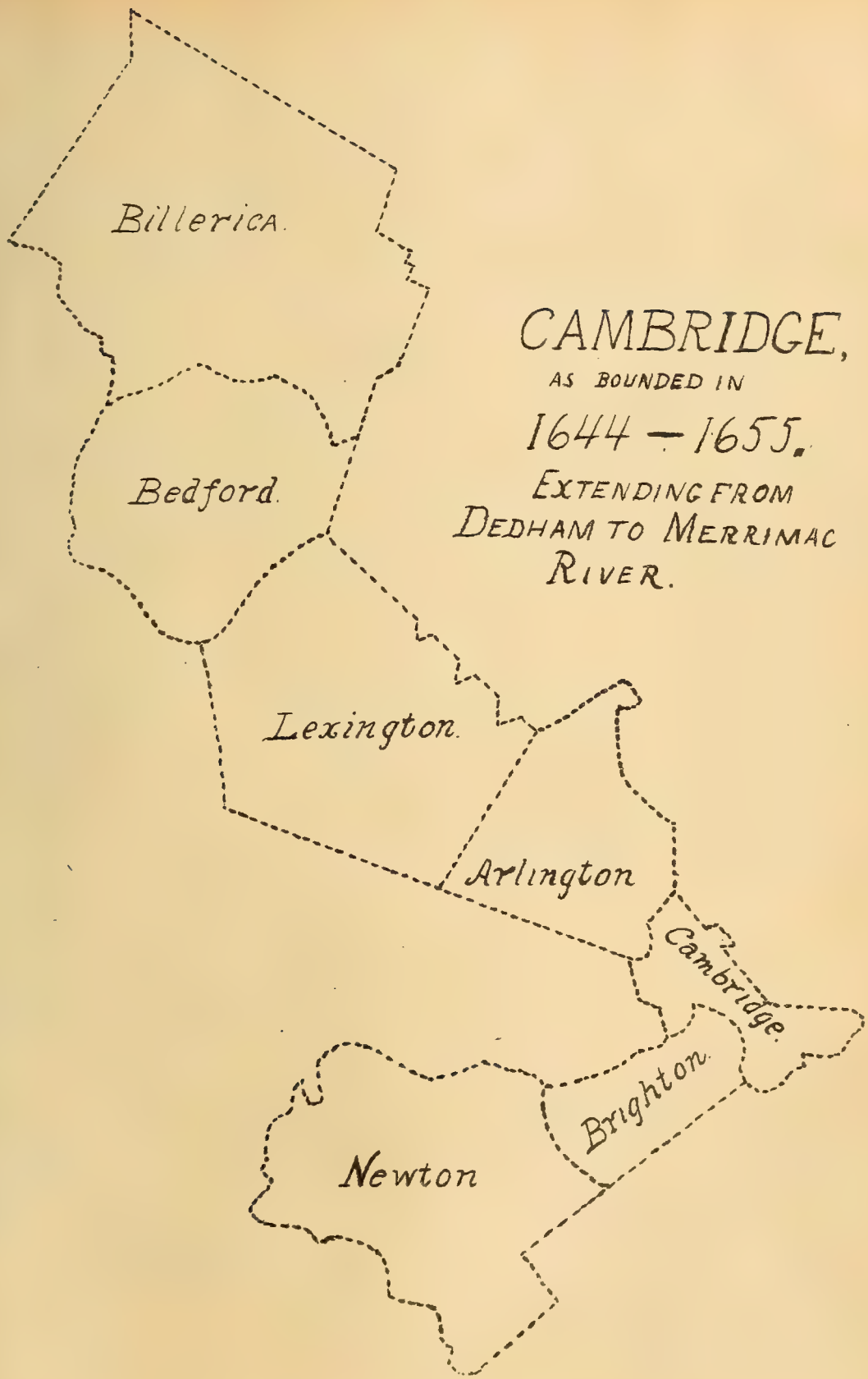
CAMBRIDGE—(Continued).

CIVIL HISTORY.[1]

BY JOHN LIVERMORE.

LIKE most of the ancient townships of Massachusetts, Cambridge has had its boundary lines changed many times, both by enlargement and diminution.

[1] In giving this sketch of the Civil History of Cambridge I am greatly indebted to the veteran historian of Cambridge, Rev. Lucius R. Paige, D.D., who has kindly assisted me in many ways, and without whose aid and encouraging words the writer would never have consented to venture upon what to him was an untried field, and for the performance of which he would gladly have yielded the task to some one more fitted for the work. Dr. Paige has not only given much verbal information, but has permitted large quotations from his elaborate and valuable work. I am also indebted to Walter W. Pike, Esq., the present City Clerk of Cambridge, for his assistance in enabling me to peruse the ancient records of the town, now in his custody. My only apology for what I have furnished for this work is my great interest and affection for the place where I was born and where I have always resided.


Billerica.
Bedford.
Lexington.
Arlington
Cambridge.
Brighton.
Newton
CAMBRIDGE,
AS BOUNDED IN
1644 — 1655.
EXTENDING FROM
DEDHAM TO MERRIMAC
RIVER.



Charlestown and Watertown had been already settled soon after the arrival of Winthrop in 1630. Between these two towns a place was selected which seems to have been designed as a "fit place for a fortified town," and what is now part of the city of Cambridge was the chosen spot. Houses were erected here in 1631 by Deputy-Governor Thomas Dudley and his associates. They called it New Towne, by which name it was known until May 2, 1638, when the General Court "Ordered that New Towne shall henceforward be called Cambridge." No other act of incorporation is to be found on record, but the Court, March 3, 1635, agreed that "New Towne bounds shall run eight miles into the country from their meeting-house," and an additional grant was made, June 2, 1641, of "All the lands lying upon Shawshine Ryver and between that and Merrimack Ryver are granted to Cambridge" This included the present town of Billerica, and parts of Bedford and Carlisle. The township had now attained its full size. In shape it was somewhat like an hour-glass, about thirty-five miles in length and wide at each extremity, and very narrow at its central part, where the original settlement was made, and where most of the inhabitants then resided.

Such was its shape and size in 1651, but, in 1655, Cambridge lost a part of its enormous length, for in that year an amicable arrangement was made between the town and those of its people who had erected houses at Shawshine for a separation, which was confirmed by the General Court, and Shawshine was incorporated as a town by the name of Billerica.

In March, 1696, the "Farms," so-called, in the northwesterly part of the remaining territory, organized a church and parish, and in March, 1713, they were incorporated as a separate and distinct town by the name of Lexington, upon terms already agreed upon with the town of Cambridge. From this period Cambridge lost none of its territory for nearly a century. The northwesterly part of what was left of the ancient town was made a separate precinct in 1732, and styled the Second Parish, or, more generally, Menotomy, and was subsequently incorporated, in 1807, as a town under the name of West Cambridge, which name was changed, in 1867, to Arlington.

At the same time that the Second Parish was made a township, the Third Parish, then called Little Cambridge, was set off from the parent town, by the name of Brighton, and is now the Twenty-fifth Ward of the city of Boston, having been annexed to that city by act of the Legislature, May 21, 1873, to take effect January 1, 1874. Since that time several attempts have been made for a further division, but its incorporation as a city in 1846 has removed most of the difficulties which previously existed, and there is no reason to expect any further changes in its boundaries.

Cambridge, the original shire-town of Middlesex County, has been always a place of great interest, and has played an important part in the history of our country. It is not too much to say that there is not, on this continent, a place of more historical interest, or one that has been the home of more illustrious persons, than this old town of Cambridge.

It was here that Harvard College, the first institution of learning in the country, was founded in 1636, and it has maintained its high standing for more than two centuries and a half as the leading university of the land. Coming down to later days, we find that Cambridge has always borne an important part in the history of the nation. The limits of this article will not admit of more than a glance at the many interesting events that took place here during the American Revolution. The march of both divisions of the Royal army on the memorable 19th of April, 1775, was through the limits of this town. In West Cambridge the Royal convoy of provisions was, the same day, gallantly surprised by the aged citizens, who stayed to protect their homes while their sons pursued the foe. Here the first American army was formed, and from this place was detached that Spartan band, on the 17th of June, that immortalized the heights of Charlestown, and consecrated that day with blood and fire to the cause of American liberty. The venerable elm still shades the southwestern corner of our Common, where Washington first unsheathed his sword at the head of an American army, and there are still standing, in a good state of preservation, some of the rural redoubts that formed the simple lines of circumvallation, within which a half-starved militia held the flower of the British army blockaded in Boston. But the plough has done what the English batteries could not do, and leveled some of them to the earth; but the ancient house where were Washington's headquarters, and which was so long the home of the poet Longfellow, is still standing in all its ancient grandeur, and is held in high veneration at the present day.

Among the many distinguished persons who have had their residence in Cambridge, a few only can be named:

Elbridge Gerry, Governor in 1810–11, and Vice-President in 1813–14, resided in what is now called Elmwood (the home of the poet James Russell Lowell), William Eustis, Governor in 1825, Richard Dana, Richard H. Dana, the poet, Richard H. Dana, Jr., Margaret Fuller, (Countess D'Ossoli), George Livermore, the merchant and scholar, Alvan Clark, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Thomas Dowse, James Russell Lowell, Alfred Lee, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Frederick Henry Hedge, D.D., and many others.

When General Burgoyne surrendered his army as prisoners of war, in October, 1777, they were ordered to Cambridge, where they arrived during the following month. Burgoyne was quartered in the Borland House, General Riedesel in the Lechmere House, and the soldiers occupied barracks on Prospect and Winter Hills, within a mile of Washington's head-

quarters. Here they remained as prisoners of war for more than a year, when General Burgoyne was sent to Rhode Island on the 5th of April, 1778, and the troops were marched to Virginia on the 10th of November of the same year. While these troops were quartered in and about Cambridge, vexatious collisions were of frequent occurrence, and these two, of a serious character, produced painful excitement.

In January, 1778, Colonel Henry, who was in command at Cambridge, being treated insolently by a British soldier, pricked him with a sword or bayonet. General Burgoyne presented a complaint against Colonel Henry. A spicy correspondence ensued, and the case was duly examined by court-martial, and Colonel Henry was acquitted.

A British officer was shot by an American sentinel while attempting to pass contrary to orders. A jury of inquest, consisting of fourteen good and lawful men of Cambridge, was held, and rendered their verdict "that the said Richard Brown was shot with a firearm by a sentinel in attempting to pass the sentinel with two women after being properly challenged by said sentinel, and so came to his death."

The War of 1812 was unpopular in Cambridge, as it was in New England generally. A certificate is on file that the Cambridge Light Infantry were in camp fifty-one days, commencing September 10, 1814. To Cambridge rightfully belongs the honor of organizing the first company of militia in the United States which was enlisted expressly for the defense of the government in the War of the Rebellion. Two days after the President's proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteers to serve for three months, and the next day after the Governor issued his orders, this company responded on the morning of April 17, 1861, having in its ranks ninety-five men, some of whom, had joined on the march to Boston. It was under the command of Captain James P. Richardson, a great-grandson of Moses Richardson, who was slain on the day of the battle of Lexington—April 19, 1775.

As has been already stated, "The New Town," or Cambridge, was originally established for the purpose of building a fortified place, about six months after the arrival of Winthrop and Dudley with the fleet of emigrants in 1630. As early as February 3, 1631, it was ordered by the Governor and Assistants that "there should be three score pounds levyed out of the several plantations within the lymits of this pattent towards the makeing of a pallysade aboute the new to vne."

The line then established was substantially the same as that which now divides Cambridge from Somerville. The line between Cambridge and Watertown was not definitely established until April 7, 1635, and, in the mean time, on complaint of "straitness for want of land," at the court held May 14, 1634, leave was granted for the inhabitants of "Newe Towne" "to seek out some convenient place for them, with promise that it shall be confirmed unto them, provided they doe not take it in any place to prejudice a plantation already settled." After examining several places, they accepted the territory which embraced Brookline, Brighton and Newton. Brookline, then called Muddy River, was granted, on condition that Mr. Hooker and his congregation should remain there. They removed, however, to Connecticut, and this grant was forfeited, but the grant that was afterward named Brighton and Newton held good.

Newton was called Cambridge *Village* until the year 1679, when it was set off from Cambridge, and made an independent township. The doings of the Court are missing in this case, and, therefore, the conditions upon which the separation took place are unknown, but the town record is sufficient to establish the fact of a separation. In 1691 Cambridge Village was given the name of Newton, twelve years after it had been made an independent town.

The "Newe Towne," as *Cambridge*, seems never to have been incorporated by specific act. The first transaction recorded bears date March 29, 1632, when the town book of records was opened, since which time an unbroken record has been preserved. The first record was the "agreement by the inhabitants about the paling in the neck of land." The next record in order, December 24, 1632, provided for regular meetings for the transaction of business, which were to be held "the first Monday in every month in the afternoon within the meeting-house, and within half an hour of the ringing of the bell, and that every one that makes not his personal appearance and continues there until the meeting is ended shall forfeit for each default 12 pence, and if not paid before the next meeting, then to double it, and so on until it be paid." At the next meeting, January 7, 1633, several votes were passed to secure the beauty and safety of the town, to wit: "Ordered that no person whatever shall set up any house in the bounds of this town, without the consent of the major part thereof," and it was "Further agreed by joint consent that the town shall not be enlarged until all the vacant places be filled with houses;" and "Further it is agreed that all the houses within the bounds of the town shall be covered with slate or boards and not with thatch," and "Further it is ordered that all the houses shall stand and range even on each man's own ground, six feet from the street." After this meeting, January 7, 1633, no other is recorded until August 5, 1633, from which date there is a consecutive record of the monthly meetings, and a few selections from the orders which were adopted at these meetings may serve to illustrate the primitive condition of the town. August 5, sundry lots were granted for cow yards. September 2, it was "Ordered that whosoever hath a tree lying across a highway and doth not remove it within seven days, or whosoever shall hereafter fall any tree and let it lie across a highway one day shall forfeit the tree." November 3, 1634, it was "Ordered

that every inhabitant shall keep the street clear from wood and all other things against his own ground, and whosoever shall have anything lie in the street above one day after the next meeting shall forfeit five shillings for every such default."

Up to this time all the legal voters of the town had met from month to month to manage their public affairs. Power was now delegated to a few individuals, at first styled "Townsmen" and afterwards Selectmen, to transact the whole business of the town until the next November, when a new election might be had. It was further "Ordered that whatsoever these Townsmen thus chosen shall do in the compass of their time, shall stand in full force, as if the whole town did the same, either for making of new orders, or altering of old ones," and it was "Ordered that whosoever they shall send for, to help in any business, and he shall refuse to come, they shall lay a fine upon him and have power to gather it."

At the annual town-meeting, November 20, 1648, it was "ordered that there shall be an eight penny ordinary provided for the Townsmen every second Monday of the month upon their meeting day, and that whoever of the Townsmen fail to be present at the ringing of the bell (which shall be half an hour after eleven of the clock) he shall lose his dinner and pay a pint of sack or the value to the Townsmen present, and the like penalty shall be paid by any that shall depart from the rest without leave. The charges of the dinner shall be paid by the Constable out of the town stock." This practice, thus inaugurated, of dining or partaking of other refreshments at the public expense, seems to have been very generally observed by the selectmen for nearly two hundred years, not indeed at every meeting, nor was the expense always limited to eight pence each. In 1660 there came as passengers in a ship which arrived from London at Boston, Colonel Whalley and Colonel Goffe (two of the late King's judges). The next day, without trying to disguise themselves, they came and resided in Cambridge from July 28, until the 26th of the following February, when they went to New Haven where they arrived March 7. The particular reason why they selected Cambridge for their temporary residence does not appear. A principal citizen of the town, Edward Goffe, was the namesake of one of the regicides, and it is presumed was a relative, but of this there is no positive proof.

At a very early period after the settlement of Cambridge the question of licensing taverns or ordinaries was as difficult to settle as it is at the present day. Great caution was manifested in the appointment of "grave and respectable persons to keep and sell intoxicating drinks." The first person licensed by the General Court, September 8, 1636, to keep a house of entertainment at Cambridge was Thomas Chisholme, a deacon of the church, and afterwards steward of Harvard College. He was licensed to draw wine May 13, 1640, and his place of business was situated on the corner of Winthrop and Dunster Streets, adjoining the lot where the first meeting-house was erected, so that the first church edifice and the first tavern in Cambridge stood side by side.

The first person allowed to sell wine and "strong water" in Cambridge was Nicholas Danforth, a selectman, a representative in the General Court and one of the most active and honored citizens. He died about a month after the date of his license.

The next year Mr. Nathaniel Sparhawke was permitted to draw wine and strong water for Cambridge. He also was a deacon of the church and highly respected.

We come next to the establishment of an ordinary long known as the Blue Anchor Tavern, December 27, 1652. The townsmen granted liberty to Andrew Belcher to sell beer and bread for entertainment of strangers and the good of the town. Mr. Belcher was a trustworthy man and very respectably connected, and the General Court granted him a license June 20, 1654, to keep a house of public entertainment in Cambridge. Mr. Belcher was licensed for the last time in April, 1673. The same year he died and the following year his widow was granted a license, which was continued from year to year until she died, June 26, 1680. She was succeeded by her son, Andrew Belcher, Jr., who continued the business until he sold the estate to his brother-in-law, Mr. Jonathan Remington, who performed the duties of host until his death, in 1700. His widow, Martha Remington, carried on the business until 1705, when she sold out to Joseph Hovey the estate, commonly known as the Blue Anchor. In 1737 the sign of the Blue Anchor was transferred to an estate on the westerly side of Brighton Street, midway between Harvard Square and Mount Auburn Street. In 1796 it was sold to Israel Porter, who is well remembered by many now living, and who died May 30, 1837, aged ninety-nine years, according to the town records.

A part of the old tavern-house remains standing. At this house the selectmen met for the transaction of public business and probably paid for their room by their patronage of the bar. Among the bills remaining on file is the following:

"The Selectmen of the Town of Cambridge.
To Ebenr Bradish, Dr.

	£	s.	d.
March 29, 1769, to dinners and drink	0	17	8
April, 1769, to flip and punch	0	2	0
May 1, " to wine and eating	0	6	8
" " " to dinners, drink and suppers	0	18	0
" " " to flip and cheese	0	4	0
July, " to punch	0	2	8
August, " to punch and eating	0	4	0
October, " to punch and cheese	0	3	7
" " to dinners and drink	0	12	0
Dec., Jan. and Feb., to sundries	0	12	0"

Besides innkeepers the County Court licensed others to sell liquors by retail. Two of these retailers in their old age found it necessary to appeal to the County Court for relief, and their petitions are still preserved on file, to wit:

"To the honored Court assembled at Cambridge: 'all prosperity wished.' Thease are to inform you that I wase brought up in an honest collinge in ould England, where we sold all sortes of goodes and strong waters without offence. I have bine now in forty-nine yeres and upward in this towne and have payed to the magistrate and ministre and to town charges and all willingly, that I have helped to bear the burthen and heate of the daye, and now I am 74 yeres and upward, yet I can abide in my shope and attend to my collinge, though but little is to be gotten by any thinge I can by, that my trade will not maintain my family and other charges of the towne and countrey and ministrye. There being so many sellers that never served for a trade, I desire that it be no offense to aney that I continue in that collinge I was brought up to and may have your leave to sell rome, it being a commodity sallabell and allowed to be brought to this country, and many that was formerly a commodity is not now. Hopeing me my request, I rest yr servant,

"EDMUND ANGIER.

"April 7th, 1686."

In 1740 an epidemic prevailed in Cambridge, called "throat distemper," similar to the influenza, which was recently prevalent. The disease was thus described by Thacher: "The amazing rapidity with which it spread resembled more a storm than the natural progress of a disease from any contagious source, and as it did not incapacitate from pursuing their ordinary avocations, a constant coughing and wheezing was heard in the streets and in public assemblies little else was heard or attended to." It proved so serious here, however, that the students were dismissed from college and the following vote was passed:

"WHEREAS, by the holy Providence of God, several families in Cambridge are visited with the throat distemper, and the President and Stewards are under very afflicting circumstances by reason of that mortal sickness, and whereas we apprehend that there is danger of the distemper spreading as it hath done in other places and that the Students are much endangered thereby, therefore,

"*Voted*, that they be immediately dismissed from College and that the vacation begin from this time, and that the Commencement for this year begin from this date or from the expiration of the vacation."

In 1721 Cambridge was visited with the small-pox, and there were many deaths from this scourge. In January of that year the General Assembly of this Province met at Cambridge, but there was not a quorum, and they adjourned to meet a few miles from this place on account of the small-pox being now in the heart of the place. The town records show that a committee was appointed January 29, 1721, "to provide for the relief of those persons and families as may stand in need thereof in case the small-pox continues to spread among us." Inoculation for the small-pox was first introduced at this time in Boston by Dr. Boylston, who encountered much opposition, but out of 286 persons inoculated only six died. In 1730 Cambridge was again visited by the same disease, when it raged with alarming violence. Nine town-meetings were held between March 20th and April 3d to devise means for its extermination. The college studies were broken up for a time, but the students were recalled by an advertisement dated May 2, 1730, and published in the *Weekly Journal:* "The small-pox having been lately at Cambridge, which occasioned the dispersion of the scholars, to escape danger, but now through the Divine goodness that distemper having utterly ceased here, it is agreed and ordered by the President and Tutors, that the undergraduates forthwith repair to the College to follow their studies and stated exercises." Benjamin Wadsworth, Pres.

Again, in 1752, the small-pox caused the cessation of study in college from April 22d until September 2d, and the corporation voted May 4th "that there be no public commencement this year," and in October voted to have no winter vacation. The town appointed a committee May 18th to devise measures to prevent the spread of the disease, and on the 3d of October voted "that a public contribution be in the three parts of the town next Lord's day, come seven night, for the speedy raising of money to defray the charges the town have been at in the support of sundry persons lately visited with the small-pox belonging to this town."

Rev. John Cotton, in a letter dated November 7, 1717, and preserved in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, says that at the funeral of Hon. Andrew Belcher "All the ministers there had scarves and gloves. They say 50 suits of cloaths were made. All first cousins, Remington, Blowers, etc., were put into mourning. John Coleman, Caswell, etc., all that had been apprentices to him also. Ninety dozen of gloves were bought and none of any figure but what had gloves sent 'em." When the practice of furnishing mourning and paying all the funeral expenses was abolished is not clear, but in 1764 we find this record: "Died, in Cambridge, in the 78th year of her age, Mrs. Hannah Burrill, relict of the late Theophilus Burrill, Esq., and sister to the Rev. President Holyoke, at whose house she had for a long time resided. Her remains were interred without the expense of mourning apparel, agreeable to the laudable practice in Boston. As this is the first example of the kind in this town we doubt not it will acquire imitation, as it was introduced by a gentleman of so worthy and respectable a character." It is to be regretted that the efforts made by President Holyoke and others to abolish such extravagant and useless customs were ineffectual, for we find it prevailed some years later.

Bill of expenses for the funeral of Edmund Goffe, October, 1740, now on file at the Probate Office, East Cambridge:

	£	*s.*	*d.*
"To 5 pairs of gloves at 7*s.* 6*d.* and a mourning weed	1	17	6
"1 pair of shoe buckles 6*s.*, knee buckles 4*s.* 6*d.*, black studs 1*s.* 3*d.*	0	11	9
"a hat 60*s.*, mourning wig £5	8	0	0
"a pair of gloves, black silk 25*s.*	1	5	0
"a suit of mourning for the widow and a pair of shoes,	30	0	0
"another pair of black silk gloves 25*s.*	1	5	0
"ten rings of Mr. Hurd, as per account	23	14	0
"mourning for my Aunt Barnard	33	6	0
"the same for my Sister Dana	33	6	0
"pair of gloves for her husband	0	8	0
"cash paid the taylors for making the cloths	3	19	0
"two gallons of wine 30*s.*, a dozen of pipes and two papers of tobacco 5*s.*	1	15	0

To cash paid for bricks and bricking the grave . . .	1	10	0
" stones to cover the grave	0	10	0

" November 8, 1671."

This bill was allowed by the judge, though the estate was soon afterwards rendered insolvent.

At a town-meeting held in connection with the church, July 17, 1671, an earnest call was given to Uriah Oakes to come over to this country and to settle over the church in Cambridge. Mr. Oakes accepted the call, and the town voted "that the deacons be furnished and enabled to provide for the accommodation at the charge of the church and the town, and to distribute the same seasonably for the comfort of Mr. Oakes and his family, and that half a year's payment be made forthwith by every one, and the one-half of it be paid in money and the other half in such pay as may be suitable to the end intended." The church and town united in keeping the 17th day of January, 1676, as a day of thanksgiving, that the loss sustained by the death of Mr. Mitchell (their former pastor) was thus supplied.

A glimpse of the customs of that period is obtained from the following account of the disbursements for the ordination of Mr. Oakes as pastor of the church of Cambridge, which took place Nov. 8, 1671:

	£	s.	d.
" 3 bushels of wheate	0	15	0
2½ " malt	0	10	0
4 gallons of wine	0	18	0
for beefe	1	10	0
" mutton	1	4	0
" 30 lbs. butter	0	15	0
" foules	0	14	0
" sugar, spice and fruit	1	0	0
" labour	0	6	0
" washing table lining	0	7	0
" woode	0	7	0
" suit, bread 6s.	0	9	0
	9	17	3

" Paid by contribution the Sabbath before ordination."

Cambridge was very early designated (and before the establishment of counties) as one of the four towns where judicial courts should be held, and when the Colony was divided into counties, May 10, 1643, the courts continued to be held in Cambridge, as the shire-town of Middlesex; but as the business increased it was ordered, October 19, 1652, that two additional sessions should be held for this county in each year, both at Charlestown. These courts were continued for many years, and a court-house and jail were erected in that town, and at a still later date courts were established and similar buildings were erected in Concord. These places were regarded as "half-shires," but the county records were never removed from Cambridge, excepting temporarily during the usurpation of Sir Edmund Andros, who appointed Capt. Laurence Hammond, of Charlestown, clerk of the courts and register of probate and deeds, who removed the records to Charlestown. In 1689 the General Court ordered Capt. Hammond to surrender and deliver to the order of the county of Middlesex the records of that county and all books of record and files belonging to said county in his custody; and he not obeying the order, the marshal-general was ordered to arrest him forthwith, with power to break open his house if necessary. The records were at length surrendered. By the records of the General Court it appears that on the 8th of June, 1716, Colonel Goffe complained that no office for the registry of deeds was open in Cambridge, it being the shire-town of Middlesex; a hearing was ordered, and on June 13, 1717, it was resolved by the whole Court that Cambridge was the shire-town of said county, and on the following day it was voted in concurrence "that the public office for registering of deeds and conveyances of lands for the County of Middlesex be forthwith opened and kept at the shire-town, Cambridge." The order was immediately obeyed. When or where the building erected in which the judicial courts were first held in Cambridge is uncertain, but it was destroyed by fire during the year 1761, and the Court passed this order: "Upon information that several records belonging to this county were casually burned in the burning of the house where the court was usually kept, this Court do order that the Recorder take care that out of the *foul* copies and other scripts in his custody he fairly draw forth the said records into a book and present the same to the County Court when finished; and that the Treasurer of the County allow for the same." The first court-house of which we have any definite knowledge was erected about 1708, in Harvard Square, nearly in front of the present Lyceum Hall. Deacon Nathaniel Hancock, Jason Russell and Lieut. Amos Marrett were the building committee. The County Court had previously ordered "that there be allowed out of the County Treasury the sum of thirty pounds towards the erecting a suitable Court-House for the use of the County in the town of Cambridge, one-half to be paid at the raising and covering, and the other half at the finishing of the same; the said house to be of not less than four-and-twenty foot wide and eight-and-twenty foot long, and of height proportionable." This house, diminutive as it now appears, was used by the courts for about a half a century. In 1756 the Court of Sessions appointed a committee to provide better quarters, either by enlarging the old house or erecting a new one. The town "voted, Nov. 2, 1756, to pay its proportion of the cost, provided the materials of the old meeting-house, now being taken down, be given and applied to that use, together with the town's proportion of the present Court-House." A lot of land was purchased where Lyceum Hall now stands, and a house was erected more spacious than the former one, and was occupied by the courts for more than fifty years. An ineffectual attempt was made in 1806, by prominent men in Cambridgeport, to erect a court-house on the easterly side of what was long called the "*meeting-house lot*," bounded by Broadway and Boardman, Harvard and Columbia Streets. Andrew

Cragie and his associates were more successful. Having given ample grounds and erected a court-house and jail at an expense of $24,000, they were rewarded by the removal of the courts and records, in 1816, to the edifices prepared for them at what is now East Cambridge, where they remain to this day. The old court-house, having been abandoned by the county, was used for town and parish purposes until April 19, 1841, when the town quit-claimed all its rights and interest in the house and lot for the nominal sum of one dollar, in trust for the use of the proprietors of the Lyceum Hall to be erected on the premises; provided, nevertheless, that the grantees "do and shall forever grant and secure to the Town the right of the inhabitants of the First Ward, in said Cambridge, to the use of the Hall for all necessary meetings of the Voters of said Ward." The old court-house was removed to Palmer Street, where it still remains, being occupied for secular purposes. The town protested most earnestly against the removal, but all in vain.

CAMBRIDGE AS A CITY.—After several attempts to divide the ancient town of two or more centuries, and in consequence of the rapid increase of its population, it was found imperatively necessary that some change should be made in the management and administration of its municipal affairs, and as every attempt to divide the town had been defeated, at a town-meeting January 5, 1846, several citizens, before leaving the town-house, signed a petition requesting the selectmen to appoint a legal meeting to see if the town would ask for a city charter, and accordingly the inhabitants met January 14, 1846, and voted that the selectmen be instructed to petition the Legislature for the grant of a city charter, and Simon Greenleaf, Owen S. Kieth, Abraham Edwards, Sidney Willard, Thomas Whittemore, Isaac Livermore, William Parmenter, Ephraim Buttrick, Thomas F. Norris and the town clerk were appointed a committee to draft a bill in conformity to the preceding vote, and to use all proper means to procure its passage, and an act to establish the city of Cambridge was approved March 17, 1846, by the Governor, and on March 30th the inhabitants in town-meeting voted to adopt the act by a vote of 645 in the affirmative and 224 in the negative, whereupon the result was announced by the moderator and proclamation was made that the town of Cambridge had accepted its charter, and become a city.

The new government was organized May 4, 1846, James D. Green having been chosen mayor; the City Council consisted of six aldermen and the Common Council of twenty; the mayor and aldermen chosen by the inhabitants of the city at large voting in their respective wards. The Common Council were appointed among the several wards giving Ward One, five members; Ward Two, nine members, and to Ward Three, six members.

Isaac Livermore was the first president of the Common Council, and Charles S. Newell, clerk; Lucius R. Paige, the historian of Cambridge, was chosen city clerk, and Abel W. Bruce, treasurer; Roland Litchfield, Jr., messenger.

Mayors.—The following is a list of mayors from 1846 to 1890: James D. Green, from May, 1846, to April, 1848; Sidney Willard, April, 1848, to April, 1851; George Stevens, April, 1851, to April, 1853; James D. Green, April, 1853, to April, 1854; [1] Abraham Edwards, April, 1854, to January, 1855; Zebina L. Raymond, January, 1855, to January, 1856; John Sargent, January, 1856, to January, 1860; [2] James D. Green, January, 1860, to July 24, 1861; [3] Charles Theo. Russell, July 31, 1861, to January, 1863; George C. Richardson, January, 1863, to January, 1864; Zebina L. Raymond, January, 1864, to January, 1865; J. Warren Merrill, January, 1865, to January, 1867; Ezra Parmenter, January, 1867, to January, 1868; Charles H. Saunders, January, 1868, to January, 1870; Hamlin R. Harding, January, 1870, to January, 1872; Henry O. Houghton, January, 1872, to January, 1873; Isaac Bradford, January, 1873, to January, 1877; Frank A. Allen, January, 1877, to January, 1878; Samuel L. Montague, January, 1878, to January, 1880; James M. W. Hall, January, 1880, to January, 1881; James A. Fox, January, 1881, to January, 1885; Willam E. Russell, January, 1885, to January, 1889; Henry H. Gilmore, January, 1889, present incumbent.

Since the organization as a city, Cambridge has increased rapidly in wealth and population, and is now the second city in valuation in the Commonwealth, and from fourteen thousand inhabitants in 1846, it has now upwards of seventy thousand, and is still increasing, and with its schools and other institutions it presents many attractions to those seeking a residence near the metropolis of New England.

Here is located Mount Auburn, the first extensive rural cemetery in the country (second only to the celebrated Père Lachaise, of Paris), where repose the remains of many of our illustrious dead, and which is much visited by strangers from all parts of the world.

The Agassiz Museum of Zoology is open at all times for visitors, where can be seen the largest collection of objects of natural history to be found on this continent, if not in the world, and the Peabody Museum also possesses many objects of great interest not to be found elsewhere. The Botanical Garden, although belonging to and connected with the University, is accessible to visitors at all times, and contains many rare specimens of plants and flowers not to be found elsewhere. The Harvard Gymnasium is also a place of much interest; Memorial Hall, with its portraits of many distinguished persons, and the Sanders Theatre, connected with it, are places of much interest and visited by strangers, while the ante-Revolutionary relics about the town, such as Washing-

[1] Municipal year changed. [2] Resigned.
[3] First elected by the City Council.

ton's headquarters and the many residences in Tory Row, as well as the homes of Longfellow, Lowell and Holmes, make it an attractive spot for the visitors from all parts of our country, as well as the travelers from foreign lands.

The extensive manufacturing industries will be alluded to in another chapter.

Since the establishment of Cambridge as a city many public improvements have been made which have added greatly to its prosperity and importance, both as a place of residence, as well as a desirable location for manufacturing purposes.

The city is well supplied with an abundance of pure water from Fresh Pond, which has recently been connected with Stony Brook, and the supply is abundant for many years to come, and the quality of the water is excellent. The drainage has been much improved and is now all that can be desired.

After the opening of West Boston Bridge in 1793 that part of the town called Cambridgeport increased rapidly and was in a highly flourishing condition, but the political disturbances of the country were very disastrous to its prosperity. The Embargo proclaimed in December, 1807, and the war with Great Britain in 1812 paralyzed the commercial interests of the whole country. Cambridge felt this the more keenly because it involved so many of her citizens in distress; many were thrown out of business and some were reduced to absolute want, and a rapid depreciation in the value of real estate followed, and many of the owners of land purchased while the country was prosperous were financially ruined. The general stagnation which ensued was so great that it did not recover for many years and the hope of making it a great commercial centre seems to have been given up and abandoned. In common with many towns in New England, Cambridge earnestly protested against the Embargo. A town-meeting was called August 25, 1808, when a committee consisting of Francis Dana, Royal Makepeace and Samuel P. P. Fay reported an address which was adopted "almost unanimously," and the selectmen were directed to forward it to the President of the United States, and to which a reply was very soon received from the President, which is still preserved in the office of the city clerk and signed "Th: Jefferson," September 10, 1808. This protestation and hundreds of similar character by the people of New England were in vain. With a very decided majority of voters opposed to the war and smarting under the losses resulting from it, the town did not enter with enthusiasm into its support, and, in fact, no reference to the war during its continuance is found on the town record; but a few months after its close, May 8, 1815, the town voted that four dollars be allowed to the militiamen drafted and called out to the defence of the State.

When the news of peace arrived in February, 1815, there was a general outburst of joy in Cambridge, and meetings were held for prayer and praise, and on February 23d a great celebration took place, on which occasion an address by President Kirkland was delivered and then other services appropriate to the occasion. A procession was formed and a large handbill announcing the order of services and the order of the procession is now on file with the Massachusetts Historical Society, presented by the Hon. John Davis.

Order of Procession.

The procession will be formed at University Hall and move at 11 o'clock in the following order to Rev. Dr. Holmes' meeting-house:

Military Escort,
Musick,
Chief Marshall,
Strangers,
Resident Graduates,
Students,
Citizens of Cambridge,
Marshall.

Order of Exercises.

Anthem,
Prayer by Rev. Dr. Ware,
Reading of the Holy Scriptures,
Hymn written for the occasion,
Address by the President,
Poem by Mr. Henry Ware,
Prayer by Revd Dr. Holmes,
Anthem,
Benediction.

In looking backwards two hundred and fifty years to the time when Winthrop and Dudley began to organize a colonial settlement here for the purpose of building a fortified town for security from the Indians and wild beasts, we cannot fail to see that all the way down is one *broadening path, from the beginning until now;* venerable and honorable as is the past, our faces should be set toward the future; we would not go backward if we could. Religion is still the same, but its garment of doctrine and formula has been renewed more than once, and in all that makes life worth living we are far in advance of our fathers Our food is better, our clothing is better, our health is better, our children are healthier, our books are better, our homes are more comfortable, and although our fathers were giants and we but pigmies, we are taller than they, for we stand upon their shoulders, and while we honor their memories, let us hand down to those who shall come after us, the opportunity and the purpose for a gain and a growth greater than our own.

CHAPTER XII.

CAMBRIDGE—(*Continued*).

BANKING AND INSURANCE.

BY JOHN LIVERMORE.

Cambridgeport National Bank—Middlesex Bank—Charles River Bank—Cambridge Market Bank—Cambridge City Bank—Cambridge National Bank—Harvard Bank—Cambridge Savings Bank—East Cambridge Five Cent Savings Bank—North America Savings Bank—Cambridge Mutual Fire Insurance Company.

CAMBRIDGE, although a wealthy town and a place of considerable business, had no banking facilities of its own until the year 1826, but transacted all its financial affairs in Boston, through the agency of the Suffolk Bank.

In March, 1826, the CAMBRIDGE BANK was chartered with a capital of $100,000, and was organized by the choice of the following persons as directors: James B. Chaplin, Samuel P. P. Fay, Newell Bent, William Fisk, Levi Farwell, William Hillard, Charles Everett, Isaiah Bangs and John Trowbridge. Judge Fay declined, and the vacancy was filled, March 31st, by the election of Professor Asahel Stearns. The brick store owned and occupied by Luke Hemmenway, now numbered 587 Main Street, Cambridgeport, was purchased for the sum of $4000 and fitted up for a banking-room, and used as such until the new building, which they now occupy and own, was erected in 1873.

The bank began business in June (simultaneously with the establishment of hourly coaches from Cambridgeport to Boston). Martin Lane was chosen cashier, with a salary of $1400, and Alphonso Mason messenger, with a salary of $450.

Dr. James Prescott Chaplin was the first president, and remained in office until his death, in October, 1828, when Deacon Levi Farwell was chosen to fill the vacancy, and who remained until he resigned in 1832, upon the opening of the Charles River Bank, of which he was the first president, and remained such until his death, in 1844.

Dr. Chaplin, the first president of the Cambridge Bank, was a man of great influence, and possessed a very strong personality, which gave to the institution a high standing from the start, and it has always been highly favored with an efficient and able board of directors.

The following persons have been presidents: James P. Chaplin, Levi Farwell, Samuel P. P. Fay, Thomas Whittemore, Benjamin Tilton, Lucius R. Paige, Robert Douglass and Asa P. Morse, who holds the office at the present time.

The capital of the bank originally was $100,000, but was increased in 1830 $50,000; but upon the chartering of the bank at Old Cambridge the capital was reduced to its original amount of $100,000, which it now is, and it is now known as the Cambridgeport National Bank, having been reorganized in 1865.

This institution, the oldest bank in Cambridge, has always been, and still is, in a sound and flourishing condition, and its present board of directors is a sufficent guarantee for its continued prosperity and success, and has now a surplus of $47,000.

The office of president has been filled by men of ability, not alone in financial matters, but in the various walks of life, including two clergymen, one judge, one professor in Harvard College, besides others distinguished for their integrity and business qualifications.

The venerable Dr. Lucius R. Paige, the historian of Cambridge, who has been connected with this institution for more than forty years, as cashier, president and director, is still a member of the board of directors and attends its meetings at the advanced age of eighty-eight years.

MIDDLESEX BANK.—This bank was chartered in 1832, and was located at East Cambridge, with Hon. William Parmenter as president and William Whitney, cashier, and was one of the "Pet Banks," so called at that day on account of its being made a depository of government funds after the closing up of the United States Bank and before the establishment of the sub-treasury system for doing the same business for the government. This bank, although *honestly* and *otherwise* well managed, failed after a very short existence, as did most, if not all, the banks which had any connection with the "surplus revenue," and the Middlesex wound up its affairs, redeeming its circulation and paying its depositors in full, the loss falling only upon its stockholders, who received forty-two per cent., and as a bank was not needed in that locality at that time, there was none until the year 1853, when the LECHMERE BANK was chartered, with a capital of $100,000.

Its first board of directors consisted of Lewis Hall, Francis Draper, Samuel Slocomb, Amory Houghton and K. S. Chaffee. Lewis Hall was chosen president, and holds the same office at this time (1890).

There were two parties that claimed the organization of this bank, viz., the petitioners for the charter and the subscribers to the stock, and it was not until after considerable delay that the Supreme Court decided the question in favor of the petitioners, and they organized by the choice of the board of directors as given above—Lewis Hall, president, John Savage, Jr., cashier. This bank has been successful from the start, paying regular dividends, and it has now a large surplus, and its stock commands a handsome premium, although it is rarely in the market.

The question of which party was entitled to the charter, the petitioners or the subscribers to the stock, was considered at the time a very important one, and was ably argued by eminent legal talent on both sides, the late Hon. Richard Fletcher for the petitioners, and the case was heard in Chambers before the full bench, etc. This bank has a surplus of $82,000.

CHARLES RIVER BANK.—This bank, located in

Harvard Square, Old Cambridge, was chartered as a State bank in 1832, with a capital of $100,000, with Levi Farwell as president and John B. Dana as cashier, and a board of nine directors, viz., Levi Farwell, J. Coolidge, C. C. Little, James Brown, A. Stearns, W. Brown, William Watriss, O. Sparhawk and Robert Fuller.

The bank began business in the room now occupied by them at an annual rent of $150; cashier's salary, $900, and all other expenses extremely moderate.

The steward of Harvard College had his desk in the banking-room, and here the students of those days came to pay their college dues, and the Savings Bank, whose treasurer was the cashier, transacted all the business of that institution in the same room.

Although the capital of the bank has never been increased, its growth has been very marked. Its depositors now number more than 1100, with deposits averaging half a million dollars, and its business with the clearing-house for the last year was more than $10,000,000. The bank has been highly fortunate in its cashiers, having had but two persons holding that office during its existence of fifty-eight years, Mr. John B. Dana, the first cashier, holding the office from 1832 until 1858, a period of twenty-six years, and Eben Snow from 1858 to 1890, more than thirty-two years.

The bank was reorganized in 1864 as the Charles River National Bank, and has a surplus of $67,495 and is in a highly flourishing condition, and the stock is seldom sold.

Cambridge Market Bank.—This bank was incorporated in May, 1851, with a capital of $100,000, and the first meeting of the subscribers to the stock was held July 8, 1851, when the following persons were chosen directors: George W. Lewis, George Meacham, Henry Potter, Jacob F. Taylor, Z. L. Raymond and Calvin Dimick. George W. Lewis was chosen president, and Chester W. Kinsley cashier. The bank opened for business October 29, 1851, in the brick building erected for the purpose near Porter's Hotel, then the headquarters of the butchers and drivers on market days, and for whose particular accommodation the bank was got up and located in close proximity to the "Cambridge Cattle Market," then held in that immediate vicinity. Although the local business was very light and the deposits merely nominal, its circulation was always large, and upon that they depended mainly for success, and by it in April, 1852, a dividend was declared and paid, after which time regular semi-annual dividends were paid during its existence of fourteen years, when, owing to the cattle market being removed to Brighton and Watertown, and as there was no local business where it was located, the stockholders decided to surrender their charter, and on the 1st day of October, 1865, the Cambridge Market Bank closed its doors for business, having paid all its depositors, redeemed its circulation, and paid its stockholders in full and above the par value of the shares. The building was sold, and was some years used as a chapel by the St. James Protestant Church, then in its infancy, but is now occupied by the North Avenue Savings Bank and for other purposes.

Cambridge City Bank.—A charter was granted for this bank in March, 1853, simultaneously with the one for the Lechmere Bank at East Cambridge. Its first board of directors were George T. Gale, Elipha-let Davis, Henry M. Chamberlain, William P. Fisk, Samuel P. Heywood, George W. Whittemore and John Livermore. The bank began business in what is now the City Hall, September 1, 1853. John Livermore was chosen president, Edward Richardson, cashier, and R. Litchfield, messenger; the capital was $100,000. At the time the charter was obtained for this bank, a petition was pending from the Cambridge Bank for an increase of $50,000 to its capital, but after a full hearing before the committee on banks and banking, leave to withdraw was given to the Cambridge Bank, and a charter was granted to the petitioners for a new bank with a capital of $100,000, which it now is, and it is now, and ever has been, in a sound and flourishing condition. Mr. Livermore, one of the original directors—and its first president—is the only one of the number now living. This bank was reorganized in 1865 as the National City Bank of Cambridge, and has a surplus of $77,122.

Cambridge National Bank was organized June 1, 1864. Commenced business August 1, 1864. The first board of directors were: Daniel R. Sortwell, president, Joseph H. Tyler, John N. Meriam, Thomas Cunningham, Charles J. Adams, Israel Tibbetts, Joseph A. Wellington, John C. Bullard, cashier. Authorized capital, $300,000; paid up capital, $100,000; undivided profits, $37,000. Daniel R. Sortwell, president; John C. Bullard, cashier. Directors, Daniel R. Sortwell, Joseph H. Tyler, Charles J. Adams, Thomas Cunningham, Alvin F. Sortwell, Gustavus Goepper, John C. Bullard.

Harvard Bank.—This was one of the few banks organized under the General Laws of the State in 1860, and begun business March 5, 1861, and was located in Cambridgeport.

Its capital was $200,000, and its first board of directors were: Newell Bent, Alanson Bigelow, D. U. Chamberlain, Lewis Colley, Edward Hyde, George Livermore, Z. L. Raymond, Charles Wood, Benjamin Tilton; and the board organized by the choice of Benjamin Tilton as president. Willard A. Bullard was appointed cashier, which position he holds at the present time, 1790.

Mr. Tilton retained the office of president until his death, in November, 1882, and Daniel U. Chamberlain was chosen as his successor and still holds the office, and is the only one of the original board now living.

This bank, starting almost alone under the General

Banking Laws of Massachusetts, and at a time of great embarrassment in the financial as well as political condition of the country, was looked upon and watched with a good deal of interest, not to say anxiety, but after successfully passing through the trying and perilous days of the last war, making no losses, but paying regular dividends, it was the first bank in Cambridge to adopt the National system and became what its present name indicates, the First National Bank of Cambridge, and continues to be in a sound and flourishing condition and has a surplus of $82,000.

The directors at the present time are: Daniel U. Chamberlain, Dana W. Hyde, Joseph A. Holmes, Henry Endicott, Henry N. Tilton; Willard A. Bullard, cashier.

Cambridge Savings Bank.—This institution was incorporated April 2, 1834, with only three corporators, viz.: William J. Whipple, William Hilliard and Levi Farwell; and at the first meeting of the original three Levi Farwell was chairman and William J. Whipple clerk, and they elected as corporators: Eliab W. Metcalf, Abel Willard, William Watriss, William Brown, John B. Dana, Charles C. Little.

The first meeting was held November 24, 1834, and was organized by the choice of Joseph Story, president; Simon Greenleaf, Samuel King, Charles Everett, Sidney Willard, vice-presidents.

December 19th, Judge Story declined serving as president, and Simon Greenleaf was chosen chairman in his place. James Hayward was chosen treasurer, and on January 5, 1835, Asahel Stearns was elected president by ballot, and was the first acting president.

The first loan made was $600 to the First Parish in Cambridge, March 3, 1835, and the second loan was to the First Baptist Society in Cambridge, April 1, 1835.

The first report of the treasurer was July 23, 1835, and is recorded as follows: To amount of deposit, $6351; deposits withdrawn, $455; expenses, $64.81; note of First Parish, $600; Baptist Society, $500; Charles River Bank stock, $816; deposit in Charles River Bank, $3915.19.

The first dividend was paid the fourth Thursday of July, 1835, amounting to $28.12, which was at the rate of four per cent. per annum. Since this time the growth of the bank has never been very rapid until quite recently. For this year, ending March 31, 1890, the deposits have been upwards of $200,000, and at the close of business March 31, 1890, the deposits were $2,613,132. Guarantee fund, $72,300; surplus, $28,910; undivided profits, $24,308.

The present board of officers are: Charles W. Sever, president; Edwin Dresser, William Kimball, vice-presidents; Oscar F. Allen, treasurer; James H. Wyeth, secretary; Arthur H. Boardman, book-keeper. The institution is in a sound and flourishing condition and has the confidence of the community in which it is located.

Cambridgeport Savings Bank.—Incorporated 1853. Present number of corporators, seventeen. Joseph A. Holmes, president; Henry W. Bullard, treasurer; Joseph A. Holmes, Daniel U. Chamberlin, Benjamin R. Tilton, board of investment; J. F. Lane, clerk of the corporation. This bank is open for business every business day from 8.30 A.M. to 1.30 P.M. Deposits due to 9230 depositors, $3,217,070.95.

East Cambridge Five Cent Savings Bank.—Incorporated April 29, 1854. Rev. F. W. Holland, president; George Stevens, Lewis Hall, John Taylor, vice-presidents; John Savage, Jr., treasurer. Its first dividend declared March, 1857, of three per cent., amounting to $775.62. October 10, 1859, George Stevens was chosen president and has continued in that office to the present time (1890). In March, 1873, Samuel Slocomb was chosen treasurer and continued to hold the office until his death, in 1887, when his assistant, Mary Lowell Stone, was appointed, who died while holding the office, and William E. Lloyd was appointed, who is the present treasurer. The bank is in a sound condition and has an able board of officers. On the 1st of April, 1890, it had deposits, $1,514,912. Liabilities—Guarantee fund, $65,868; profit and loss, $22,859. Assets—Mortgage Loans, $988,557; loans on personal security, $401,248; bonds, town note, etc., $47,001; bank stock, $137,916; real estate, $18,300; deposits in banks, $39,652.

North Avenue Savings Bank.—Incorporated 1872. Samuel F. Woodbridge, president; Milton L. Walton, treasurer; George W. Park, clerk. This bank is open for business on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday, from nine to one o'clock, also Saturday evening from six to nine o'clock. On April 5, 1890, the deposits were $259,030; undivided profits, $6540; guarantee fund, $4200.

The Cambridge Mutual Fire Insurance Co. was organized in 1833 and began business in January, 1834. The preliminary meetings were held during March, April and May, and the organization perfected June 7, 1833, at Sevey's Tavern.

The names of some of the incorporators were those who were then the principal business men of the town. Phinehas B. Hovey, Nathan Childs, William Fisk, Walter R. Mason, Aaron Rice, Samuel Pond, Jabez Fisher, Joseph Abbott, Charles Valentine, William H. Odiorne, Robert Fuller, Josiah Mason, Joseph Burridge, Newell Bent, I. A. Cooledge and others, all of whom have died except William H. Odiorne.

The first officers of the company were William H. Odiorne, president, and Henry M. Chamberlin, secretary.

The following persons have held the office of president during the fifty-six years: William H. Odiorne, Levi Farwell, Robert Fuller, Isaac Fay, Rufus Lamson, and Josiah W. Cook, the present incumbent, who has held the office for thirty-one years.

The office of secretary and treasurer has been held by but five persons during the fifty-six years of its existence—Henry M. Chamberlin, eighteen years;

Abraham Lansing, seven years; Henry Thayer, seven years; John A. Smith, seven years; and Alfred L. Barbour, the present secretary, seventeen years, all of whom have passed away except the latter person.

The directors had hard work to get the company fully established upon a solid basis, and it was several times thought that they would have to abandon the enterprise. After a few years, however, they succeeded, and just as they believed they were in a strong position, calamity came—a seeming fatality in church property—so that the company lost over $35,000 by the destruction of meeting-houses in 1842–43. This was a great blow to the company and nearly crippled it.

The directors, however, gave their personal notes, raised the money, and paid the losses.

The company then being upon the assessment plan, *i.e.*, assessing each policy-holder for their proportion of the losses, many were compelled to retire from the company as the assessment became burdensome, but the company gradually increased in strength and members until, a few years later, it was decided to change the plan from an assessment to a full premium company and then at the end of the term of policy return such an amount as dividend as the directors deemed prudent and consistent with safety to the company. This system has continued ever since, and is the method adopted by all the Standard Mutual Companies of Massachusetts.

The dividends began with ten and twenty per cent. and have steadily increased until now they are paying seventy per cent.

The business of the Cambridge Mutual was for many years mostly confined to Cambridge, and the amount transacted was small, but under the management of the present officers it has scattered its risks all over New England, taking insurance only on the safer class of property. Its amount at risk at the present time, 1890, is over $10,000,000, while its assets have reached the sum of nearly $220,000.

The officers and directors of the company had l· · looked to the time when they should have a ›me Office," and in 1888 they selected the site of ₃ present magnificent building, a part of the old Murdock estate, on Main, corner of Inman Streets, ·d proceeded to erect a building which should alike ₁ credit to the company and to the city.

he present officers of the company have long been ·idents of Cambridge, Mr. Cook, the president, aving been born in West Cambridge in 1805, and Mr. Barbour in Cambridgeport, in 1837. The directors are mostly Cambridge men and counted among its prominent residents. Several of the di·ectors are from other cities, representing the interests ˙ the policy-holders in their localities.

˙he Cambridge Mutual may be classed as one of substantial business corporations of the city.

CHAPTER XIII.

CAMBRIDGE—(*Continued*).

MANUFACTURING AND INDUSTRIAL.

BY JOHN LIVERMORE.

CAMBRIDGE, although not laying claim to being a large manufacturing centre, has within its borders some very important establishments which have a world-wide reputation. It was in Cambridge that printing had its birthplace in this country. More than 250 years ago Stephen Daye set up at the corner of Dunster Street and Harvard Square, in the house of the president of the college, the rude and clumsy printing-press which for nearly half a century was the only one in all British America, and now there is no other city of anything like equal population in which there is such extensive printing of the highest grade as at the *Riverside Press*, owned and conducted by the enterprising firm of Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

First in magnitude among the printing establishments of Cambridge is the *Riverside Press*, owned and operated by the above-named firm, and it is not too much to say that not only in the printing, but in everything that pertains to bookmaking from its manuscript to its delivery to the reader, they stand in the foremost rank, both in the magnitude of its business and the high mechanical and artistic quality of its productions. The firm consists of five members—Mr. Henry O. Houghton, George H. Mifflin, Lawson Valentine, Thurlow W. Barnes and Henry O. Houghton, jr.

The premises of the *Riverside Press* are situated on the banks of Charles River, Cambridgeport, about two and a half miles from State Street, Boston. This establishment occupies an irregular piece of ground about 450 feet in length by 360 in breadth, beautifully laid out, a spacious and well-kept lawn occupying the northeast corner. In the middle of the lawn is the handsome fountain which was dedicated on Mr. Houghton's fiftieth birthday, April 30, 1873. The main building has a frontage on the east of 170 feet, and is four stories in height and is surmounted by a tower. In the rear are various buildings for warehouses, store-houses, engine-house, sheds, stables, etc. A magnificent Corliss-engine of 100 horse-power operates the entire machinery in all the buildings. All of the buildings are connected by automatic fire alarms and also with the city Fire Department. The Grinnell automatic sprinkler is in place throughout, and a fire brigade composed of sixty-five men employed at the *Press* is kept in constant training. The entire premises are as neat and tidy as a Shaker sitting-room. The employes of the *Press* number about 600, half of whom are men and boys and half women and girls. The old-time custom of apprenticeship is still in vogue, with some modifications. Long service is the rule, and several members of the force were with

Mr. Houghton when the *Press* was founded. The concern have offices in Boston, New York and Chicago, and their business is constantly increasing. We have very briefly sketched some of the prominent features and appliances of this concern and in closing we can only say that the influence of the *Riverside Press* has been felt far and wide, and it is hard to exaggerate the good it has exerted on the world of letters and the world of men, and a special incitement to young men to make the most of themselves in whatever department of life they are placed. Pluck, prudence, perseverance and the progressive spirit harnessed to the mechanical appliances of the age will work wonders. This is the lesson the young men may learn from the history of the *Riverside Press* whose motto has ever been, "Do your work well or not at all."

University Press, John Wilson & Son (proprietors, John Wilson, C. E. Wentworth).—This concern was established in 1639, and, with only a lapse of about twelve months, has been running ever since. They employ about three hundred hands with a weekly pay-roll of $3000. They do a large printing business, setting up and electrotyping nearly four hundred pages per diem and print over 100 reams of paper every day. They occupy the large building which was erected by Harvard College for a hotel (the Brattle House), but was soon given up for that purpose and has been remodeled and is in every respect a well-appointed establishment. This firm is well known and is celebrated for the excellency of its workmanship and fair dealing with its numerous patrons.

The Mason & Hamlin Organ and Piano Co.—In 1854 Mr. Henry Mason and Mr. Emmons Hamlin formed a partnership for the manufacture of melodeons in Boston. They began with a small imperfect instrument, which they have continued to improve till, in its present perfected state, it commands the indorsement of the first artists of the world.

In 1861 a new form was given to the melodeon and the cabinet-organ introduced by that firm.

A stock company was formed in 1868, and in 1882 the present company was organized under the title of the Mason & Hamlin Organ and Piano Co., with branch houses in New York and Chicago.

The manufacture was commenced in Cambridge Street, Boston, in a small way, and as the business increased adjoining dwelling-houses were bought up, and a new and substantial factory erected, but it was not long before the manufacturing facilities were found to be inadequate and land was bought and the present extensive factory on the corner of Broadway and Brewery Street, in Cambridgeport, erected. Of the character of the buildings an idea may be formed when it is known that the solid and conservative Manufacturers' Mutual Insurance Companies of Boston insure this factory, which is the only wood-working establishment in the country they have ever taken in.

As organ-makers Mason & Hamlin have become famous all over the world, having carried off highest honors at all important International Exhibitions where their instruments were in competition during the last twenty-three years.

Eight years ago the company added to their extensive organ business the manufacture of pianos on a new and improved method. From present appearances it would seem that their reputation in this branch will be as world-renowned as that which they have achieved as manufacturers of organs.

They, too, have been remarkably successful from a financial point of view. The Mason & Hamlin stock is one of the best paying investments and hard to get hold of.

Henry Thayer & Co., manufacturing chemists.—In 1847 Henry Thayer began in a very small way to manufacture fluid extracts, an entirely new business in this country. Dr. Thayer was then the proprietor of a retail apothecary store on Main Street, Cambridgeport, and, although he had studied medicine and received a degree as M.D., he did not confine his labors to the practice of his profession, but chose the more extensive field of "manufacturing chemist," for which he was peculiarly fitted and to which he gave his whole time and talents. Beginning in a small room, not more than ten or twelve feet square, in the rear of his store, the business rapidly increased, and he very soon had to seek for more extensive and convenient quarters. A rather small two-story wooden building was erected, where the business was carried on for a year or two, but very soon there was a call for more commodious quarters, and having associated with him Mr. John P. Putnam and Mr. Francis D. Hardy, they removed to the large brick building known as Douglass Block, where they remained until 1870, when they erected the premises on Broadway, which they now occupy as a laboratory and which, for complete appointment and adaptation for what it is intended, is a model establishment. The main building is four stories with a basement and sixty by eighty, with an annex sixty by forty, containing the engine and "drug-mill"—the latter fitted with the requisite machinery for grinding and powdering all the articles used, thus preventing the adulteration either by accident or design. The arrangements for labeling and putting up their goods is such as to render a mistake or error almost, if not quite, impossible, and is very ingenious. The firm enter this year, 1890, on their forty-third year of continued business under the same firm-name uninterrupted by any business disaster whatever. The members of the firm are recognized as among the leading pharmacists and manufacturing chemists of the day, and it is not at all surprising their goods rank high among the medical faculty as well as by the business community all over the world, as their

goods have a world-wide reputation and have made a mark in the history of the world's commerce.

CHARLES RIVER IRON WORKS.—In 1860 Deacon Edward Kendall began the manufacture of boilers and steam-engines on a small scale, and very soon associated with him Mr. Roberts, under the firm-name of Kendall & Roberts, and as the business increased very rapidly they extended their works from time to time, and the concern was soon known as one of the most thriving, prompt and successful establishments of its class in this vicinity, celebrated alike for the honesty of its dealings and for the excellency of its workmanship. Mr. Kendall has now with him his sons, and the firm is at the present time Edward Kendall & Sons, and in addition to the large and substantial new buildings they have lately erected, they are now engaged in extending their limits by filling up the flats adjacent to their works, part of the material for which they obtain from the excavation which is being made for the extension of the State-House in Boston, about a mile distant.

When this work is completed they will have one of the most extensive and well-appointed plants for the class of work in their line in this vicinity. They now employ more than 200 men, and use 1000 tons of iron and steel, and 1200 tons of castings.

THE CAMBRIDGE ROLLING-MILL is an industry that occupies a very important place among the varied manufacturing interests of Cambridge. It was formerly known as the Boston Rolling-Mill, established in 1864 by Lyman Kinsley and Edward Paige. It was originally built for the rolling of Swedish iron, but this was abandoned on account of the excessive duties imposed on this iron. Attention was afterwards given to the handling of domestic ores, which, increasing in volume, led to the addition of capacity for the manufacture of refined iron. The premises coming into the possession of the above-named company, Henry H. Gilmore, present mayor of Cambridge, was chosen president and James A. Werton, of Manchester, N. H., treasurer. The business is conducted under the names of Gilmore & Eustis, and is known in the iron trade far and near. While considerable Swedish iron is used, the bulk of the materials consists of scrap-iron, from which the higher grades of wrought-iron are manufactured. The capacity of the productions amounts to twenty-five tons per diem, with eighty men employed, and the same quantity when run at night, with 140 men employed. The annual manufacture represents in value from $300,000 to $500,000, according to the market price of iron. The original buildings were destroyed by fire in 1884, but the structures erected in their places were larger in dimensions and better adapted to the uses for which they were built. At the beginning supplies were received by water through Broad Canal, a waterway leading from Charles River, but in later years the enterprising company have found a new avenue through or over which their coal and iron are received and shipments made. Three spur-tracks leading from the Boston and Albany Railroad branch, enter the premises, and cars laden with coal and other supplies are run directly into the sheds and unloaded. The same cars or others receive shipments and deliver them anywhere in the country or in the Provinces.

Wages are paid at this establishment which will compare favorably with those paid in mills of this description. The sum of $1.50 is the lowest grade, while as high as $4.50 and $6 are paid. This latter is of course paid for skilled labor. The goods manufactured by this house have a reputation and a standing in the market which is highly commendable to the gentlemen who conduct the business, which is constantly increasing.

THE AMERICAN RUBBER COMPANY operate an extensive plant for the manufacture of boots and shoes and rubber coats. Twelve hundred persons find employment and turn out an immense amount of goods annually. The factory is located at Sixth and Potter Streets, East Cambridge.

The corporation which carries on the business is officered by Mr. R. D. Evans, who holds the dual position of president and treasurer. The factory buildings are enclosed in a land area of five acres, and the floor surface of the buildings is of immense capacity.

The corporation also manufacture the best grades of oil clothing in a large factory building located on Clark Street, Cambridgeport, where a great many operatives are employed. The entire industry is of vast proportions and the business transactions are equal to other factories of a similar character in the United States.

F. H. HOLTON & CO.—A rapidly-increasing mechanical business is that of F. H. Holton & Co., who have extensive copper and brass works on Harvard Street, near the branch tracks of the Boston & Albany Railroad, Cambridgeport. This business was formerly conducted in Boston on a much smaller scale, but in 1887 it was removed to this city, where larger facilities were secured for an increased addition to the business. Commodious workshops were erected to furnish accommodations for the manufacture of copper and brass goods, and for the introduction of a new line of work, that of the manufacture of bath-tubs and copper boilers.

The making of bath-tubs has now become a remunerative occupation, there not being a similar manufactory in New England.

The firm has also facilities unequaled for the rolling of sheet copper, and a large business is done in brass work of every description. The factory is situated on the line of the railroad, which enables the firm to receive supplies and to make shipments, a convenience which is highly appreciated.

A new feature is now being introduced, that of the manufacture of galvanized boilers for ranges. Metal

roofing is also conducted by the firm, and very large contracts are made for the supplying of this line of work. The establishment occupies a ground area of 57,000 feet. The workshops are conveniently arranged for the prosecution of the business, and the machinery, of the most improved pattern, is operated by an engine of 350 horse-power. The employees of every grade number 260 men and boys, and the annual receipts from sales amount to $750,000.

The George G. Page Box Company occupies a leading position among the manufacturers of Cambridge. They are successors of the late George G. Page, a native of Wentworth, N. H., who came to Cambridge when nineteen years of age, finding employment as a carpenter. In 1884 Mr. Page began the making of packing-boxes by hand, in a shop on Magazine Street, and in the following year he erected a small factory building on Hampshire Street, the site of the present vast establishment. Success attended his venture, and after a time he introduced horse-power and put in machinery to aid him in the manufacture of boxes and packing-cases. His business was going along swimmingly when his entire establishment was destroyed by an incendiary fire in 1857. He soon recovered from this disaster by replacing the burned buildings with more substantial ones, better fitted for the prosecution of the business. Improved machinery and steam-power were added, which made the new plant more effective in the production of the various manufactures. Fire again visited him in 1873, but the line of insurance he carried assisted him in rebuilding, this time with substantial brick buildings, which now, with several additional ones, afford excellent facilities for the conduct of a business which has reached immense proportions. Mr. Page was assisted by his sons, Ovando, deceased, and Wesley L. Page, whom he admitted as partners under the firm-name of George G. Page & Co. On the decease of Mr. Ovando Page, in 1882, the present corporation was formed with Mr. Wesley L. Page as president, Mr. Franklin P. Stewart as treasurer and Mr. Clarence M. Howlett as clerk, who constituted the Board of Directors. In January, 1886, Mr. George G. Page, the founder of the business, deceased at the advanced age of seventy-nine years. The factory buildings are as follows: factory No. 1 is a brick building 130x50 feet of three stories; factory No. 2 is a frame building 100x50 feet, three stories high.

A store-house, sixty feet square and two stories in height, stands in the rear of factory No. 1, while on the outside of factory No. 1 stands a brick boiler and engine-house, in which are located boilers having a capacity of 150 horse-power and an engine of 125 horse power. The fullest provisions against fire, in the form of fire hose and automatic sprinklers, are provided, and especial care is taken to remove the collections of sawdust and shavings so that the accumulations are swept up several times during the day and placed in the chute leading to the fire-room, this being the only fuel used under the boilers. The most improved planers, dressing both sides of the boards at the same time, saws of every description, nailing machines and sandpapering apparatus, find place in this well-conducted establishment.

A special feature of the factory is the printing department, where any form of inscription or device is printed upon the wood in set colors of ink or in a combination of colors. The presses used are especially made for the purpose, and are of the well-known Universal pattern. This work is admirably done and is highly favored. Nearly 10,000,000 feet of lumber is annually used, which is brought to the factory by vessels from the East, the rear of the factory premises abutting on Broad Canal. The company have storage-yards on the line of the railroad, where thousands of feet of lumber are stacked to be seasoned.

Employment is found in this vast establishment by hundreds of men and boys, and the weekly pay-roll is very large.

Mr. Page, the president, is an active and thorough business man and holds the confidence of the hundreds of patrons who give the company their orders.

Barbour, Stockwell & Company, No. 316 Main Street, successors to Morrill & Allen, general machinists, carry on a very large business, employing many hands and operating the most improved machinery, including a steam trip-hammer. The firm manufactures to a large extent the Pingree Switch, a device used on street railways, which works automatically by the pressure of a horse's foot. It is far superior, in the opinion of railway managers, to any other device used for such purposes. The firm has a great demand for them from all parts of the country. This establishment has had a long existence and is well known to manufacturers and the trade everywhere.

William Campbell & Company.—Boiler-making in this city is an industry of considerable importance, and affords occupation for scores of skilful workmen. This firm has a reputation of furnishing only the best work produced from guaranteed materials. The shop from which the work is delivered is located at No. 354 Main Street, and embraces all modern facilities for the fabrication of warranted products in steel and iron. The business of the firm is excessively large and with a constantly increasing demand. Iron tanks, for the holding of water and for manufacturers' uses in other ways, are also made to order. The Messrs. Campbell have been located in their present premises for a number of years, and whatever is wrought by them may be depended upon as being first-class in every particular.

The American Net and Twine Company occupy premises located at the foot of Second Street. The land area embraces 11,200 feet, upon which stands a brick factory building of four stories.

In this building 250 male and female operatives

find employment. The machinery used to operate the business is of the latest and most improved pattern. A large amount of the manufacture of nets is done by hand, as no machinery has been invented to take the place of deft, female fingers. Netting for hammocks, seines and for other uses are produced here.

The annual product represents 1,000,000 pounds of raw material. A ready market is always found for the goods, not only in the United States, but in South America, to which country large shipments are made. Large factories are run by the company in Canton, Mass., for the manufacture of all kinds of twine, principally of the kind required in the making of nets.

The business was established in Boston in 1842, and removed to Cambridge fifteen years ago. The business is the largest of the kind conducted in the country, and is known far and near. The building is well guarded against fire, as automatic sprinklers are placed freely about it. Regulations of the most positive character are in force throughout the establishment against the careless handling of matches or other agents likely to cause accidents of this description. The business is a remunerative one, and affords a handsome revenue to those connected with it.

CARRIAGE MANUFACTURE.—Cambridge has been more or less noted for its industry of carriage-building. Fifty years ago, at least, Mr. Walter M. Allen did a large business in the manufacture of carriages of the then prevailing style. His factory, of modest pretensions, stood in Allen Street at the corner of North Avenue, where now stands the factory of Francis Ivers & Son.

Mr. Allen confined himself to the making of plain but substantial vehicles, which found ready sale because of the reputation of their maker.

Mr. Ivers began business early in 1861, but when the shot was fired at Sumter he closed up his place and enlisted in the army. Upon returning from the war he began business again, and from that time until now he has prosecuted a thriving business.

He makes a specialty in the manufacture of the "Ivers buggy," a design of his own, which is patented. This vehicle is noted nearly the world over for its symmetry and beautiful pattern, its lightness and durability. No gentleman's carriage-house is complete without one, as is attested where a nice turnout is desired.

Mr. Ivers does not wholly confine himself to this specialty, for he also builds light pleasure wagons, which find ready sale on account of the reputation of the builder.

Quite recently he has admitted his only son, Mr. Frank H. Ivers, to the business, and the result is that the firm is constantly pressed for every variety of vehicle, more especially the celebrated buggy.

A vast amount of fine repairing gives employment to skilled workmen. The premises cover a large amount of territory, the several workshops and warerooms embracing thousands of feet of floor room. Quite near the factory of Messrs. Ivers, on North Avenue, is located the carriage factory and mart of the Brothers Henderson, who began business in a modest manner in 1856.

The Messrs. Henderson do not confine themselves to any special line of work, as they manufacture every possible style of vehicle, from the modest express wagon to the more pretentious landau.

The firm manufactures beach wagons, buckboards, omnibusses and every other conceivable vehicle for which there may be a demand.

The brothers employ about sixty men the year round, and they effect sales amounting to $150,000 per annum. They occupy 70,000 feet of land, and their buildings have a floor capacity of five acres. Their products are shipped to most remote places, so well known have their manufactures become. They deal fairly and have no hesitation in warranting their goods.

Messrs. Charles Waugh & Co., at Nos. 442 to 450 Main Street, Cambridgeport, rank in a very high order as builders of carriages, light wagons, heavy caravans and drays. They also give their attention to the building of sleighs, pungs, etc., and deal largely in horse clothing and stable equipments. The firm was originally known as Waugh Brothers. They began business in 1873 on premises which had long been occupied for blacksmithing and carriage-building. The present company was formed in 1884, since which time the business has greatly increased.

The buildings occupied by the firm are of ample dimensions, covering thousands of feet of land and having a large area of floor-room. The most modern machinery is used to expedite the work, the power being furnished by an electric motor of five horsepower, which runs a saw, planer drills, blower and other attachments. The finest work is produced by skillful workmen in the several branches, and nothing in the shape of new work or in the form of repairs leaves the establishment without the closest inspection and with the fullest guarantee.

The firm has recently built police patrol wagons for the Cambridge police service, and for that of the town of Revere. It is needless to say that the work was first-class in every particular.

The Messrs. Waugh & Co. have also built a wagon of their own design, for the chief of the Boston Fire Department, which is pronounced an excellent piece of work. The company consists of Mr. Chas. Waugh and Mr. Chas. E. Pierce, both young men full of energy, and holding a high position in the community.

An industry of considerable note and pretentious in character is that carried on by Mr. Charles E. Pierce and Mr. Chas. Waugh; it is the manufacture of tin cans and boxes for the storage of various commodities, such as crackers, confectionery, etc. Their place of business is at Nos. 446 and 448 Main street,

Cambridgeport, next adjoining the carriage works of Charles Waugh & Co.

The productions of tinware here alluded to are of various designs, but all have a setting of glass in order that the contents may be exposed to view. The demand for this line of goods is very great, and the firm is pushed to keep pace with it, notwithstanding the large number of hands employed. These goods are principally made to order, and find their way all over New England. Mr. Pierce is a practical tinsmith, and all the work produced by the firm is warranted. A large annual revenue is derived from the business.

THE REVERE SUGAR REFINERY, established in 1872 as successors of the Eagle Sugar Refinery, employs 150 men to handle the yearly out-put.

The firm-name of the proprietors is, Nash, Spaulding & Co. The factory premises embrace a large territory, and the establishment in which the sugar is refined, and in which the superior syrup is made, is an extensive building of six stories.

The annual receipts from the sales are from $600,000 to $1,000,000. This represents the manufacture of about 1200 barrels of sugar per diem, and 10,000 barrels of syrup annually. The industry is one of the leading ones in this community. The refinery is situated on Water Street and Miller's River, East Cambridge.

LUMBER.—The lumber business of Cambridge has always stood at the forefront, because of the excellent water facilities afforded by the Charles and Miller's Rivers. On those streams several extensive lumber plants have been established during the past seventy-five years. At present there are but few left of those in existence twenty-five years ago, the business having been abandoned. Those who occupy premises on the water-front above the Canal, or Craigie Bridge, on the Charles, are greatly hampered in the receipts of freights, because of the railroad bridges crossing the stream at the eastward of Canal Bridge. Delays are frequent in the passage of vessels through the railroad drawbridges, which occasion great inconvenience to wharf owners. In view of these drawbacks, Mr. George W. Gale, the largest retail lumber dealer in Cambridge, retired his business from the water to premises at the corner of Main and Portland streets, numbered from 336 to 342 on Main Street. The premises occupied by Mr. Gale embrace a territory of 75,000 feet, upon which he has erected storage buildings of large dimensions, and so arranged as to admit of the reception of supplies directly from cars bringing them from the East, West, North and South, from which points of the compass he has large shipments. The branch tracks of the Boston and Albany Railroad, running from the trunk line to tide-water in East Boston, enable Mr. Gale to have freights delivered in his yards, over a spur track, from the most remote places. This feature, of which Mr. Gale is the originator, has been an innovation in the transaction of the lumber business, and it has been found to far supersede the old custom of receiving freights by water. In the storage buildings referred to Mr. Gale has provided pockets or independent spaces in which dressed lumber is stood on end, instead of being piled up. This lumber is of various dimensions, and when stored is easily selected by length and width. Upon receipt of the various grades of domestic lumber, they are stored in a building in which a temperature of 70° is constantly kept up through steam pipes leading from an eight-horse-power Campbell boiler. This continuous temperature tends to thoroughly season every board, thus making them superior to kiln-dried lumber. Builders who want first-class lumber patronize Mr. Gale, on account of this feature of preparing the stock for immediate use. Spruce boards and timber find storage out-of-doors, when not dressed. Mr. Gale deals largely in supplying building frames direct from the mills in the East, so that the purchaser only pays for what he receives, there being no waste, every timber being cut and fashioned according to the plan of the building, which is forwarded with the order. This unique trade is constantly growing, and many builders prefer to give their orders in this way, than to be subjected to the old fashion of framing the building themselves. Mr. Gale deals largely in lime, plaster, cement and hair, all of which come to him by rail. Now he can order a car-load of lime fresh from the kilns, but when he occupied the wharf he was obliged to have a cargo of this commodity sent to him in the fall of the year, before the rivers were closed by ice, when he would store it in his sheds to slacken by the atmosphere, and to become less valuable for plastering or mortar-making. Builders appreciate this, and, therefore, Mr. Gale has a large patronage in this direction. From boyhood until 1885 Mr. Gale was associated with the lumber business on the water-front, but since he established himself on his present premises, no inducement could prevail upon him to change places by returning to the waterside. Mr. Gale does strictly a retail business, and would not undertake to wholesale under any circumstances. He now handles about 10,000,000 feet of lumber per annum, and the business is constantly increasing. Every appointment on his premises is first-class in character, as Mr. Gale does not believe in doing anything that bears the semblance of being slipshod or devoid of system.

JOHN P. SQUIRE & CO.—The extensive and celebrated pork-packing establishment of John P. Squire & Co. is located at East Cambridge, and the land and buildings cover about twenty acres, and is the largest business concern in the city. Their business amounts to more than fifteen millions of dollars annually, and they employ about one thousand men. The number of hogs slaughtered is about seven hundred and fifty thousand. The capacity of their ice-houses is about 42,000 tons. The firm consists of John P. Squire,

Frank O. and Fred. P. Squire and was started in 1842 by the senior partner alone in a comparatively small way, but has been constantly growing in magnitude until the present time, and the amount of their business for the year ending in April of this year (1890) was over $15,000,000.

KENNEDY'S BAKERY—This establishment, now so well-known all over the country from Maine to Georgia, was originated by the late Artemas Kennedy, in 1839, when he came to Cambridgeport and began business in the brick building on Main Street, where he remained for six years, when he built a dwelling-house and bakery on the adjoining lot, and for ten years he baked only four barrels of flour daily into crackers, all rolled and docked singly by hand, and pitched into the oven one by one. In 1855 steam was introduced and the product was increased so that nine barrels of flour were turned out daily. In 1861 the business had so increased that an office was opened in New York City, and it was found necessary to run night and day, and in 1869 the first reel or mechanical oven was built, capable of baking twenty barrels of flour a day, and from time to time more reel ovens have been added, and in 1875 a large brick building was erected on Green Street with four large mechanical ovens, which were subsequently increased to eight, and in 1887 another factory was added on Franklin Street, and now there are ten reel and nine tile ovens constantly in use, and employment is given to three hundred and seventy-five persons. Branch stores have been established in various cities and every part of the United States canvassed by salesmen.

The Chicago branch became so important that in 1881 a factory was built, but in two years it was entirely destroyed by fire. Another factory was at once erected, having six ovens of the very largest capacity, and now this plant is producing as many goods as the Cambridge house, the output averaging $5,000 per day. A few statistics will give some idea of the amount of business done by this concern, which figures can be relied upon, being taken from their books. Sixteen hundred tons of coal were burned last year; from two hundred to two hundred and fifty barrels of flour are a day's work at present, varying according to the class of goods baked; of eggs the daily average is 6000, but on special occasions 1000 dozen have been used in one day. Fourteen hundred pounds of butter and thirty-four hundred pounds of lard are used daily, or nearly two tons and a half daily for shortening. One hundred and seventy gallons of milk, two tons of sugar and one hundred and fifty gallons of molasses are used every day. These are among the principal ingredients used, but others might be mentioned, such as raspberry jam, of which twenty-nine tons were used last year, besides soda, raisins, currants, cocoanuts, spices, etc., all of which are bought by the ton and often by the carload. One hundred and forty tons of butter are, during the month of June, bought and placed in cold storage for next winter's use, it being much superior to any made later in the year. In the tin can department thirty-eight hands are constantly employed, and tin of special sizes is imported in lots of five hundred boxes. Over fifty thousand of the one and two-pound cans are packed and sold every month.

Pure cold water from artesian wells is used, thereby assuring the most healthy results, as well as the even quality of the goods. All the factories are supplied with the automatic fire alarm system and automatic sprinklers, and an electric plant of four hundred and fifty lights. There are branch houses in New York City, Philadelphia, Washington, Albany, Troy, in the East, and Minneapolis, St. Paul and Kansas City, in the West. Thirty-four horses are in use in expressing goods to the depots in Boston, and the various branches use as many more. The output at present is $4500 per day and the gross business for the year 1889 was over a million dollars, and the Chicago house was about the same. The Cambridge pay-roll is $3400 a week; two men have been employed with this house forty-seven and forty-five years, respectively, and others from fifteen to twenty years.

EARTHEN-WARE—Earthen-ware manufacture occupies a prominent position in the industries of Cambridge. The potter, whose occupation dates from nearly the earliest period, plies his trade here in a manner far superior to his prototype of the remote era. Then his craft were few in number and the facility of doing the work was meagre when compared with the processes now employed. Thousands of years have passed since the first work from clay was wrought in its simplicity.

Specimens of pre-historic work have been exhumed from the ruins of ancient cities, which bore the impress of indestructibility, the clay having been so prepared as to resist the inroads of time upon it. The potter's wheel then employed to aid in the fashioning of earthen vessels has been but slightly improved upon, but the preparation of the material used is vastly superior to the means employed by the ancient potter. Then the work was slowly forwarded by hand, while now machinery has been introduced of the most approved pattern to expedite the work. The clay is taken from the ground and after having been properly handled is run through different graded mills to secure a proper consistency to be wrought into suitable and artistic shapes. Steam-power, a motor unknown to the early potter, is now employed to operate the appliances required in the business. The wheel upon which so much depends is moved without the treadle as of yore.

Primitive genius has been superseded by the inventive mind of the present potter, so that now his work is more easily performed and to better and more remunerative advantage. The pottery of the Messrs. A. H. Hews & Co., of North Cambridge, is a model establishment because of the fact that the firm is com-

posed of energetic men, who are so far progressive in the conduct of the vast business transacted as to introduce every labor-saving apparatus which may be presented.

The business to which the firm has succeeded was established in 1765, in the town of Weston, Mass., by Abram Hews, grandfather of the senior member.

An entry in the journal of the founder of the business reads as follows:

"April 19, 1775.

"Lemuel Sones to Ware, Dr., ... 2. 8."

Then again:

"WESTON, August 15, 1789.

"Then Rec'd of Mr. Hewes one pound in full of all accompts and demands.

"I say Received by me.

"JOHN KINGMAN."

"Jan'y 1st, 1790.

"Then Balanced accompts with Abram Harrington.

"ABRAM HEWS,

"DANIEL EATON."

The business of which the present company are the proprietors was conducted in Weston for over a century, when it was transferred to Cambridge by Mr. A. H. Hews, the senior partner of the firm, in 1870.

The annual transactions exceed the gross earnings of the parent industry for a period of half a century.

The buildings in which this vast business is carried on consist of a three-story brick structure and several outbuildings of suitable dimensions, all covering an area of two acres. The floor-room has an area of 60,000 feet, on which the manufactures, in their several branches, are forwarded.

On these floors flower-pots are turned out, and the Albertine vase, highly ornamented, is developed in the art department. The art pottery is marvelous in design and ornamentation, and finds a ready market in art circles. Probably nowhere in this country can be found a prettier exhibition of the potter's skill than is displayed here. Copies from the most antique productions, with original designs, are arranged with taste in the exhibition room, making a museum of clay productions unequaled.

Four kilns are used, which have a capacity of holding 35,000 pieces of medium-sized pottery, and which are placed with care and precision for the baking process.

The factory is on the line of the Fitchburg Railroad, over which the firm receives its coal and forwards its wares to all parts of the country.

New and improved machinery, of great cost, has just been introduced, so that now the establishment ranks with any other in the country.

Ninety employés find steady employment at this establishment. Mr. Wm. P. Brown is the bookkeeper, and Mr. George H. McKee is the art designer and foreman of the works.

SOAP MANUFACTURES.—Cambridge has for many years been noted for the manufacture of this important article, and it is now and has been for nearly a century more extensively engaged in it than any other place in New England, and less than fifty years ago more soap was shipped from Cambridge than from any other port in this country. The chief places to which it was exported were the West Indies and South America. Hardly a vessel left Boston for either of these places with less than a thousand boxes, and frequently with five times that number, receiving in return either gold or coffee. That trade has almost entirely ceased, and the manufacture is now chiefly confined to the home market, and grades and qualities for domestic purposes, and the business has increased largely in amount and it can now be reckoned as one of the large and important industries of Cambridge. The business commenced in a small way. In 1804, Nathaniel Livermore came from Waltham to Cambridgeport in search of business and also to benefit his health, which at that time was thought to be in a very critical state tending towards, and by some physicians thought to be, a confirmed case of cousumption. Mr. Livermore found a person who understood the business and another who could furnish a small amount of capital and a co-partnership was formed under the name and style of Livermore, Crane and Whitney.

The business began in a very small way in a building in the rear of Main Street, and in the *Columbian Centinel* of December 22, 1804, they advertise that they are ready to furnish brown soap, dipt candles and groceries. This was the origin of soap-making in Cambridge. Mr. Livermore, who was then twenty-five years old, continued in the business on the same spot until he died, in 1862, at the advanced age of ninety years.

There are in Cambridge at the present time five large factories making in the aggregate many million pounds per annum, and all finding a ready market for their goods at remunerative prices. Among the longest in business is the well-known firm of Curtis, Davis and Company. Since the death of Mr. Davis, in 1877, the business has been continued by his son-in-law, James Mellen, under the same name and style, and the quality of the goods made is too well known all over the country to need any words of commendation. The area of land upon which the factory, store-houses, stables and other out-buildings stand is about 66,000 feet, floor area 44,500 feet and daily product is 35,000 pounds of different grades of laundry a very large per cent. of which (nine-tenths) is the celebrated "Welcome Soap," of which they manufactured and sold in the past year (1889) one hundred thousand boxes of seventy-five pounds each, and for which they require daily twenty thousand pounds of tallow, four thousand pounds of alkali, two tons of coal and a variety of other supplies, including borax and perfumes. The alkali is imported from England, the borax from California, the perfumery from China, Germany, France, Florida and the State of New York. The number of hands employed is very large.

James C. Davis & Son, Soap Manufacturers.—This

concern started business in 1840, and since the death of the senior Mr. Davis two years ago the business has been continued by his sons and his son-in-law, Mr. J. H. Spaulding. The factory, situated on Broadway, Cambridgeport, has been greatly enlarged and improved within the last few years and is now supplied with all the late improvements and machinery, and is in every respect a well-appointed establishment with all the means and appliances for doing a large and increasing business. Their warehouse and salesroom is at No 3 Chatham Street, Boston.

C. L. Jones & Co., Soap.—Business started about 1830 by Charles Valentine, who was succeeded in 1845 by the present firm. Buildings consist of main factory, 175x60; connected with this is an ell 60x30, where are the kettles in which the boiling is done; the latter are ten in number, with a united capacity of 400,000 pounds. In the rear of the main building is the boiler-house, which contains four boilers of fifty horse-power each. The motive-power is furnished by two engines of twenty-five horse-power each. The weekly output is about 150,000 pounds—about thirty-five men and boys are employed. The goods are sold principally in New England and New York State.

John Reardon & Sons use about 8,000,000 pounds of fats per year, from which they make in oleo oil about 4,000,000 pounds, butterine about 600,000 pounds, stearine about 1,500,000 pounds, tallow about 1,000,000 pounds, soap about 3,000,000.

William L. Lockhart's Manufactory.—This large and commodious establishment for the furnishing of funeral supplies is located on Bridge Street, East Cambridge, and is fully equiped with all modern appliances and machinery, and is thus always ready to furnish every article in his line, either by night or by day. The business was established in 1849 by Mr. Lockhart, who is, and has been, the sole proprietor, and who has built up a large and extensive business in all sections of the United States and Canada, and keeps constantly employed at the factory about 150 skilled operatives. Besides the factories at Cambridge, Mr. Lockhart has large ware-rooms in Boston, where are kept the largest, finest and most complete stock of undertakers' supplies in the country. The ware-rooms are situated in the business portion of Boston, and are readily accessible from all parts of the city, being within five minutes' walk of the northern and eastern depots and ten minutes' car ride to the southern depots, in the extreme parts of the city. The building used, warehouse and salesroom, is six stories high, at the junction of three streets, and was erected by Mr. Lockhart for the express purpose for which it is used, and for which it is admirably adapted; no pains or expense has been spared in any of the details of arrangement. The different floors of the building are divided as follows (each floor containing about five thousand square feet): Second floor, offices and salesroom, and casket hardware department; third floor, show-rooms; fourth floor, for packing and shipping; fifth and sixth floors, storage. The show-room is filled with everything of a miscellaneous nature that is required by a funeral director's use. Mr. Lockhart carries a complete duplicate line of all his goods, so that telegraph or telephone orders may be sent immediately on receipt, by day or night. It has ever been his desire to obtain every facility for the prompt execution of all orders that may be entrusted to his care, and he guarantees prompt service in all cases. Funeral directors are cordially invited to make his office their headquarters while in the city of Boston, and he feels confident that they will find his rooms to be the most complete of any in America for the purposes and business for which it is designed. Mr. Lockhart has lived in Cambridge for the last forty-five years, and is highly esteemed for his enterprise, geniality of disposition and inflexible integrity.

The Telescope Manufactory of Clark & Sons is the most celebrated institution of its kind in the world. Here was completed in 1887 the largest telescope ever made. This was for the Lick Observatory. The contract was made in 1880, and the telescope was finished and mounted in 1887. Its cost was $53,000. The contract was given to them by the Lick trustees after several years spent in finding a concern willing to undertake the work of making an instrument of the size and power required, which was to be larger and superior to any one ever made. The Clarks had four times been called upon to construct "a telescope more powerful than any now in existence,"—first in 1860, one for Chicago 18½ inches aperture, which was 3½ inches larger than any then known; in 1879 one for the Russian Government for a 30-inch objective (3 inches larger than the Vienna telescope); one in 1870 with the United States Government for a refractor of 26-inch aperture, and in 1880 the Lick estate for a 36-inch telescope, all of which contracts they fulfilled to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned. They stand to-day at the head of the telescope-makers of the world, and are ready to undertake the construction of instruments of still greater capacity if ordered. The factory, or workshop, where the firm do all their work is a small, unpretentious building on Brookline Street, Cambridgeport, near the banks of the Charles River. The work was all done by Mr. Alvan Clark and his two sons, George B. and Alvan G., and, with the exception of a few day-laborers, these constitute the whole force employed. Mr. Clark, senior, was for many years a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and his eldest son, George B., now enjoys the same honor.

In 1867 Mr. Alvan Clark was awarded the Rumford medal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences for the perfection of his optical surfaces. The completion of the 30-inch Russian object-glass brought the Clarks the signal honor of the golden medal of the Empire, conferred for the first time by Alexander III. The Clarks have built eleven instruments,

of the type known as the "horizontal photo-heliograph," with 5-inch aperture and 40 feet focus, appropriately mounted and moved by clock-work of their own construction.

In the reprint of the appendix of the 23d volume of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," Prof. David P. Todd says, "Of all the makers of telescopes the most celebrated are Alvan Clark & Sons, of Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A." As a fitting close to this brief notice, we append a few words of an autobiographic nature written to a friend by Alvan Clark without any idea of publication. "I have never held any office nor attended a party caucus, but have always voted with the Republicans since they came into power, altho' up to that time I was a Democrat. I have never been a church-member, but my faith in the universality of God's Providence is *entire and unswerving*. My grandfathers died, one at 87 and the other at 88, and they were both good men. I have never heard of one of my progenitors as being a *bankrupt*, or *intemperate*. I never sued but one man, and that was Collector Austin, of Boston, and I gained my case. I never studied music or attended an opera in my life, and know nothing of chess or card-playing. I never learned to dance, but was a good swimmer, though lacking in the points which go to make an expert gymnast. I was born in Ashfield, Franklin County, Massachusetts, on the eighth of March, 1804. When I was about 12 years of age I thought that I would be a millwright, but when I was 17 years old I began to think that perhaps I might be better fitted for some other calling, and I went into a wagon-maker's shop and worked about a year, when I put myself at work in good earnest to learn alone engraving and drawing, and in 1824 I visited Boston carrying with me specimens of my work to show my proficiency, which, though not great, was sufficient to secure me a living employment for the time. Supplying myself with some of the most needed materials, I returned to Ashfield and spent the summer with no settled plans farther than the acquisition of skill. While I was learning the art of engraving I offered my services in the vicinity of Ashville in making small portraits, some in India ink and some in water-colors, and with pretty satisfactory measure of success. One little incident I will mention which tends to show what small matters will change the course of a human life. Wanting some fine sable hair brushes I sent to Boston for them, and upon looking over a scrap of newspaper in which they were wrapped my eye fell on an advertisement, headed '*Engravers Wanted*,' and I was not long in making up my mind to apply for a situation, which I was delighted to get, and where I went to work in the engraving shop of the Merrimac Co., at East Chelmsford (now Lowell), for the wages of eight dollars per week for one year, and nine dollars per week for the three succeeding years. I was to work nine hours per day in summer and eight hours in winter.

"I was the first person married in the then *Town* of, now the *City* of, Lowell, on the twenty-fifth of March 1826, by the Rev. Theodore Edson, who was living and present at *our* 'golden wedding.' I have received the degree of A.M. from Amherst, Chicago, Princeton and Harvard. I have read much on Astronomy, but in its mathematics I am lamentably deficient.

"Lives as changeful and varied as mine has been, are frequently troubled in their finances, but I have always been able and fortunate enough to meet my money promises, and I have a fair reserve for a rainy day."

This brief and modest narrative of the life and pursuits of Alvan Clark is the best *history* of the manufacture as well as of the beginning of telescope-making in this country that can be given, and that is enough in its teachings to encourage and stimulate the young men of this day to manly effort in their callings.

CHAPTER XIV.

CAMBRIDGE—(Continued).

MISCELLANEOUS.

Transportation, Bridges, Press, Societies, etc.

TRANSPORTATION.—Before the erection of any bridge across Charles River connecting Cambridge with Boston there was no method of access to the capital excepting by boats or the circuitous route through Charlestown, four and one-half miles, or Roxbury, eight miles, but soon after the opening of West Boston Bridge in 1793, there was a public conveyance from Cambridge to Boston once a day, afterwards changed to two trips daily, going in at eight o'clock in the morning and returning at noon and again going in at two o'clock in the afternoon and returning at five or six. Fare, twenty-five cents from Old Cambridge and eighteen and three-fourths cents from Cambridgeport. Passengers were called for at their residences in Cambridge by booking their names the night before and were left at their place of destination in Boston as far south as Summer Street.

The coach used up to the year 1826 was a large, heavy, old-fashioned, stage-coach, similar to such as were then used on all the mail and stage routes, and had seats for nine passengers inside and could pile on as many more on the outside. This old Cambridge stage was quite an institution in days gone by, and many illustrious men and women were its patrons and many anecdotes might be told of the warm discussions, both theological and political, that took place in the old coach while on its way from Cambridge to Boston.

The veteran driver for many years and up to the days of the omnibus, was Cyrus Morse, who will be long remembered by students of Harvard all over the country. Morse was a good specimen of the old-time

stage-driver. He was a handsome man, courteous to every one, but dignified in his deportment and respected by all.

In 1826 Captain Ebenezer Kimball, the then landlord of the farmers' inn formerly known as Cutler's Tavern, located at the corner of Pearl and Main Streets, Cambridgeport, started the "Hourly," so called, which was to leave Cambridgeport on the even hours and Boston on the alternate hours, the first coach leaving at eight o'clock in the morning, and during the first year they omitted one or two trips in the middle of the day. The wise ones of that day predicted speedy failure of the enterprise, as it was thought and believed that Cambridge could not possibly support a coach once an hour; but the enterprising proprietor went on, and after the first season doubled the number of trips and increased the capacity of the coaches, and in less than five years was running a coach every thirty minutes from Cambridgeport.

When the first long omnibus was built with the door behind, and named the "Cyrus," in honor of the old veteran, Mr. Morse was taken to view the new coach, and after looking it over carefully, expressed his opinion that it was a failure and would never answer the purpose for which it was intended, as the exit for the passengers being so far off they would run away before he could leave the box to collect the fares, as he always did on the old coach. The writer of this article has more than once been kept from school to stop the old stage for his mother, who visited the city twice a year to do all the shopping for a family of twelve persons, a proceeding quite in contrast to the custom of the ladies of the present day.

In 1835 Capt. Kimball bought out the old Cambridge line and started the then bold enterprise of running a four-horse coach from old Cambridge once an hour, and this was kept up until the opening of the horse railroad in March, 1856.

When Mr. Kimball started the "hourlies" it was considered the great event of the day for Cambridge and was celebrated in various ways by the people of Cambridge.

Cambridge Railroad.—After a good deal of talk on the subject a charter was applied for, and in March, 1853, an act was passed incorporating Gardner G. Hubbard, Charles C. Little and Isaac Livermore as the Cambridge Railroad Co.

After obtaining the charter no one could be found willing to risk any money in the enterprise, and it lay dormant for three years, when Gardner Warren, a bold, enterprising man (but a poor financier), was willing to take the contract for building the road if $30,000 in cash could be guaranteed, taking the rest in stock at par. A very few persons in old Cambridge became responsible for $20,000 and one individual in Cambridgeport pledged himself for the other $10,000, and the contract was signed the same day and work was begun at once, but before the track was finished it was suspended on account of a severe snow-storm, and the road-bed was not uncovered until about the 1st of March, 1856, when, in less than twenty days, the cars were running as far as Chambers Street, Boston. The writer rode over in the first car that crossed the bridge, and in speaking of the circumstance to one of the proprietors of the stage company he remarked that they would never be able to go up the hill to Bowdoin Square or if they did they never could come down in safety. Before the return track was laid through Green Street the cars went only as far as Bowdoin Square, and the horses were taken off and hitched to the other end of the car for the return trip, and as there was but a single track up the hill the incoming cars were obliged to wait at the foot of the hill for the outward bound cars to pass. The first directors were Gardner G. Hubbard, Charles C. Little, John Livermore, T. B. Bigelow and Estes Howe. The stockholders were not very sanguine that the enterprise would be profitable and preferred to lease the property, which they did to a company chartered for that purpose, called the Union Railroad Company, the first directors of which were Williard Phillips, Charles C. Little, Gardner G. Hubbard, Moses M. Rice and J. C. Stiles.

This company, the first horse railroad in New England, continued to operate the road successfully until the opening of the Charles River Railroad, when the dividing of the business and the lowering of the fares caused them to give up their lease, as they had a right to do if it ceased to be profitable, and the Cambridge Railroad alone run the road until they bought out the Charles River road, and they in turn sold to the West End Company, who are now the owners, not only of this, but of all the suburban street railroads in this vicinity and are rapidly adopting the *electric system* for running the cars, so that it can hardly be called a horse railroad at the present time. What the next move will be no one can foretell, but when we look back and see what a great advancement has taken place within the last fifty years from the days of the old lumbering stage-coach, there can be no doubt but that the future will show as great and important changes as the past. Even now the project of establishing an *elevated road* is being agitated, hoping thereby to solve the problem of rapid transit through our crowded streets and thus save a few minutes in the time now occupied by our people in going to and from their places of business to their suburban homes.

In addition to the various modes of conveying passengers from Cambridge to Boston allusion should be made to the "Harvard branch," although it had but a brief existence. This was a spur from the Fitchburg Steam Railroad and terminating near the northerly bounds of the Common in Old Cambridge. This route was abandoned after a short trial, as it failed to meet the needs of the people or to be remunerative.

The business of the Cambridge Division of the West End Railroad Company for the year 1889 was as follows: Number of horses, 1502; number of cars,

153; miles run, 3,308,027; passengers, 18,545,409; cost of road and equipment, $3,291,175. Of the above cars 53 are electric.

BRIDGES.—Cambridge owes much to its bridges; some account, therefore, cannot fail to be of interest to those who have received, and will continue to receive from them, great and permanent benefits. The first bridge ever built over Charles River was called the Great Bridge, connecting "Old Cambridge with Brighton." It was erected in 1660, and was ordered to be laid in "*ozle and lead*," and the town ordered that the Selectmen "should improve the timber that was brought for the fortification," for the repairing of the Great Bridge; and when it was rebuilt in 1690 by Cambridge and Newton, they received aid from the *public treasury*. At the time this bridge was built, what are now the towns of Newton, Arlington and Lexington were parts of Cambridge, and they were required to share with Cambridge the expense of maintaining the bridge in proportion to the respective valuation of their several towns, which they continued to do until they were released from that obligation, March 25, 1860, by the General Court. All other corporations having been released from liability, the General Court made a final disposition of the matter by an act passed March 11, 1862, by which the city of Cambridge and the town of Brighton were authorized and required to rebuild the Great Bridge over Charles River, the expense to be borne in proportion to the respective valuation of said city and town; and it was also provided that a draw not less than thirty-two feet wide, should be constructed at an equal distance from each abutment, and that the middle of the draw should be the dividing line between Cambridge and Brighton at that point, and that thereafter each corporation should maintain its half of the structure at its own expense.

The West Boston Bridge was the second toll-bridge built over Charles River, the one connecting Charlestown with Boston, called *the* Charles River Bridge, having been erected in 1785, and the West Boston Bridge in 1793, and opened for travel in November of the same year (November 23d). Dr. Abiel Holmes, who witnessed the building of the bridge, and who was familiar with the details, describes it as a "magnificent structure." Elbridge Gerry, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts and Vice-President of the United States, who then resided in "Elmwood," now the home of James Russell Lowell, the poet, was the first one allowed to pass over the bridge on the day of opening, starting from his home at sunrise, on horseback, with his wife, who was said to be the most accomplished and attractive lady in the land.

The first officers of the corporation were Hon. Francis Dana, president; Mungo Mackay, treasurer; and Harrison Gray Otis, clerk.

At a meeting of the directors, March 23, 1792, an assessment of ten dollars a share was laid, and it was voted "That the sum of seven hundred pounds be, and hereby is offered to Mungo Mackay and Henry Prentiss, jointly, as a consideration to superintend the whole labor of building the bridge, to procure laborers and make contracts for materials of all kinds, submitting, however, all contracts to the sub-committee of Directors for confirmation. It being understood that the said Mackay and Prentiss (if they undertake the business) shall devote their *whole time*, or the *whole time* of one of them to the business. And they shall have liberty to *resign* their appointment at any time if it interferes with their private concerns." Messrs Mackay and Prentiss accepted the appointment and made the contracts, and engaged Zenas Whiting as master-workman. The work was begun on the 8th of April, 1793, and in seven months and a half from the laying of the first pier the work was completed at a cost of $76,700, and "for elegance of workmanship and the magnitude of the undertaking" was pronounced "*unequalled in the history of enterprises*." The Boston *Chronicle*, of November 27, 1793, says: "This bridge, for length, *elegance* and *grandeur* is not exceeded by any in the United States, if in any part of the world." The *Columbian Centinel* of the same date says, that "for elegance of workmanship and *economy* in the construction it is thought to be the greatest masterpiece of mechanical ingenuity that was ever executed in this country;" and adds that "the proprietors have a claim on the liberality of the public and the patronage of the government; and hope to these claims government will not be *inattentive*."

There is a peculiarity in the mode of paying the tollmen. The directors voted that the annual salary of the principal tollmen should be $333.33. Afterwards it was voted that a grant be made to them of $166.66, in addition to this salary, and frequently it would be ordered, "that in consideration of their faithful services and the high prices of provisions and fuel," the sum of $50 were given them as a gratuity.

About the time of closing the accounts for constructing the bridge were settled, the following vote was passed: "That the Treasurer pay to Messrs. Shed & Page three Pounds, and make no charge against them for *Rum* furnished them when they had no beer for the workmen, and for the breaking of crockery and other utensils, in full compensation for their demands against the Proprietors, and take their receipt in full."

The affairs of the corporation were managed with the strictest economy. For instance, on one occasion it was "voted that William Spooner and Mungo Mackay be appointed a committee for the purpose of contracting with Lamplighters, and to make a calculation of the quantity of *Oyl* necessary for lighting the lamps, and to secure the unnecessary waste of oyl."

In the year 1828 the Legislature considered the subject of purchasing all the bridges over Charles River,

for the purpose of making them free before their charters would legally expire. This led to a prolonged controversy, in which the doctrine of "vested rights" was strongly assailed and nearly (if not completely) overthrown. In the year 1846 the Hancock Free Bridge Corporation received a charter empowering them to purchase the two bridges between Cambridge and Boston of the corporations which owned them, and to maintain them as toll-bridges until a fund of $150,000 should be raised, which sum was to be paid to the State, and for which sum the State was to keep them free forever. This act was amended in 1857 to allow the city of Cambridge to take the fund and maintain them as free avenues forever. The bridges were made free on Saturday, January 31, 1858, and the event was celebrated on the following Monday, viz., February 2, 1858. The price paid for West Boston Bridge was $75,000, and for Canal, or Cragie's Bridge, $60,000. So thorough and universal was the joy and satisfaction of the people in the freedom of the bridges that they evinced their delight by turning out *en masse* in a procession got up in very short notice, and, escorted by the National Lancers, they paraded through the principal streets of Cambridge and over both bridges. The public buildings and the houses of private citizens were decorated, and many of them were illuminated in the evening, when there was a display of fireworks. On each of the bridges the procession halted, and the president of the Hancock Free Corporation, the Hon. Isaac Livermore, formally surrendered them respectively to the mayor of Cambridge. When the custody of the bridges was placed in the hands of the city, and the Hon. John Sargent, as mayor, accepted the charge, and in the name of the good city proclaimed them free forever, the multitude shouted with an enthusiasm which indicated that their delight was heartfelt and sincere.

Canal or Cragie's Bridge.—This bridge, connecting Boston with Lechmere Point (now East Cambridge), was opened for travel in August, 1809, and at that time there was but one dwelling-house in what is now the populous Third Ward of the city. It was occupied by two brothers, named Russell, who improved nearly all the land for farming purposes. The opening of the bridge made a perceptible influence on the growth and prosperity of the place, and very soon large manufactures were established there, the most prominent of which was the New England Glass Works, so well known and celebrated all over the country, and now, in the year 1890, East Cambridge is the seat of many large and important industries.

Prison Point Bridge.—This bridge was built in 1815 for the benefit of Canal Bridge by virtue of a charter granted in 1806 for building a dam from Prison Point, in Charlestown, and Lechmere Point, in Cambridge, and erecting mills on the same. No dam was constructed nor mill erected, and it was laid out as a county road in January, 1839.

River Street Bridge was built for the advantage of the West Boston Bridge and the owners of real estate in Cambridgeport in 1810, and in 1832 the town assumed the care of the bridge and roadway leading to it.

The Western Avenue Bridge was built by the West Boston Bridge Corporation, under authority granted by an act passed June 12, 1824, empowering them to build a turnpike from Cambridge to Watertown, and it was maintained by that corporation until they sold their whole franchise to the Hancock Free Bridge Corporation.

The Cambridge and Brookline Bridge was built in 1850 for the benefit of and at the expense of persons owning real estate in the immediate vicinity, and was a toll-bridge until 1869, when, by permission of the General Court, it was transferred to the city and became free, and since that date Cambridge has no toll-bridges.

The act incorporating the proprietors of the *West Boston Bridge* gave them power to open, construct, and maintain ditches, canals, and drains, over, through, and across the marsh or upland on each side of the way or road which they were obliged to take by a previous act; but, provided, with great care for the settlement of damages which might result to those from whom the corporation took land making the "Bodies" of the proprietors liable to be taken on execution of judgment against. If this liability was attendant upon the members of corporations in our times who fail to meet their engagements it might lead to some unpleasant results, and it certainly must have been considered very good security for a debt where the "Bodies" of Chief Justice Dana, Governor Sullivan, Oliver Wendell and Christopher Gore "*would be taken on execution*" in default of payment.

THE PRESS.—The *Cambridge Chronicle* was the first regular "subscription paper" in Cambridge, and was started almost simultaneously with the organization of the City Government, in 1846, by Andrew Reid, a practical printer, and who continued to print, publish and edit it until his death, which took place in less than two years from the time he commenced the enterprise, when he was succeeded by Mr. John Ford, another practical printer, who continued to print and publish the paper for about ten years, since which time it has changed ownership several times, and is now owned and published by Mr. Buffum, and is in a very flourishing condition, and has probably the largest circulation of any paper in the city.

The Cambridge Press.—This paper was originated by Mr. James Cox, a practical printer, in the year 1866, and is still published and printed by him, assisted by his sons. This paper has always been ably edited and well conducted, and is at the present time the official organ for the city printing.

Cambridge Tribune.—This paper was started by D. Gilbert Dexter in the year 1862, and continued to be

conducted solely by him until his removal from Cambridge, in the year when it passed into the hands of William B. Howland, under whose ownership it was very ably conducted with fairness and impartiality, and pure in its moral tone and character as well as in its literary department. Mr. Howland has lately removed to New York where he continues his literary work, and Mr. F. Stanhope Hill has become the editor and proprietor.

The Cambridge News, owned, edited and published by Mr. D. A. Buckley, has a large circulation, and is considered a good medium for the advertising of real estate.

SOCIETIES, LODGES, ETC.—*Masonic.*—Amicable Lodge, chartered 1805; Putnam Lodge, chartered 1854; Cambridge Royal Arch Chapter, chartered 1864; Mount Olivet Lodge, chartered 1863; Mizpah Lodge, chartered 1867; Charity Lodge, 1870.

Odd-Fellows.—Mount Moriah Lodge, No. 21; New England Lodge, No. 4, instituted 1827; Charles River Encampment, No. 22, instituted 1846; Friendship Lodge, No. 20, instituted 1843; New England Encampment, No. 34, instituted 1865; Mount Auburn, No. 94, instituted 1870; Amity Lodge, D. of R., No. 15, instituted 1871; Olive Branch Lodge, D. of R., No. 21, instituted 1874; Mount Sinai Lodge, No. 69, instituted 1874; Cambridge Lodge, No. 13, instituted 1874; Odd-Fellows' Relief Association, organized 1871; New England Provident Association, organized 1871; Harvard Lodge, G. U. O. O. F., No. 1549, instituted 1873; American Legion of Honor, instituted 1880.

Other Societies.—Amicable Fire Society, instituted 1810; Cambridge Humane Society, instituted 1814; Cambridge Police Aid Association, instituted 1863; Civil Service Reform Association, instituted 1881; University Press Relief Association, instituted ——; Cambridge Veteran Firemen's Association, instituted 1885; Newtowne Club, instituted 1883; Union City Mission Sewing-school, instituted ——; Avon Place Home, instituted 1874; Sons of New Hampshire, instituted ——; Associated Charities of Cambridge, instituted ——; Catholic Young Men's Gymnasium, instituted ——; Cambridge Woman's Suffrage League, instituted 1886; Cambridge Fireman's Relief Association, instituted 1869; Cambridge Y. M. C. Association, instituted 1883; Cambridgeport Flower Mission, instituted ——; Dowse Institute, instituted 1860; Mason & Hamlin Benefit Society, instituted ——.

Harvard Societies.[1]—Fraternity of Phi Beta Kappa, 1776; The Classical Club, 1885; La Conference Française, 1886; Deutscher Verein, 1886; Harvard Natural History Society, 1857; Boylston Chemical Club, 1887; Harvard Electrical Club, 1888; Harvard Historical Society, 1880; Harvard Finance Club, 1878; Harvard Free Wool Club, ——; Harvard Philosophical Club, 1878; Harvard Art Club, 1875; English Club, 1889; Harvard Y. M. C. A., 1802; The St. Paul's Society, 1861; Harvard Total Abstinence League, 1888; O. K., 1858; The Signet, 1870; The Hasty Pudding, 1775; Institute of 1770, 1770; Alpha Delta Phi, Harv. Chapter, 1857; Zeta Psi, Rho Chapter, 1847; Delta Upsilon, 1834; Pi Eta Society, 1865; Beta Theta Pi, Harv. Chapter, 1843; Delta Phi, Zeta Chapter, ——; Harvard Camera Club, 1888; Harvard Chess and Whist Club, ——; Harvard Union, 1832; reorganized, 1880; Harvard Glee Club, 1858; Harvard Andover Club, 1888; Exeter Club of Harvard University, ——; Southern Club of Harvard University, 1888; Harvard Minnesota Club, 1888; Harvard Connecticut Club, 1888; Foxcroft Club, 1889.

[1] Date given is that of incorporation.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

CORNELIUS CONWAY FELTON.[2]

Cornelius Conway Felton, the eldest son of Cornelius Conway and Anna (Morse) Felton, was born in Newbury, Mass., November 6, 1807. His parents gave their children the heritage of their own superior intelligence and moral worth, but were able to bestow on their higher education little beyond their hearty sympathy and encouragement. While Cornelius was still a little child they removed to Saugus, and lived in the near neighborhood of Dr. Cheever, grandfather of the present Professor of Anatomy in Harvard University.

The Doctor, finding young Felton a boy of excellent promise, gave him his first lessons in Latin, and furthered his advancement by every means within his power. Felton was fitted for college under the tuition of Simeon Putnam, of North Andover, who had high and well-merited reputation as a classical teacher.

He entered Harvard College as a Freshman in 1823. He took at once, and maintained through his college course, a foremost place in his class, and was second to none in the department of ancient languages, and manifested the power of rapid acquisition of the scholarly tastes that distinguished him through life. At the same time he won the cordial friendship of all who were brought into intimate relations with him, and they were such friends as he was glad to hold ever afterwards in the dearest regard. No one can have ever passed through the ordeal of student life with a character more transparently pure. Temptation, indeed, had for him no meaning. He loved society, but only the best, and his own influence was from the first refining and elevating. He had an elastic spirit, and bore the burdens of his early life easily and cheerily—yet they must have been heavy.

[2] By Rev. A. P. Peabody, D.D.



L. C. Felton

He was dependent mainly on his own industry, with the very slender aid then given by the college to meritorious students, and he worked in the library in vacations, taught school, and resorted to every honorable means for replenishing his scanty resources, all the while practicing a more rigid economy than would seem credible to a student of the present day.

Immediately on graduating he went to Geneseo, New York, with two of his classmates, to take charge of an academy founded by Mr. James Wadsworth, well known as a munificent patron of learning. He remained there two years, and then returned to Cambridge as a tutor in Latin.

In 1830 he was appointed a tutor in Greek; in 1832 College Professor of Greek, and in 1834 Eliot Professor of Greek Literature. He had in these successive offices the occupation most congenial with his taste, and one for which no man could have been more eminently fitted, by the cast of his mind, the direction of his studies, and his enthusiastic love of the literature of which he was the teacher and expositor. He was by no means rigid or exacting in the class-room, and an indifferent scholar was put by him under no compulsory pressure, but those who were ready to learn received from him the most ample aid and derived from their intercourse with him the strongest stimulus to persevering industry. At the same time his genial disposition and his fellow-feeling with young life, which never waned, made him a favorite teacher with all who came under his charge.

The only important episodes in this period of his life were European tours and sojourns in 1853 and 1856. On both these occasions he not only visited Greece, but traveled in the country extensively, and with close observation; made himself acquainted with the leading men, especially with those concerned in the revival of letters and the diffusion of knowledge, and became conversant with the institutions and the public life of the kingdom. What a man gains by travel depends mainly on what he carries with him, on his knowledge of the fit topics for research and inquiry, and probably no American has ever been in Greece who was more thoroughly versed than he in all that could be known of the past, or better qualified to form an accurate judgment and estimate of the present and the future of a people so long depressed and downtrodden, yet with so rich a heritage of ancestral fame. In 1855 Mr. Agassiz established in Cambridge a school for young ladies, and Mr. Felton, though with his full tale of college duties, became a teacher and lecturer in that institution and contributed very largely to its success and prosperity.

When, on the resignation of Dr. Walker, in 1860, the presidency of Harvard University became vacant, Mr. Felton was elected as his successor, and in their votes the governing boards simply ratified the unanimous choice of the whole community. In this office it can hardly be said that he met the expectations of his friends, but their disappointment was one of surprise and admiration. He had previously led the quiet life of a scholar, absorbed in his books and literary labor, with few relations of business with the outside world and with no opportunities for testing his executive ability, and it was anticipated that he would adorn the headship of the college by the rare grace and beauty of his spirit, character and culture rather than that he would take upon himself the unnumbered prosaic details of duty and service which then made the presidency of Harvard College as arduous and as multifarious a charge as could well be devised or imagined. But with an intense feeling of responsibility as for a most sacred trust, he entered upon a thoroughly energetic administration, giving his personal attention to all concerns that could rightfully come under his cognizance, seeking full knowledge of the work of the teachers, exercising a watchful vigilance over the students, and making himself felt not merely as a gracious and kindly presence, but as an active and action-compelling force in every department of the university. He even became a strict disciplinarian when it was his duty to be so, though it was manifest that in the infliction of penalty he suffered more than those who deserved and needed it. His labors were rendered more severe and exhausting by the growing discontent with the stereotyped and obsolescent methods of our New England colleges and the movement towards a broader culture and a higher intellectual life, in which he was in the front rank of the leading minds. With his unresting assiduity, he was oppressed by a painful sense of the vast interests devolved upon his discretion and ability, and by the constant accumulations of demands upon his time and strength, which grew more and more numerous and urgent from his habit of giving heed to every claim and of assuming every burden that he was asked to bear. But his overtasked vigor of body yielded under the incessant strain and tension. Symptoms of heart-disease, which had already given his friends some uneasiness, became more decided and alarming from the time that he exchanged his sedentary habits for a more active life. Early in 1862, during the winter vacation, he was induced to seek relief and recreation by a change of scene and surroundings, and he visited his brother at Thurlow, Penna. Here his disease advanced rapidly to a fatal issue. After an attack in which his death was expected from moment to moment he seemed for a little while convalescent.

On the 26th of February, the first day of the new term, I received a letter from him dictated when respiration and utterance were intermittent and laborious, telling me that he had been at the point of death but now began to hope for prolonged life, expressing fervent gratitude to the Divine Providence, and asking me to beg the College Faculty, in the name o the Infinite Love, to be lenient and merciful in ce tain cases of discipline that had been laid over fro the preceding term. That same evening I read t

letter to the Faculty, obtained the desired vote, and had hardly reached my home when I received a telegram announcing his death.

Mr. Felton filled a very large and in some respects a unique place in our world of letters. It is seldom that an adept in one department is a proficient in all the essential branches of liberal culture. This, however, was true of him. While as a classical scholar he had no superior, he was versed in the languages and familiar with the best literature of modern Europe, was largely conversant with natural science, and had a highly educated and nicely critical taste in the entire realm of art. The ability that he showed in many and diverse directions, had its scope been narrower, would have been accounted as genius of a very high order; but in its breadth and versatility it was more than genius. Within the largest bounds of a liberal education no demand was made upon him that found him incapable or unprepared, and whatever he did he did it so well that he seemed to have a special adaptation for it. As a writer he was easy and graceful, brilliant in metaphor, rich and apt in illustration, and whenever his subject permitted, affluent in wit and humor. He often wrote too rapidly to do himself full justice, but when the occasion required and leisure served he had at his command a style of finished elegance and beauty. He was often false to his own reputation in his unstinted kindness to others. No one ever applied to him for aid in literary labor of any sort without receiving all and more than all the assistance he desired. He would put aside work of his own that he was anxious to finish to look up authorities, to furnish working material, to revise manuscripts, to correct proof for those whose only claim upon him was their need, and, of course, the report of his generosity was constantly multiplying his would-be beneficiaries. Had he converted to his own use all the time, thought and study that he contributed to fame in which he had no share, posterity might have admired him more, but his own coevals would have loved him less. Indeed, those who knew him best feel that no man could have been more lovable than he. He can never have made an enemy or forgotten or lost a friend.

In society he was genial and mirthful, full of anecdote, talking so admirably well that his friends would have been content to be mere listeners, yet never willing to assume more than his due share in conversation. There was a native refinement and unstudied delicacy in his manners and his social intercourse, indicating an inward life on a high plane, and by unobtrusive example and influence constantly tending to elevate the prevailing tone of sentiment and feeling around him. To those most intimate with him it was impossible that he could be replaced. We have not seen, and may not hope ever to see his like in this world.

With a temperament that might have seemed pliant and ductile, no man was ever more strongly intrenched than he within the defences of a true, quick, sensitive and discriminating conscience. No unworthy compliance ever cast a transient shadow even on his early youth. We, who knew him from boyhood, could recall, when he went from us, not an act or a word which we would wish to forget.

He was firm in the right, and no power on earth could make him swerve from his conviction of duty. His force of character, hidden on ordinary occasions by his gentle, sunny mien, showed itself impregnable when put to the test. He never shrank from the most painful duty, and in prompt decision and fearless energy for difficult emergencies he seemed no less worthy of supreme regard than for those amiable qualities which made his daily life so beautiful.

It can hardly be needful to say that a character like his could have had no other foundation than matured Christian faith and principle. He was unfeignedly reverent and devout. He loved the worship and ordinances of religion, and gave them the support of his constant attendance, his unfailing interest and his earnest advocacy. He took from Jesus Christ the law of his life, breathed in His spirit, trusted in His gospel of salvation and immortality, and looked to Him for guidance through the death-shadow into the everlasting light.

Mr. Felton's literary activity was incessant, but he seems to have had very little ambition to appear before the public in his own name and on his own sole account. It may be doubted whether he ever published anything, except at the solicitation of others, and he was thus often led into partnerships in which his share of the labor far exceeded that of the revenue, whether of fame or material recompense.

In 1844 he published an edition of the "Iliad," with very valuable English notes and with Flaxman's illustrations. In 1840 he prepared a Greek Reader, with English notes and vocabulary. This continued long in use, perhaps is not yet out of use, and is, probably, to be preferred to any other similar text-book in the fitness and range of its selections, in the facilities which it furnishes and in those which it wisely fails to furnish for the student. In the same year he contributed to Ripley's "Specimens of Foreign Literature" a translation of Menzel's work on "German Literature," in three volumes. In 1841 he published an edition of "The Clouds" of Aristophanes, with an introduction and notes. This has been republished in England. In 1843 he contributed very largely to a work on "Classic Studies," edited by Professors Sears and Edwards, and also to Professor Longfellow's "Poets and Poetry of Europe." In 1844, in connection with Professor Beck, he made a translation of Munk's "Metres of the Greeks and Romans." In 1847 he published editions of the "Panegyricus" of Isocrates, and of the "Agamemnon" of Æschylus, each with introduction and notes. In 1849 he translated Professor Guyot's work entitled, "The Earth and Man." In the same year he issued an edition of



A. P. Peabody.

"The Birds" of Aristophanes, with introduction and notes, which was reprinted in England. In 1852 he published a selection from the writings of his predecessor, Dr. Popkin, with a most happily-written memoir. In the same year he issued a volume of selections from the "Greek Historians." In 1856 he published a series of selections from modern Greek writers in poetry and prose. He contributed to Sparks' "American Biography" a "Life of General Eaton."

In addition to these works, he published many lectures and addresses. His aid was constantly sought by the editors of various periodicals, to which he was a large contributor. If we remember aright, his earliest writings of this sort were literally labors of love for the *American Monthly Review*, edited by the late Professor Sidney Willard, a work designed to give a fair and truthful statement and estimate of current American literature, which had an early death, solely because it was too honest to live. He was a frequent contributor to the *North American Review* and to the *Christian Examiner*. He wrote for Appleton's "New American Cyclopædia" several long and elaborate articles, particularly in his own special department.

But the works most characteristic of his mind and heart, of his ability, scholarship, taste and sentiment, were not designed for publication, and were not issued till after his death, when they appeared under the editorship of the writer of this memoir. They are "Familiar Letters from Europe," and "Greece, Ancient and Modern." The former was a small volume of letters of travel written to his family with no ulterior purpose, yet with a fidelity of description, a vividness of comprehension and a charming spontaneity of graceful diction that not only needs no revision, but would have suffered damage by any endeavor to improve them. The latter comprises four courses of Lowell "Lectures on Greece," in two large octavo volumes.

We doubt whether there exists in our language any other work on Greece that comprehends so much and is at the same time so entirely the outcome of the author's own study, thought and observation. As the lectures were hastily written, many of them on the eve of delivery, it was thought desirable to verify references and translations, but this labor proved to be almost needless. There was in his manuscript the strange blending of a chirography bearing tokens of hot haste, and a minuteness and accuracy showing that his materials were at his command at momentary notice, though a large portion of them were such as seemed to require elaborate research. There is no reason why these volumes should not live and last, as at once of profound interest to the general reader and of essential service for the special study of the Greece that was and the Greece that is.

Mr. Felton was an active member of the Massachusetts Historical Society and of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was also a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society and of various literary and scientific bodies, in all of which he bore as large a part as his busy life rendered possible. He was for several years one of the regents of the Smithsonian Institution and a member of the Massachusetts Board of Education, while he manifested equal efficiency and diligence in the less conspicuous office of a member of the School Committee of Cambridge, where his services are commemorated in a schoolhouse that bears his name.

He was a corresponding member of the Archæological Society of Athens. He received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Amherst College in 1848, and from Yale College in 1860.

Mr. Felton was twice married—April 12, 1838, to Mary, daughter of Asa and Mary (Hammond) Whitney, and in September, 1846, to Mary Louisa, daughter of Thomas Graves and Mary (Perkins) Cary. He left two sons and three daughters.

ANDREW PRESTON PEABODY, D.D., LL.D.

Dr. Peabody is descended from Lieutenant Francis Peabody, who was born in 1614 in St. Albans, Hertfordshire, England, and came to New England in the ship "Planter" in 1635, settling in Lynn, and later, in 1638, in Hampton, Old Norfolk County, subsequently to which time he became an inhabitant of Topsfield, where, in 1657, he married Mary Foster, dying February 19, 1697–98. He is the American ancestor of a numerous and honorable posterity in Essex County and elsewhere, among whom the distinguished philanthropist, George Peabody, of London, is especially to be named. Lieutenant [1]Francis Peabody's son [2]Joseph, born in 1644, who lived in Boxford, was the father of [3]Zerubabel, born February 26, 1707, who lived in Middleton, married Lydia Fuller February 21, 1733, and was the father of [4]Andrew, born July 21, 1745, married Ruth Curtis December 13, 1769, lived in Middleton, and died October 14, 1813. His son [5]Andrew, born February 29, 1772, married Mary Rantoul, sister of Hon. Robert Rantoul, Sr., of Beverly, at Salem, May 30, 1808; lived in Beverly, where he kept the grammar school, and was a teacher of repute, and died December 19, 1813. The subject of this sketch was born in Beverly March 19, 1811. In a reminiscence contributed to a series of autobiographical articles by eminent men (published in the *Forum* for July, 1887) he has himself unconsciously disclosed the dominant chord in his own character while describing the Spartan educational methods of the earlier years in this century:

"I learned to read before I was three years old, and foremost among the books that have helped me I must put Webster's spelling-book. I knew the old lexicographer. He was a good man, but hard, dry, unsentimental. I do not suppose that in his earliest reading-lessons for children he had any ulterior purpose beyond shaping sentences composed of words consisting of three letters and less. But, while I believe in the inspiration of the prophets and apostles, I agree with the Christian fathers of the Alexandrian school in extending the theory of inspiration far beyond the (so-called) canon of Scripture, and I cannot

but think that a divine afflatus breathed upon the soul of Noah Webster when he framed as the first sentence on which the infant mind should concentrate its nascent capacity of combining letters into words and which thus, by long study and endless repetition, must needs deposit itself in undying memory: 'No man can put off the law of God.' When I toiled day after day on this sentence I probably had no idea of its meaning, but there is nothing better for a child than to learn by rote and to fix in enduring remembrance words which thus sown deep will blossom into fruitful meaning with growing years Since I began to think and feel on subjects within the province of ethics this maxim has never been out of my mind. I have employed it as a text for my experience and observation. It is a fundamental truth in my theology. It underlies my moral philosophy. It has molded my ethical teaching in the pulpit and the class-room, in utterance and print."

From his sixth year until he entered college he supplied himself "with books from a library of several hundred very good books, the proprietors of which were assessed fifty cents a year." His earliest teacher, to whom he owed much, was Miss Joanna Prince, who later married Ebenezer Everett, of Brunswick, Me., and was the mother of Professor Charles Carroll Everett. He was also a pupil of Miss Hannah Hill in the first Sunday-school in the United States, which these two ladies had gathered in Beverly, and had the satisfaction later of teaching Miss Hill Greek in her old age in fulfillment of her desire to read the New Testament in the original tongue. A child of precious promise, he was on the point of being sent to Exeter Academy when the wise minister, Dr. Abbot, persuaded his mother to have him prepared for college at home under the teaching of Mr. Bernard Whitman, who was then pursuing his studies for the Unitarian ministry with that distinguished clergyman, and he was fitted for college in a year, passing the examinations for the Freshman Class in 1823, and returning to live in Beverly under the same teaching another year, in which he went over the studies of the first two years of the college course, returning again to Cambridge to join the Junior Class in August, 1824, and graduating in 1826 in the same class with his cousin, Hon. Robert Rantoul, Jr. No less than fourteen members of his class entered the Christian ministry, among them the theologian Oliver Stearns, the eloquent preacher George Putnam, and Nehemiah Adams, the Calvinistic divine. His father had set him apart for the ministry, as far as it could be done, by a request on his death-bed; but the boy, who had graduated at fifteen, finishing his academic course at an earlier age than any other graduate of Harvard College, with the possible exception of Paul Dudley and Cotton Mather, was too young to begin his theological studies, and the following three years were spent—the first in study at Beverly, teaching in the winter the same district school in Middleton where his father had first taught; the second as private tutor in the family of Mr. Huidekoper, of Meadville, Pa., where not a few eminent men have both given and received much in a home of patriarchal simplicity and manorial beauty, and the third in teaching in the academy at Portsmouth, N. H. In 1829 he entered the Cambridge Divinity School, graduating from it in 1832. The next year was spent as college tutor of Hebrew and Mathematics at Cambridge. At this time his first publication appeared, "Address on Taxation," being No. 1, vol. i., of the "Workingmen's Library."

President Quincy desired to secure Mr. Peabody for permanent academic service. He had, however, been preaching in various places during the year, being called to settle over churches in Fall River and Framingham, and accepted an invitation to become minister of the South Parish in Portsmouth, N. H., as colleague with the Rev. Nathan Parker, D.D., one of the most honored clergymen of his time in New England, whose lofty character, distinguished alike for wisdom and goodness, has left an abiding mark upon that intelligent Christian community. Mr. Peabody took charge of that pulpit September 1, 1833.

His previous year spent in Portsmouth as a teacher had brought him into such personal relations with Dr. Parker as to make him appreciate as a special privilege the opportunity of laboring in such companionship, but the hope was sadly disappointed, as Dr. Parker's rapidly-failing health did not even permit him to take part in the ordination of his colleague and successor in October, 1833, and his death a few days later left the young clergyman alone in charge of a most important parish.

The South Church, which was the second in Portsmouth, had its origin, as was the case in many of the older parishes in New England, in a dissension about the best locality for a new meeting-house. It early leaned to Arminianism, while the North Church, long under the ministry of the elder Buckminster, held fast to the more strict theology, and at the separation of the Congregational body, in the earlier years of this century, the former had become a leading parish in the Unitarian movement. Under the serious evangelical preaching of Dr. Parker it had been strengthened and increased in numbers till, not long before his death, it had built one of the most beautiful and costly stone churches of the time in New England, which was filled with worshipers. This responsible charge was borne by the young minister and prospered in his hands. The further increase of the congregation to the number of two hundred and fifty families made it necessary to enlarge the church. A handsome chapel was built for the large and flourishing Sunday-school, and all the signs of professional success in a high degree were evident.

On September 12, 1836, Mr. Peabody was married to Catharine Whipple, daughter of Edmund Roberts, of Portsmouth, who, as Envoy of the United States Government, negotiated the first treaty between this country and Siam and Cochin-China, the journal of whose travels in remote Eastern lands was published after his death in 1837, while abroad on public business. Of the eight children of this marriage two sons and two daughters died in early childhood and four daughters are living. Mrs. Peabody died in November, 1869.

The Portsmouth pulpit as filled by Mr. Peabody

was metropolitan to New Hampshire. The calls to public services outside his parish multiplied upon him in the educational and charitable duties which fall in such a community to the minister of a prosperous and influential congregation. He was a trustee of Exeter Academy for forty-three years. One of the earliest of the many addresses which he gave on academic occasions, "Conversation, its Faults and its Graces," delivered before the Newburyport Female High School, and first printed in 1846, became a classic on the subject. In 1844 he published "Lectures on Christian Doctrine," which became a handbook of the belief of the evangelical portion of the religious body to which he belonged, while a wider congregation than his Portsmouth parish was addressed by his "Christian Consolations, Sermons Designed to Furnish Comfort and Strength to the Afflicted," of which the first of many editions was published in 1846, and by his "Sermons to Children," published in 1867. He also was an editor of the *Christian Review* for two years.

In 1852 he received from Harvard College the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was a frequent contributor to the *Christian Examiner* and the *North American Review*, and in 1852 he became proprietor and editor of the latter publication, which place he filled until 1863. The invitation to the Plummer Professorship of the Heart and of Christian Morals in Harvard College found Dr. Peabody in a happy and successful ministry at Portsmouth, over a parish to whom he was bound by ties of mutual attachment such as no other call could have been strong enough to break.

On September 1, 1860, he assumed the Plummer Professorship, and the new work on which Dr. Peabody now entered, as successor to the Rev. Frederick Daniel Huntington, D.D., was waiting to be shaped by him into a large and unique opportunity of service and influence. The wise munificence of Miss Caroline Plummer, of Salem, had been led to endow the "Professorship of the Heart and of Christian Morals" by the conviction that the "dry light" and unsympathetic methods of college training needed to be suffused with the warmth and glow of a personal influence exerted by a Christian minister of wide and ready sympathy, hearty interest in young men, and belief in them—not a teacher only, nor a preacher only, but one who should find what possibilities existed in Harvard College for the function of pastor to the most difficult class of persons in the world to reach—youths of the student age. No one could have ventured to anticipate the way in which Dr. Peabody was to grow into the place, or the degree in which his influence was destined to pervade the Cambridge atmosphere like sunshine, doing more, perhaps, than any other single cause to soften and change the temper of mutual antagonism and mutual distrust, which largely affected the relations of the Faculty and the students.

The years of Dr. Peabody's incumbency of the one position which was created to be mediatorial between the two elements witnessed a change for the better, greater than had been wrought in the two previous centuries.

The proper official work of the Plummer Professorship had included the duties of preacher to the university and some slight teaching of each class at the beginning of the Freshmen and at the end of the Senior year, while the pulpit services were lightened by being assumed by the president (when he was a clergyman) on one Sunday of each month. Except during the presidency of Dr. Hill, however, the burden of the university pulpit now fell wholly upon Dr. Peabody, and for twenty-one years was so borne as to keep that distinguished place at the height of its reputation as the voice in sacred things of the mother and chief of American colleges.

The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on Dr. Peabody by the University of Rochester in 1863.

The publications of Dr. Peabody during the period after his removal to Cambridge may be noted here. In 1861 he delivered and published a course of lectures before the Lowell Institute, entitled, "Christianity the Religion of Nature," and in 1873 a volume of sermons on "Christian Belief and Life." Besides a multitude of single sermons, lectures, orations, discussions in the reviews of great questions of public interest and memoirs of distinguished persons, the following volumes have also been given to the public by him: "Manual of Moral Philosophy," 1872; "Christianity and Science," a series of lectures delivered in New York in 1874 on the Ely foundation of the Union Theological Seminary, 1874. The Baccalaureate sermons, which he preached to successive classes on the Sunday before Commencement, and which were long a marked feature of academic life, were gathered up in a volume, embracing those preached in successive years from 1861 to 1883, when the emeritus professor might well have supposed that his long service in the interesting duty was ended; but in 1885 and 1886 the graduating classes still felt that from no other could they ask the farewell word in behalf of their *alma mater*. A part of the fruit of his ethical instruction in the divinity school and in the college appeared in his translations of "Cicero's De Officiis De Senectute, De Amicitiâ and the Tusculan Disputation," published in 1883–4–6, and of "Plutarch's De Serâ Numis Vindicta," published in 1885. In 1887 he published further fruits of his college teaching in the valuable work on "Moral Philosophy," which embodies a portion of the lectures given by him to the Senior Class in college and in the divinity school at Meadville, Pa.

The Cambridge life devolved upon Dr. Peabody, beyond the duties of his professorship, not a few such obligations as seek a public-spirited citizen with heavy demands upon his time. On the School

Committee he gave many years of service, and in other matters which furthered the cause of good government of the city he was never backward. Only an exceptional endowment of health and a bodily frame strong as iron, which was able to bear habitual labor far into the small hours of the night, could have endured the toil.

As a teacher the work which fell into his strong and willing hands naturally broadened more and more. The subject of ethics belonged strictly to his department as religious teacher, but in addition he taught logic and political economy until the appointment of Professor Dunbar, and had the care of the Senior forensics for some years, also filling gaps when they occurred in the college and in the divinity school. A portion of this labor bore fruit in several of his printed works.

Meantime, the friendly and fatherly relation in which he stood to the students had beneficent results. When the wise generosity of Mr. Nathaniel Thayer provided the means for reviving in a better form the old "Commons," furnishing good food to the great mass of the students for a moderate sum, the task of organizing this large enterprise was undertaken by Dr. Peabody, until he had proved that it was a wise experiment and had established it on a permanent basis at the public tables of Memorial Hall. The thoughtful and abounding private charities which sought his aid as almoner in finding and relieving needy students—a form of college benefit which escapes all public record—were very great in amount, and were alone sufficient to occupy much of the time of a busy man. It would be impossible to overstate the quantity and quality of his service in personal and private relations, as adviser and confidential friend to the multitude of young men who sought his help in any kind of trouble, and never sought in vain. For all this, the unsolicited reward of a love and veneration such as it is the privilege of few to win was poured forth upon him. No one can have heard without a thrill the cheers, ringing with the enthusiasm of youth and of personal affection, which greeted the mention of his name, or welcomed his presence on all public occasions of the university. The Plummer Professorship also offered an opportunity to bring the university into religious relations with the whole community by making its pulpit not the property of a single sect, but hospitable to all branches of the Protestant Church, which Dr. Peabody's large and sympathetic Christian temper fulfilled to the utmost. While himself recognized as a leader in his own denomination, he had the gift of winning the Christian fellowship and conciliating by his own reconciling spirit the friendly respect of churchmen of all names, welcoming them to the College Chapel and being welcomed as a preacher in their pulpits, while he was sought to give addresses on the public days of the theological schools of Newton, Bangor and Andover, representing various Christian bodies, and the Catholic system of administration of religion in Harvard University, introduced in 1885, in which a group of the ablest preachers of different churches are associated in the care of spiritual interests, which are recognized to be so large and various as to demand their united care, is the legitimate outgrowth of the spirit in which Dr. Peabody admitted this great religious opportunity. The most important part of Dr. Peabody's public services at Cambridge still remains to be mentioned. The death of President Felton, in February, 1862, not only removed his closest personal friend in the college, but devolved upon him the most laborious and responsible duties as head of the university, being appointed by the corporation acting president, and discharging the duties of that office until the installation of President Hill, late in the following autumn. On the resignation of Dr. Hill, in September, 1868, he was again called to the same responsibility, and continued to preside over the university until the inauguration of President Eliot. The success of Dr. Peabody as an administrator was marked, and it seemed natural that he should have been elected to the permanent incumbency of the office which he adorned. The strong secular tendency in college affairs had, however, predetermined that the office should not be held in any event by a clergyman.

In these very important duties Dr. Peabody remained at his post for twenty-one years, with an interval of travel in Europe from June, 1867, to March, 1868, which he accomplished by compressing the work of two terms into that of a single one after his return, and of which he published, in 1867, a record in his "Reminiscences of European Travel." A briefer visit to Russia and the neighboring countries, in which he shared the hospitalities enjoyed by General Grant, was made by him in the summer of 1876, and a longer sojourn in Europe with his family after resigning the Plummer Professorship, from June, 1881, to September, 1882.

His resignation had gone into effect after the Commencement of 1881, but he was at once appointed professor emeritus, retiring from the burdens of his official position, but in no sense from his place in the heart of the college, nor from the opportunities of service which awaited him. The key-note of Dr. Peabody's public services is given in the paper already quoted, where he mentions three biographies to which he has been specially indebted. The first is that of Niebuhr:

"If I have been able in things secular and sacred as to reports of current and records of past events to steer a safe way between credulity and scepticism I owe it in great part not to Niebuhr's 'History of Rome,' but to the virtual autobiography that gives shape and vividness to his 'Memoir.' If I remember aright he expressed his confidence in the substantial authenticity of our canonical gospels, and I owe largely to him my firm faith and trust in them.

"I would next name the 'Life of Thomas Arnold.' When I read it I was pastor of a large parish, with many young persons under my charge and influence, and I was at the same time chairman of a school board. I had no need of Arnold to awaken my sympathy with young



Alexander McKenzie

life, but he has helped me to understand it better and to minister more intelligently and efficiently to its needs and cravings. His 'Rugby Sermons' have a great charm for me, and while I have not been guilty of the absurd and vain attempt to imitate them, I have felt their inspiration both in the pulpit and in the lecture-room. My third biography is that of Dr. Chalmers' fruitful and beneficent example in more directions than could be easily specified, but to me of peculiar service in his relation to poverty in Glasgow, with its attendant evils and vices. In his mode of relieving want in person and in kind, of bringing preventive measures to bear on the potential nurseries of crime and of enlisting the stronger in the aid and comfort of the feebler members of the community, I found many valuable suggestions for the local charities which came under my direction while I was a parish minister."

It is allotted to few men to fulfill with conspicuous ability so many and various kinds of public service as have fallen to the lot of Dr. Peabody. As a parish minister, building up his church in the prosperity of numbers and in the better welfare of a spiritual growth, never stronger in his hold on the affections of his people than when he parted from them, and always remaining the pastor of their affectionate regard—as a preacher, devout, earnest, persuasive, a powerful expounder of the truth of the gospel, and never more effective or listened to with more interest than in the years after he had passed threescore and ten—as a theologian strong in his grasp and luminous in his statement of the central verities of Christianity—as an ethical and moral teacher, lucid, eloquent and convincing—as the incumbent of the most difficult position in Harvard College, turning its difficulties into unrivaled opportunities, and creating an exceptional work—as a successful administrator, numbered among the honored heads of the university, it has been his to win the love and reverence of the successive generations among whom his work has been wrought from youth to age.

REV. ALEXANDER McKENZIE, D.D.[1]

Alexander McKenzie, son of Daniel and Phebe McKenzie, was born in New Bedford, Mass., December 14, 1830.

Passing through the public schools of New Bedford, he fitted for college at Phillips Academy, Andover; was graduated at Harvard College in 1859; entered Andover Theological Seminary in 1859, graduating therefrom in 1861; was ordained in Augusta, Me., August 28, 1861, and installed as pastor of the South Church of that city, where he remained till January, 1867. He was installed pastor of the First Church, Cambridge, Mass., January 24, 1867, where he still labors.

Previous to his entering Harvard he was engaged a short time as a clerk in a store in New Bedford; also four years with Lawrence Stone & Co., manufacturers and commission merchants, Milk Street, Boston. Mr. McKenzie was married, January 25, 1865, in Fitchburg, to Ellen H., daughter of John Henry and Martha Holman Eveleth. Of this union are two children, Kenneth and Margaret. He received the degree of D.D. from Amherst College, 1879. Of the various offices he has held the following are the more prominent: Trustee of Bowdoin College, 1866–68; member of Cambridge School Committee, 1868–74; overseer of Harvard College, 1872–84; secretary of overseers of Harvard College, 1875; trustee of Phillips Academy, Andover, 1876; trustee of Cambridge Hospital, 1876; president Congregational Club, Boston, 1880; member of Massachusetts Historical Society, 1881; lecturer at Andover Theological Seminary, 1881–82; lecturer at Harvard Divinity School, 1882; trustee of Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va., 1885; trustee of Wellesley College, 1883; preacher to Harvard College, 1886; president of Boston Port and Seamen's Aid Society, 1886. Mr. McKenzie is a preacher and a lecturer of national reputation. The list of his publications is long and varied. Among his books the most extensively read are, perhaps, "History of the First Church in Cambridge," "Cambridge Sermons," "Some Things Abroad." A few of his pamphlets are, "Addresses at the Dedication of the Soldiers' Monument in Cambridge" (1870), "Oration at the Centennial of Phillips Academy" (1878), "Sermon before the Legislature of Massachusetts" (1879), "Oration at the Commencement at Smith College" (1881), "Sermon at the 250th Anniversary of the First Church in Charlestown" (1882), "Sermon at the 250th Anniversary of Cambridge" (1886), "Sermon at the 20th Anniversary of his Installation" (1887), and "Sermon in Memory of Professor Asa Gray" (1888).

[1] From Rand's "One in One Thousand."

JOHN LANGDON SIBLEY.

John Langdon Sibley was born at Union, Maine, December 29, 1804, and was the eldest child of Jonathan and Persis (Morse) Sibley. The name Sibley is supposed to be compounded from the word *sib*, which denotes kindred and also peace, and *lea*, which means field. Peace-field is, therefore, not an improbable signification; and like many English surnames, it may have originated in some incident of local history of which there remains no other memorial. The arms of the family, according to Burke, are "Per pale azure, and gules a griffin passant between three crescents argent." The name is found in records of several counties in England as far back as the thirteenth century. The first person of the name who is known to have come to America was John Sybley, who arrived at Salem in 1629 and became a citizen of Charlestown. Richard, the ancestor of the subject of this sketch, is supposed to have been the son of John. In the fourth generation from Richard was Jonathan, who was born in Hopkinton, New Hampshire, in 1773, studied medicine with Dr. Carrigan, of Concord, New Hampshire; in his time a man of high and extended reputation; received in 1799 the earliest diploma given by the New Hampshire Medical Society. In the autumn of 1799 he settled in Union in the

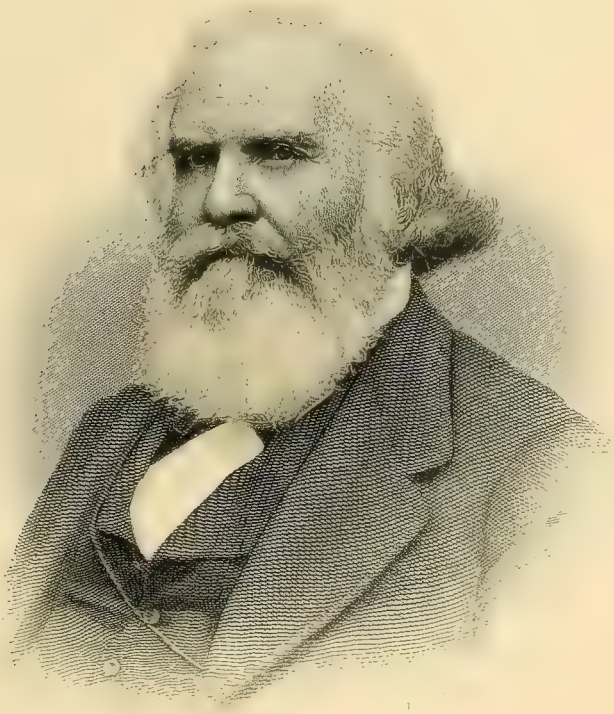
then District of Maine, a town at that time of less than six hundred inhabitants, and was the first, and for nearly forty years the only physician resident there.

In 1803 he married Persis Morse, of Sherburne, Massachusetts, who had two brothers already residents of Union. She was born in 1772 and died in 1847. Dr. Sibley had a practice more extensive than lucrative, his patients being scattered over a large and very sparsely-settled rural district. While successful and justly prized as a physician, he was favorably known as an occasional contributor to the principal medical journal in Boston. He occupied a prominent place in the life of the little community that grew up around him, held for many years a commission as justice of the peace under the governments, successively, of Massachusetts and of Maine, and took a leading part in all enterprises for the general good. He was in every respect a man of exemplary character, and is especially remembered for his inflexible integrity. As a father he was affectionate and self-sacrificing, yet at the same time a rigid disciplinarian of the earlier type, and especially strenuous in exacting of his sons the maximum of study and of school-work.

We append the following from the pen of Rev. A. P. Peabody, by permission of Houghton, Mifflin & Co.:

"No form was more identified with Harvard College in the memory of hundreds of graduates than that of John Langdon Sibley. Of the eighty-one years of his life, sixty were spent in Cambridge, forty-four as a member of the University, and thirty-seven in its official service; while with the title of Librarian Emeritus conferred on him when he could no longer perform the active duties which were his delight, his name appeared in fifty annual catalogues. His father was a physician in Union, Me., with excellent reputation, both professional and personal, and with a practice more extensive than gainful. He craved a liberal education for his eldest son, and learning of the beneficiary provisions at Exeter for students of promise, he sought this aid to supplement his own slender resources. Of the sacrifices that he made in his son's behalf, some estimate may be formed from his having postponed the purchase of his first pair of spectacles, after he had begun to need them, in order to furnish his son with the means of buying a Greek lexicon.

"Young Sibley must have maintained a blameless character and a high standard of scholarship at Exeter, else he would have been dropped from the foundation, which, from the first, has never given a foothold to youth who could not or would not do it honor. He entered college at the age of seventeen, was a close student, held a high rank in his class, and received honorable appointments at both junior and senior exhibitions, and on graduating. At the same time he provided in various ways for his own support, in his first year as president's freshman, with the duty of carrying messages and notes on college business from the president to officers and members of the college; in subsequent years, probably by keeping a winter school, in accordance with the general custom of all the students who were not from the South, or from rich families; certainly by giving instruction in sacred music, and by working in the library. Immediately after graduating, Mr. Sibley entered the Divinity School, and was, at the same time, appointed assistant librarian, on a salary of $150, (his principal receiving only twice that sum), and serving at the same time as instructor in Italian. At the end of a year the librarian's salary was doubled on the appointment of a man who was to devote his whole time to the office, and to dispense with the services of an assistant. Mr. Sibley pursued his course of theological study, and in 1829 was settled as a minister at Stow, Massachusetts, where he remained four years. With a strong home-love for Cambridge, and especially for the library, on leaving Stow he hired a room in Divinity Hall, which he occupied for thirty-three years; and, though he was engaged in editorial labor, he rendered such aid to the librarian as his other pursuits permitted. In 1841, when the library was removed from Harvard to Gore Hall, the old office of assistant librarian was necessarily revived, and he was appointed to fill it. In 1856, on the death of Dr. Harris, he became librarian-in-chief, and so remained till, in 1877, age and infirmity compelled his resignation. During his administration, and mainly through his agency, the number of books in the library, and the funds available for its increase, were fully quadrupled. Very many sources of supply for old books and pamphlets, local histories and rare editions, were discovered by his enterprise; and not a few of the most valuable benefactions were elicited by such friendly attentions and kindnesses on his part as gave good promise of fruitful returns. He also edited the Annual Catalogue of the College for twenty years, and prepared no less than ten Triennial Catalogues, which required constant vigilance and extensive correspondence throughout the years intervening between each and the following issue, and which, under his hands, attained a degree of accuracy entirely unprecedented. For fifteen years, too, he issued on Commencement week a complete Harvard Necrology, including under each name such salient dates and facts in the life record as reached him by means of information, which he kept in constant employment, and from which he made and preserved copious minutes. But Mr. Sibley's greatest and most enduring service to the college is his 'Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard College.' Of this work he completed three large octavo volumes, the third volume including the class of 1689 and brought to a close with the last remnant of working power which remained to him from the incessant toil of nearly fourscore years. This labor was performed under what to many men would have seemed physical inability.



John Langdon Sibley.

He was operated upon for cataract in both eyes at different times, and, though these operations were reckoned as successful, his restoration was by no means so complete as to render the consulting of unfamiliar manuscripts, ill-printed documents, and matter sometimes almost illegible, otherwise than painful and intensely wearisome. Yet he left no source of information without drawing from it all that it could furnish, and was careful to reproduce whatever he transcribed, in all the minutiæ of spelling, punctuation and *italics*, with literal exactness. The work could not have been better done, nor so well by any other man, nor yet at a later time; for the memorials, written and traditional, of our Colonial days are constantly dropping out of sight and out of mind, and so fast an age as ours is as prone to forget, as our fathers were solicitous to remember, the past. The time is not far distant when these volumes will be the sole extant authority for a large proportion of their contents, and, sent down to coming generations with the seal of anthenticity which our own impresses upon them, they will have a growing interest and value as long as the college shall stand. In 1860 Mr. Sibley's father died, leaving to him, his only surviving child, the entire savings of his long life of self-denying industry, with the one exception of a legacy of $100 to Phillips Exeter Academy. The property thus left amounted to less than $5000. Mr. Sibley gave the whole of it to the academy and subsequently added more than twice that sum, creating a fund which, by his provision, was to accumulate under certain prescribed conditions and limitations. A part of the income of this fund is already in use, while the capital amounts to more than $40,000. Mr. Sibley directed that his name should be strictly concealed, but was induced, in the hope that other benefactors might be won by his example, to permit the secret to be divulged at an academic festival in 1872. On that occasion Dr. Palfrey presided. Mr. Sibley was present, and, when the announcement was made, was forced upon his feet by shouts of applause. In a speech of rare *naïveté*, pathos and unstudied eloquence, with a modesty and filial piety that disclaimed all praise for himself, and won from all who heard him the most reverent regard for his parents, he told the story of his early life, of his native home and of the patient and loving toil and sacrifice of those to whose memory he wished to dedicate the Sibley fund. Of his gift he made small account; but this speech, probably the only speech of any length that he ever made, remained with him the great event of his life; and he never ceased to congratulate himself on its success.

"In Mr. Sibley's character integrity bore a conspicuous part; and by this I do not mean mere honesty in the narrower sense of the word, but also conscientious accuracy, truthfulness and justice in all the details of thought, word and deed. He would be lavish of time and of money, if need were, in determining an obscure date, or the proper orthography of an unimportant name, simply because he deemed it wrong to state what he did not know, or to omit, in any work which he undertook, the full statement of all that he could know. Closely economical in personal expenditure, Mr. Sibley was generous to every one but himself. Many poor students owed to him their ability to remain on college ground. There were persons who for years depended on such subsidies as he gave them to eke out their slender income. From his home and table, poor homes and meagrely-spread tables received liberal supplies. His hospitality was often extended for weeks and months to those whose only claim was their need. Without parade or ostentation he welcomed every opportunity for doing good; and I doubt whether there was ever a year, for the last half of his life, when he did not spend more for others than for himself. It was a characteristic trait that he gave special directions that his funeral should be as simple and inexpensive as was consistent with propriety, and that the amount thus saved should be given to the poor. In his home life, which began not till 1866, he accounted himself, and with good reason, pre-eminently happy; his wife, having been in full sympathy with him in his benevolent purposes, and still deeming it her happiness to employ the income of his estate in precisely the offices of kindness and charity which it was his joy to render![1] As a friend he was true and loyal.

"In dress, manners, appearance and personal habits he preserved to the last much of the simplicity and many of the unconventional ways of his rural birthplace and his early life; but there was in him the very soul of courtesy, and those who knew him best had often fresh surprises in his fineness and delicacy of feeling, his tenderness for the sensibility of others, and his choice of such modes of performing kind acts as might best keep himself in the background and ward off the painful sense of obligation. The last few months of Mr. Sibley's life were a season of debility and suffering, with few and brief intervals of relief. In the early summer of 1885 there was a slight improvement, and he cherished a strong hope that he might be able to officiate as chorister in the singing of St. Martin's at the Commencement dinner, an office which, as the successor of Dr. Pierce, he had filled for thirty-six years. But, as the day approached, he became himself aware, as those about him had been previously, that such an effort was beyond his ability. From that time he was confined for the most part to his room, and gradually lost his hold on passing events and his interest in the outside world. The closing hours often seemed very near, but with a natively strong constitution, unimpaired by luxury, indulgence or indolence, he resisted and overcame repeated paroxysms of disease that threatened an

[1] Mrs. Sibley, who has become a resident of Groton, on leaving Cambridge, gave the house and estate in Phillips Place, bought by her at the time of her marriage, and thus her own separate property, to Cambridge Hospital.

immediately fatal issue. His illness had every alleviation and comfort that could be afforded by the most assiduous, skillful and loving care, and if death was ever thus kept at bay, it was so in his case for weeks and months. He died near the close of the year 1885. It was a matter of universal surprise that Mr. Sibley died a rich man. No one could have been more surprised than he would have been, for his property was worth at least three times what he supposed it to be. When he gave the last instalment of his Exeter fund, he had less property remaining than he had bestowed on the academy. But about that time he put all that he possessed into the hands of a friend, under whose prudent care and lucrative investments there was a marvelously rapid increase, entirely beyond his knowledge or anticipation. He left all his property to his wife, with the provision that whatever she might not expend or dispose of in her lifetime should pass into the fund of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and that a suitable portion of the income should then be employed in the continuation of his great biographical work."

WILLIAM PARMENTER.

William Parmenter, a direct descendant of John Parmenter, who was one of the original proprietors of Sudbury, Middlesex County, was born in Boston, March 30, 1789. He was educated in the public schools and graduated at the Boston Latin School, where he received a Franklin medal. He completed a mercantile education with the firm of Pratt & Andrews, merchants, in Boston; was in trade a few years; and during the War of 1812 and for some years afterward was the chief clerk of Amos Binney, Navy Agent. While in this employment he acquired a knowledge of the navy, and an acquaintance with many of its leading officers, enabling him to furnish articles on naval topics for the press which were extensively copied. In 1824 he removed to East Cambridge, a part of Cambridge, having been appointed agent and manager of the New England Crown Glass Company, a corporation established at that place for the manufacture of window-glass. He continued in this business until 1836; and meanwhile, from time to time, was elected to public offices, those of selectman of the town, Representative and Senator in the Massachusetts Legislature. He was also president of the Middlesex Bank from its organization until 1836. In that year he was elected a member of the United States House of Representatives, and by re-election remained in Congress four terms, ending March, 1845. He had early taken an interest in politics and was known as an influential member of the Democratic party. For most of his Congressional life he was the only Democratic member from Massachusetts. Among his colleagues were John Quincy Adams, Robert C. Winthrop, Leverett Saltonstall and Caleb Cushing. He sometimes departed from the party policy; for example, on the tariff question he favored protection, and he was alluded to by Mr. Webster, in a speech in Faneuil Hall, as having by his vote secured the passage of the tariff act of 1842. He served chiefly on the Committee on Naval Affairs, of which he was for several terms a member, and when his party was in the ascendency, the chairman. For this duty his experience had given him an especial qualification. He was a ready and practiced speaker, and took share in debate. Then, in that part of the duty of a member of Congress which includes attention to the interests which his constituents may have at the Capitol, there was occasion for service on the part of Mr. Parmenter beyond his own district, inasmuch as the nearness of his residence to Boston and his position as a manufacturer had so identified him with the business men of that city, that his correspondence with them was almost as frequent and extensive as if he had been their immediate representative.

On leaving Congress he was appointed Naval Officer of the port of Boston, and held that office four years. On his retirement he still kept his residence in Cambridge, but was not engaged in business or office other than in official supervision of some of the county institutions until his decease, which occurred February 25, 1866. He was mainly occupied with his private affairs, and took but little action in politics. The outbreak of the Civil War in his advanced years seriously affected his health and spirits, but he was outspoken in support of the Federal administration and the prosecution of the war.

He was a man of impressive bearing and presence, of intelligence and wide information, conservative in opinions, cautious in judgment. He was at times called to preside as moderator at the large and occasionally excited town-meetings which preceded the constitution of Cambridge as a city, and for this duty he had an unusual aptitude.

He married, in 1815, Mary Parker, a daughter of Thomas Parker, of Boston, and from this marriage there were eight children—three sons and five daughters—of whom three, one son and two daughters, are now living. His youngest son, Dr. Ezra Parmenter, born March 20, 1823, died January 31, 1883, was a resident of Cambridge, and held the offices of overseer of the poor, member of the City Council, mayor, and for a number of years bridge commissioner. He was also for two terms a Representative and two terms a Senator in the General Court.

JAMES AUGUSTUS FOX.

Hon. James Augustus Fox, of Cambridge, is a prominent and public-spirited citizen of Middlesex County, who has placed his impress upon society in several of its more important interests—civil, military, literary or benevolent.

He is the son of George Howe and Emily (Wyatt) Fox, and was born in Boston, August 11, 1827. Mr.



Thos Ransome



James N. Fox

Fox traces his ancestry on the paternal side to the ancient family of his name in Lincolnshire, England, in which is included the renowned Oxford scholar—the author of the famous "Book of Martyrs;" and on the maternal side to the eminent Scottish family of Forbes.

In his youth he attended the Mayhew school of Boston, and subsequently finished his academical education at the classical school of Mr. Amos Baker, which was then located in the "old South Chapel," on Spring Lane, where he acquired "little Latin and less Greek."

Owing to the connection of his father in a business capacity with the old Tremont Theatre, his earliest recollections are associated with the dramatic art. At first being carried upon the stage as an infant-in-arms, next as Cora's child, with Edwin Forrest and others as "Rolla," then lisping the pathetic lines of one of the little "Children in the Wood" in a dramatic adaptation of the well-known nursery story, and later as the youthful Duke of York, one of the unfortunate princes who were smothered in the Tower of London, as illustrated in Shakespeare's tragedy of Richard III., he filled out two of the immortal bard's "Seven Ages," playing many parts, through the entire range of juvenile characters incident to the dramatic productions in vogue half a century ago.

His interest in the histrionic profession continued until his twentieth year, during which period he enacted a large and varied number of prominent parts—"from grave to gay, from lively to severe"—as that of *Mercutio* in Shakespeare's "Romeo and Juliet," and one of the grave-diggers in "Hamlet;" from *Jaques* in "As You Like It," to one of the witches in Macbeth; from young *Wilford* in Colman's "Iron Chest" to *Sergeant Austerlitz* in "The Maid of Croissey," and from the youthful *King Charles* in "Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady," to the ancient *Philip Gabois* in the drama of "One Hundred and Two;" and in this wide diversity of characters evincing a rare genius and capacity for one so young.

Subsequent to this time he prepared himself for his life profession at the Law School of Harvard University, and in the office of the late Hon. John C. Park. In the year 1854 he was admitted to the Suffolk bar, and commenced practice in the courts of the State.

In 1848 he married Julia Elizabeth, daughter of Col. James and Julia (Sterry) Valentine, of Providence, R. I., and the granddaughter of William and Elizabeth (Borden) Valentine, of Fall River. Her grandfather was one of the original projectors of the extensive manufacturing enterprises of that city. She died in 1872, leaving three daughters, viz.: Henrietta (Fox) Macdonald, Julia (Fox) Webber, and Lillian Valentine (Fox) Wakefield. The eldest married Mr. William Macdonald, of Cambridge, and has five children, viz.: Elfrida Valentine, William Valentine, James Fox, Jessie Valentine and Malcolm Valentine McDonald. The second married Dr. George A. Webber, of Manchester, Mass., and the youngest was united in marriage, in 1889, to Horace Wakefield, M.D., of London, England.

The opening of the War of the Rebellion in 1861 found him in the active practice of his profession. During the six years previous he had an extended experience in the regular militia of the State, having risen from the ranks to the command of the Boston City Guards—an excellent school of the soldier.

This company was the nucleus of the Thirteenth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers during the war; and as captain of Company "A" of that regiment, he left Boston for the front on July 29, 1861. Captain Fox served in the perilous campaigns of Virginia during the remainder of that year, and in 1862 receiving the commendation of his superior officers and the respect and love of the entire regiment.

Since the war he has been elected president of the Thirteenth Regiment Association for several terms; and he is also a member of the Military Order Loyal Legion of the United States.

He early identified himself with the Grand Army of the Republic, and has continued an interested member of that organization as a comrade of John A. Andrew Post, No. 15, of Boston, since 1868, and in 1890 was its commander.

His addresses given on several Memorial Day occasions, and especially one entitled "The Two Civilizations" (which has been published), and another delivered upon the decisive battle-field of Gettysburg at the dedication of the color-bearer's statue of the Thirteenth Massachusetts Regiment, are scholarly and eloquent productions which have attracted marked attention.

He was commander of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts in 1864-65, as also one of the appointed delegates of that corps at the 350th anniversary of the Honorable Artillery Company of London—the parent of the American corps—celebrated during the jubilee season of Queen Victoria, in June, 1887, on which occasion he enjoyed the hospitality of that organization, including the distinguished honor of a presentation at the Court of St. James.

In several of the prominent beneficial orders of the country, so benign in their operations, he occupies a prominent and deserved position, being a member of the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows, in an advanced rank in the Improved Order of Red Men, and having been at the head of the Knights of Pythias, serving with much acceptance as Grand Chancellor of Massachusetts. In this organization he is one of the two representatives to the Supreme Lodge, and judge-advocate-general upon the staff of Major-General Carnahan, of Indiana, the commander of the Uniform Rank Knights of Pythias. In the world-wide institution of Free Masonry he has attained the very highest grade. Commencing with the "blue lodge," he has advanced through all the series of degrees of

the York and Scottish rites—the chapter, cryptic masonry, the commandery (K. T.), the consistory, unto the sovereign grand inspector-generalship of the thirty-third and last degree, and in many of these he had served as the presiding officer.

In civil life and service Mr. Fox has had a somewhat extended experience. Commencing as a member of the School Committee of Boston, upon which he served three years, he was next elected to the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, in 1867 and '68, representing one of the districts of the city. In 1870 and '71 he was a member of the Honorable Senate in which he served upon the Committees on Probate and Chancery, Military Affairs, and the joint select committee to investigate the State constabulary. While a member of this body he established a reputation (previously given promise of) as a graceful and proficient orator, especially by delivering a glowing tribute to Major-General George H. Thomas, then lately deceased.

Removing to the university city in 1872, he was called to serve in the Aldermanic Board, and subsequently as mayor of Cambridge for four consecutive terms, in all a merited tribute to the ability with which he has discharged the duties of these positions.

His knowledge of parliamentary proceedings, his dignity and tact as a presiding officer, his power to grasp the salient points of a question under discussion, his correct judgment in financial matters, all these attest a clear and comprehensive mind and decided executive ability.

In the varied relations of life, as a legislator, soldier, orator, officer of potential beneficent organizations, and as the chief magistrate of a large and cultured municipality, he has ever performed his duties with fidelity and general acceptation.

COLONEL AUSTIN C. WELLINGTON.

Austin C. Wellington, son of Jonas Clark and Harriet E. (Bosworth) Wellington, was born in Lexington, Mass., July 17, 1840. He was educated in Lexington, where he remained until 1856, when he removed to Cambridge and entered the employ of S. G. Bowdlear & Co., flour merchants, of Boston, as book-keeper.

In August, 1862, he enlisted in Company F, Thirty-eighth Massachusetts Volunteers, and participated in the following battles: Bisland, sieges of Port Hudson, Cane River Ford, Mansura, Opequan, Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek. As a soldier he was respected and beloved by his comrades in the field, and at a very early day was selected for promotion. He was mustered out June 30, 1865, being, at that time, acting adjutant of his regiment.

Upon his return to private life he engaged in the coal business, which he continued with success until his death, which occurred September 18, 1888.

June 30, 1869, he united in marriage with Carolina L. Fisher, daughter of George and Hannah C. (Teele) Fisher, of Cambridge. Ten years later his wife died, and November 29, 1887, he married Sarah Cordelie Fisher, a sister of his first wife.

Colonel Wellington was public-spirited and of a social temperament. He was fond of reading and declamation. He was secretary of the Irving Literary Society, of Cambridge, in 1861; was a member of the Cambridge Shakespeare Club from 1865 to his death; director in the Mercantile Library Association, of Boston, in 1871, and later its president. He was a member of the House of Representatives in 1875 and 1876 and on the Military Committee. He was a member of the Art Club, of Boston; of the New England Club, Electric Club, and vice-president of the Central Club. He was treasurer and general manager of the A. C. Wellington Coal Co., chairman of the Boston Coal Exchange and president of the Charles River Towing Company.

Colonel Wellington was fond of music and had a fine, sympathetic baritone voice. He was a member of the Handel and Haydn Society, also of the Cecilia Club, both vocal musical associations in Boston.

Notwithstanding the prominent position Colonel Wellington occupied in social, musical and business life, the distinguishing feature, doubtless, of his career was his brilliant record in the Massachusetts volunteer militia. May 2, 1870, he entered the service as captain of the Boston Light Infantry, otherwise known as the famous "Tigers," being Company A of the Seventh Regiment. While captain of this company his command rendered efficient service at the great Boston fire in 1872, and he brought his company to such a state of perfection that in 1873 he was elected major of the First Battalion, known later as the Fourth Battalion, which, under his leadership, became widely known as one of the crack organizations of the State, and at the general inspection of the militia forces of Massachusetts, in 1878, this battalion ranked the highest for general military excellence among the regular military organizations. February 24, 1882, he was elected colonel of the First Regiment, and the record of this regiment from the time Colonel Wellington assumed command until his untimely death was brilliant and unparalleled, and what it accomplished at home and abroad was due almost wholly to the untiring zeal of its gallant commander, who instilled into the regiment an *esprit de corps* which had not before existed. Its record at the funeral of General Grant in New York in 1885, and at the Constitutional celebration in Philadelphia in 1887 will long be remembered. At the Grant funeral, with Colonel Wellington at its head, it was not second to any military body in the line.

One of the greatest achievements of Colonel Wellington was his brilliant management of the Soldiers' Home carnival five years ago. That was a work of great magnitude, requiring tireless attention and great executive ability.

Colonel Wellington was also deeply interested in

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Austin C. Millington

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graduated . . . as appointed adju
resident in Portsmouth, he was sent as a repre- | tant of the [illegible] egiment of Massachusetts militia

Grand Army matters. He was a comrade of Post 15 in 1867, commander of Post 30 in 1873 and of Post 113 in 1887–88. He was also inspector-general of the Grand Army for the Department of Massachusetts. He was also a trustee of the Massachusetts Soldiers' Home.

Colonel Wellington had a dauntless, martial spirit, a gentle heart, unmindful of self-considerate of others, and at his death passed away one of Massachusetts' most honored citizens.

EDWARD WINSLOW HINCKS.

Edward Winslow Hincks was born in Bucksport, Me., May 30, 1830. He was the son of Captain Elisha Hincks, who was born in Provincetown, Mass., September 28, 1800, and who was lost at sea January 14, 1831. In 1802 the father of Elisha removed with his family to Buckstown (now Bucksport), and there Elisha was brought up, and married, October 9, 1824, Elizabeth Hopkins, daughter of Ephraim and Hannah (Rich) Wentworth, of Orrington, Me., and had the following children: Temperance Ann, April 23, 1826; Elisha Albert, May 1, 1828; Edward Winslow, May 30, 1830.

The father of Elisha was Elisha Hincks, who was born in Truro, Mass., July 14, 1774, and died in North Bucksport, Me., March 15, 1851. In early life he followed the sea, but in April, 1802, he, with his family and brothers—Winslow and Jesse—removed from Provincetown, where they then lived, to Buckstown (now Bucksport), Me. There he bought wild land, which he cleared and improved, and on which he died. He married, first, in March, 1796, Temperance, daughter of Sylvanus and Hannah (Cole) Smith, of Eastham, Mass., and had Anna, born in Provincetown, January 11, 1797. He married, second, December 22, 1799, Mary, daughter of Nathaniel and Anna (Rich) Treat, of Truro, and had Elisha, September 28, 1800; Temperance Smith, born in Bucksport June 24, 1803; Mary, July 30, 1805; Sarah, January 30, 1807; William Treat, March 30, 1809; Sylvanus Treat, November 21, 1810; Hannah, August 5, 1812; Naomi, May 16, 1816; Ezekiel Franklin, August 10, 1820.

The father of the last Elisha was Samuel Hinckes, who was born in Portsmouth, N. H., about 1718, and shortly removed with his father to Boston, and there lived until 1753. He afterwards taught school in Truro, where he married, about 1756, Susanna, daughter of Jonathan Dyer, of Truro, and where he continued to live until 1795, when he removed to Bucksport, and there died in 1806.

The father of Samuel was Captain Samuel Hinckes, who was born in Portsmouth, N. H., at an unknown date, and graduated at Harvard in 1701. In 1716, while a resident in Portsmouth, he was sent as a representative of the Province of New Hampshire to the Indians at the eastward, was a captain in the Indian Wars and commanded Fort Mary, at Winter Harbor, from 1722 to 1727, when he removed to Boston. He died in Portsmouth shortly after 1753. He married Elizabeth (Winslow) Scott, a widow, previous to 1715. Elizabeth Winslow was a daughter of Edward and Elizabeth (Hutchinson) Winslow, and granddaughter of John Winslow, who married Mary Chilton, one of the passengers in the "Mayflower."

The father of the last Samuel was John Hinckes, who came from England about 1670, who was Councilor for the Province of New Hampshire, and assistant in the Court of Chancery from 1683 to May 25, 1686, when he became a Councilor in the government of President Joseph Dudley, having been named for the office by James the Second, in his commission to Dudley, dated October 8, 1685. He was also chief justice of the Court of Pleas and General Sessions in New Hampshire from 1686 to 1689. In 1692 he was named as Councilor of New Hampshire and made president of the Council. In 1699 he was appointed chief justice of the Superior Court, and remained in office as Councilor and chief justice until 1707. He was living in New Castle, N. H., in 1722, and had deceased April 25, 1734. He married, at an unknown date, Elizabeth, daughter of Nathaniel and Christian Fryer, and had Samuel, a daughter who married a Gross, Christian, Barbara Sarah and probably Elizabeth.

Edward Winslow Hincks, the subject of this sketch, having received the rudiments of his education in the public schools of his native town, in 1845, at fifteen years of age, removed from Bucksport to Bangor, Me., where he served as an apprentice in the office of the *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier* until 1849, when he removed to Boston, where he was engaged in the printing and publishing business until 1856. He was a Representative from the city of Boston in the Legislature of 1855, and in the same year was a member of the City Council from the Third Ward. Early in 1856 he was appointed a clerk in the office of the secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and prepared for publication the State census of 1855. He remained in the secretary's office until the firing upon Fort Sumter, employing his leisure hours in the study of law, with the intention of making that his profession, being encouraged and assisted in his purpose by Hon. Anson Burlingame, of whom he was an ardent friend and supporter. Having removed to Lynn in 1856, he was chosen librarian of the Lynn Library Association, and until the outbreak of the war actively promoted the interests of that organization, whose collection of books subsequently became the nucleus of the present Public Library in that city. He was also prominently connected with the Sabbath-school of the First Baptist Church in Lynn. On the 18th of August, 1859, he was appointed adjutant of the Eighth Regiment of Massachusetts militia—the Essex County regiment.

This appointment, trivial as it no doubt seemed at

the time, proved the turning-point in his life, and was the opening door to a military career in which he won lasting fame.

At the outbreak of the war he was placed by this appointment in a position whose duties he had performed with enthusiasm, and from which he could reasonably hope to receive advancement. On the 18th of December, 1860, he wrote to General Anderson, then stationed at Fort Moultrie, the following letter, which shows him to have been the first volunteer of the war:

"BOSTON, December 18, 1860.

"MAJOR ANDERSON, U. S. A., *Commanding Fort Moultrie:*

"*Major*—In case of attack upon your command by the State (or would-be nation) of South Carolina, will you be at liberty to accept volunteers to aid in the defence of Fort Moultrie?

"I am confident that a large body of volunteers from this vicinity can be put afloat at short notice to aid in the defence of the post entrusted to your command, if necessity shall demand and the authorities permit it.

"Indeed, the men who have repeatedly responded to the call of the authorities to protect the officers of the law in their work of securing to the owners, from whom it had escaped, the chattel property of the South, will never hesitate to respond to a call to aid a meritorious officer of our Federal Republic, who is engaged, not only in protecting our national property, but in defending the honor of our country and the lives of our countrymen.

"I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant to command,

"EDWARD W. HINCKS,

"*1st Lieut. and Adjt. 8th Regt. Mass. Vol. Mil.*"

"FORT MOULTRIE, S. C., December 24, 1860.

"LIEUTENANT ED. W. HINCKS, *Adjt. 8th Regt. Mass. Vol. Militia:*

"*Sir*—I thank you, not only for myself, but for the brave little band that are under me, for your very welcome letter of the 18th inst., asking whether, in case I am attacked, I would be at liberty to accept volunteer aid in the defence of Fort Moultrie.

"When I inform you that my garrison consists of only sixty effective men; that we are in a very indifferent work, the walls of which are only about fourteen feet high, and that we have within one hundred and sixty yards of our walls sand-hills which command our work, and afford admirable sites for batteries and the finest covers for sharpshooters; and that, besides this, there are numerous houses, some of them within pistol-shot, you will at once see that if attacked by a force headed by any one but a simpleton, there is scarce a possibility of our being able to hold out long enough to enable our friends to come to our succor.

"Come what may, I shall ever bear in grateful remembrance your gallant, your humane offer.

"I am, very sincerely yours,

"ROBERT ANDERSON,

"*Major 1st Artillery, U. S. A.*"

"24 ST. MARK'S PLACE, July 5, 1866.

"GENERAL E. W. HINCKS:

"*Dear Sir*—Your letter, which I received two days before I moved over to Fort Sumter, was the first proffer of aid which was made me whilst in Charleston Harbor.

"Respectfully your obedient servant,

"ROBERT ANDERSON.

"*Major-General U. S. A.*"

On the 15th of April, 1861, when the news was received of the attack on Fort Sumter, he hastened to Boston, and tendered his services to Governor Andrew, and at the same time urged the acceptance of the Eighth Regiment as a part of the contingent of fifteen hundred men called for by the President. His offer of service was accepted, and his request at once complied with. Under orders promptly issued he, that evening, rode to Lynn, Salem, Beverly and Marblehead, and despatched messengers to Newburyport and Gloucester, notifying the various companies of his regiment to rendezvous in Boston for instant duty. The next morning (April 16th) he marched into Faneuil Hall with three companies from Marblehead—the first troops in the country *en route* for the seat of war.

On the 17th of April he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the Eighth Regiment, which marched on the 18th for Washington. At Annapolis, Md., on the 21st of April, a detachment from the regiment, under command of Colonel Hincks, boarded the frigate "Constitution," then lying aground, and first lightening her of her guns, floated her and worked her to sea. Leaving the ship at midnight, he learned the next morning from General Butler that Colonel Lefferts, of the New York Seventh Regiment, had, after consultation with his officers, declined to advance his command and take possession of the Baltimore and Washington Railroad, through apprehension of an overpowering rebel force. He at once said to General Butler: "Give me the selection of two companies for the purpose and I will perform the duty." He was at once placed in command of a detachment consisting of Captain Knott V. Martin's Marblehead company, Captain George T. Newhall's Lynn company and several picked men, engineers and mechanics from other companies under command of Lieutenant Hodges, of Newburyport, and marched to the station, of which he took possession, with the rolling stock, materials, books, papers, etc., there found. Without delay he began the work of repair on the engines and track, the former having been disabled and the latter seriously broken up. During the first day an advance of five miles was made, and after a night's bivouac the work was resumed and continued until the road was in running-order. For this service the regiment received the thanks of Congress in the following resolve:

"THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

"CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, July 31, 1861.

"On motion of Mr. Lovejoy:

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of this House are hereby presented to the Eighth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, for their alacrity in responding to the call of the President, and for the energy and patriotism displayed by them in surmounting obstacles upon sea and land, which traitors had interposed to impede their progress to the defence of the National Capital.

"GALUSHA A. GROW,

"*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

"Attest: EM. ETHERIDGE, *Clerk.*"

Reaching Washington on the 26th of April, Colonel Hincks was that day appointed a second lieutenant of cavalry in the regular army, the only rank in which, at that time, an officer could enter the regular service. From the date of his entrance into the regular army his military history is borne on the records of the office of the adjutant-general, as follows:

"Appointed second lieutenant Second Cavalry April 26, 1861; colonel Eighth Massachusetts Volun-

teers May 16, 1861; colonel Nineteenth Massachusetts Volunteers August 3, 1861; brigadier-general United States Volunteers November 29, 1862; brevet major-general United States Volunteers March 13, 1865, for gallant and meritorious services during the war; resigned volunteer commission June 30, 1865; appointed lieutenant-colonel Fortieth United States Infantry July 28, 1866; transferred to the Twenty-fifth United States Infantry March 15, 1869; breveted colonel United States Army March 2, 1867, for gallant and meritorious services at the battle of Antietam, Md.; and brigadier-general United States Army for gallant and meritorious services in the assault of Petersburg, Va.; retired from active service for disability resulting from wounds received in the line of duty December 15, 1870, upon the full rank of colonel United States Army.

"*Service.*—With Regiment Eighth Massachusetts in the State of Maryland until August 1, 1861; with Regiment Nineteenth Massachusetts in the Army of the Potomac from August, 1861, to June 30, 1862, when wounded in action at White Oak Swamp, Va.; absent, wounded, to August 5, 1862; commanding Third Brigade, Sedgwick's division, Army of the Potomac, to September 17, 1862, when twice severely wounded in the battle of Antietam, Md.; on leave of absence, wounded to March 19, 1863; on court-martial duty as brigadier-general at Washington, D. C., April 2 to June 9, 1863; and under orders of War Department to July 4, 1863; commanding draft rendezvous at Concord, N. H.; acting assistant provost marshal, general and superintendent of the Volunteer Recruiting Service for the State of New Hampshire to March 29, 1864; commanding district of St. Mary's and camp of prisoners of war at Point Lookout, Md., April 3 to 20, 1864; commanding Third Division, Eighteenth Army Corps, to July, 1864, when wounded; on court-martial duty to September 22, 1864; commanding draft depot and camp of prisoners of war at Hart's Island, New York Harbor, to February, 1865; on duty at New York City as acting assistant provost marshal general, superintendent Volunteer Recruiting Service, and chief mustering and disbursing officer for the Southern Division of New York to March, 1865; and on the same duty at Harrisburg, Pa., for the Western Division of Pennsylvania to June 30, 1865; governor of the Military Asylum to March 6, 1867; *en route* to, and in command of, Fort Macon, N. C., until April 13, 1867; on special duty at headquarters Second Military District at Charleston, S. C., to April 27, 1867; provost marshal general Second Military District North and South Carolina to January 16, 1868; commanding Fortieth Regiment and the sub-district and port of Goldsboro', N. C., to July 13, 1868; on sick leave of absence to December 4, 1868; commanding regiment in North Carolina and Louisiana until April 20, 1869, when he assumed command of the Twenty-fifth Infantry, and remained in command of that regiment and the post of New Orleans, La., until August 14, 1869; on sick leave of absence to December 4, 1869; and in command of regiment in New Orleans and *en route* to and at Fort Clark, Texas, from that date to December 15, 1870."

Such is the record borne on the pages of the army books, and no narrative could set forth the military life of General Hincks so clearly and eloquently as these authoritative words. Aside from the leading well-known generals of the war, few officers can boast of a more varied and gallant and useful career.

In concluding the narrative of the war experience of General Hincks, while the repeated testimony of his superior officers in their general orders to his gallantry will be omitted, the list of battles in which he was engaged must not fail to be mentioned:

Battle of Ball's Bluff, Va., October 21, 1861; siege of Yorktown, Va., April, 1862; affair at West Point, May 7, 1862; Fair Oaks, June 1, 1862; Oak Grove, June 25, 1862; Peach Orchard, June 29, 1862; Savage's Station, June 29, 1862; White Oak Swamp, June 30, 1862; Glendale, June 30, 1862; Chantilly, September 1, 1862; South Mountain, September 14, 1862; Antietam, September 16 and 17, 1852; Baylor's Farm, June 15, 1864; assault at Petersburg, June 15, 1864.

The services of General Hincks after the war were only less important than those during its continuance. Under General Sickles and General Canby the aid he rendered in perfecting and carrying out the reconstruction measures of the government in North and South Carolina, forming what was called the Second Military District, was recognized by his superior officers as efficient and valuable.

On the 15th of December, 1870, the general was retired from active service upon the full rank of colonel in the United States Army on account of wounds received in battle, and on the 7th of March, 1872, he was appointed, by the Board of Managers of the National Homes, deputy-governor of the Southern Branch of National Homes, at Hampton, Va. On the 1st of January following he was transferred to the Northwestern Branch, near Milwaukee, Wis., and resigned October 1, 1880.

After the resignation of his position as deputy-governor of the National Home at Milwaukee, General Hincks remained in that city until June, 1883, and was largely influential in the organization of the Milwaukee Industrial Exposition, a corporation then formed and still in existence, having for its object the promotion of the industrial interests of Milwaukee and the State of Wisconsin. Since 1883 he has lived in Cambridge, Mass., enjoying a period of well-deserved peace and comfort. He occupies a stately old mansion, said to be more than two hundred years old; and the books and pictures, and quaint old family china and furniture with which it is replete, reveal the culture and taste of its occupants.

In the autumn of 1862, after having been severely wounded in the battle of Antietam, General Hincks was urgently requested by many independent Republicans, to run for Congress in the Sixth District, then represented by Mr. John B. Alley, but he positively

declined to be a candidate for any office that would prevent his return to the field as soon as he should sufficiently recover from his wounds. He was sergeant-at-arms of the National Republican Convention at Philadelphia in 1872, when General Grant was nominated for a second term; and again at Cincinnati, in 1876, when General Hayes was nominated for President. In the Cincinnati Convention he was nominated by the chairman of the Michigan delegation "for his many wounds received in battle," and was unanimously elected.

General Hincks is a Knight Templar in the Masonic Order, a companion in the National Commandery of the Loyal Legion and a member of the New England Historical Genealogical Society; commander of Wisconsin Commandery of Military Order of the Loyal Legion in 1876, 1877, 1879 and 1880, and commander of Massachusetts Commandery in 1889-90; was a member of the Cambridge Board of Aldermen in 1886, 1887 and 1888, and during the year last named was president of the Board and occasionally acting mayor; is (1890) president of the Reliance Co-operative Bank in Cambridge.

General Hincks has been twice married—first, January 25, 1855, to Annie Rebecca, daughter of Moody [illegible] Clarissa (Leach) Dow, of Lynn, who died in [illegible] August 21, 1862. Her only child was Anson [illegible]ame, who was born in Lynn, October 14, [illegible] died in Rockville, Md., January 27, 1862.

"LIEUTE[illegible]

"*Sir*—I [illegible]ried, second, September 3, 1863, Elizabeth
that are und[illegible]
[illegible]ing whether, a[illegible]hter of George and Susan (Treadwell)
Nic[illegible]er aid in the [illegible]ambridge, whose only child, Bessie
Hinc[illegible]hen I inform[illegible] Cambridge, April 11, 1865, died in
[illegible]t we are in [illegible]
Cambri[illegible] fourteen [illegible] 1885.

The death of this daughter was peculiarly sad. She had graduated in 1883 from the Milwaukee College, and had entered the Harvard Annex full of hope and promise. While walking in the street her dress took fire from a burning cracker, and she was burned to death. Her sweet and loving character, blended with high literary attainments, lent a joy and grace to her parents' home, since shadowed in perpetual gloom. It is only necessary, before closing this sketch, to add a word of explanation concerning the family name of General Hincks.

The common ancestor of the Hincks family in this country, Councilor and Chief Justice John, uniformly wrote his name Hinckes, but when copied by clerks it was usually written Hinks, and so frequently appears in the Council Records of Massachusetts and the Archives of New Hampshire. Captain Samuel, who graduated at Harvard in 1701, and his son, Samuel, Jr., the schoolmaster on the Cape, uniformly wrote their name Hincks; but Elisha and his son, Captain Elisha, Jr., the father of the general, appear to have dropped the c, and to have written their names Hinks; and in early life the general also wrote his name without the c (Hinks), and it so appears in the Army Register and the official records of the war, although other branches of the family wrote their names with a c; but in 1871, under authority of law, the general restored the letter c to his name, and has since written it Hincks, and all the branches of the family descended from Chief Justice John now conform to this style. It will be noted that all of this family in this country bearing the name of Hincks are descended through the Winslows from Mary Chilton, who came in the "Mayflower," and Anne Hutchinson, the Quaker.

HON. J. WARREN MERRILL.[1]

This prominent citizen was an inhabitant of Middlesex County, Mass., for some fifty years. During almost thirty-eight of the final years of this period and of his life of seventy years, his home was in Cambridge, of which city he was the ninth mayor, and, previously, a representative in the General Court of Massachusetts.

His earliest ancestor in this country was Nathaniel Merrill, who came from Salisbury, England, to Newbury, Massachusetts, in 1633. The family tradition is that the English progenitors were of French extraction, through an official of the exchequer, who, by friendly aid, escaped the massacre of St. Bartholomew, in August, 1572, and crossed the Channel for refuge.

Joseph Warren Merrill, the oldest son of Nathan and Sarah (Page) Merrill, was born in South Hampton, N. H., Dec. 13, 1819. His father, who was a teacher, removed his family to Portsmouth in 1825, and about eight years later to Boston. The youth was for some time a pupil at the English High School. He became an apprentice to Mr. Joshua P. Preston, apothecary, on Federal Street, about the 1st of June, 1835. Six years later, June 15, 1841, at the age of twenty-one years and a half, he engaged in the same business for himself, at the corner of Salem and Richmond Streets. He found that he could not conscientiously do, on Sunday, the most profitable business of the week, in the sale of luxuries. The pecuniary effect of confining himself to the sale of medicines on that day was so discouraging that he gave up the business, and a meeting with his old employer, who had retired, resulted in a partnership in the business of fancy goods, including domestic, imported, and some proprietary articles, the latter pertaining to manufacturing chemistry. Thus was formed, in 1845, the firm of Preston & Merrill, whose name has been so familiar throughout our country, if not the world. A venture in the shipment to California of a culinary compound which they manufactured, proved a most successful ministration to the comfort and luxury of settlers rushing to the land of gold, and also to the fortunes of the proprietors. Mr. Merrill divided his share of the gain between his wife and some benevolent institution. Thenceforward his business success was secured.

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[1] By George H. Whittemore.



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J. Warren Merrill

On the 13th of June, 1848, he had been married to Miss Hannah B. Wattson, of Philadelphia, and to them were born six children, two of whom were removed by early death. In the morning of his prosperity, Mr. Merrill looked about for a home for his wife and infant son, and selected Cambridge, to which he removed from Charlestown, June 11, 1852. He first owned and occupied, for fifteen years, an attractive estate on Harvard Street, upon the eastern slope of Dana Hill; and then built a mansion upon the summit of the hill, facing Broadway, which was finished in 1868, and was his home for the remaining twenty-one years of his life.

The nearly forty years of Mr. Merrill's residence in Cambridge witnessed a great change in it from rural to urban aspect and characteristics; and as a property-owner, public-spirited citizen, and municipal officer, he was no small factor, directly and indirectly, in the process. His first official service was as a member of the Common Council, in 1861, from which he went to the Board of Aldermen the following year. He was long a member of the Water Board of the city, part of the time as its president. He was a representative in the legislature of Massachusetts in 1864, and he was mayor of Cambridge in 1865, including the closing months of the war, and was re-elected for 1866. In view of the demands and rewards of his profitable business—in view, also, of his growing family and strong domestic tastes, it was not strange if, after these six years of strenuous service, embracing the peculiar exigencies of the war, he should not encourage the suggestion of a congressional term upon the broader stage at Washington. Besides the business of the firm with which he was so long identified, Mr. Merrill was interested in other enterprises, notably that of the Boston and Colorado Smelting Company, of which he was one of the founders, in 1867, and the treasurer.

Even this imperfect glance at some of his principal activities will show that Mr. Merrill was pre-eminently a man of affairs. As such he was marked by ability, energy, diligence, integrity and success. But he not only had a vocation in life, he had also avocations. One of these, the original impulse to which came to him in a time of physical and mental exhaustion, through the affectionate agency of his wife, was the study and collection of ferns; another was photography; and a third was research into his family history. His skill and interest in croquet, with its undoubted benefit to his health, almost entitle it to mention as a pursuit as well as pastime.

Mr. Merrill was an ardent patriot. The writer recalls how he entered into the spirit of that great meeting under the Washington elm, in April, 1861, within two weeks of the first gun of the war—a meeting addressed, among others, by Palfrey and Banks, Hillard, Judge Russell and the Hon. John C. Park, to which marched the First Massachusetts Regiment, soon to depart for the seat of war. He was at this time, as has been said, a member of the City Council; and a published letter, of the very date of the meeting just referred to, from Captain J. T. Richardson, of that famous earliest band of volunteers from Cambridge, attests how early and strong was Mr. Merrill's zeal as a citizen and an official in the uprising of the loyal nation. The following are the first two paragraphs of the letter:—

"Fortress Monroe, 27th April, 1861.

"J. Warren Merrill, Esq.

"*Dear Sir:* Yours of the 19th inst. is received, and has been read to the company, and was received with the greatest enthusiasm. It cheers the heart and nerves the arms of the soldier to know that his sacrifices and toils and dangers are appreciated by his fellow-citizens at home, and that the dear family he has left behind him is to be cared for in his absence.

"I am requested by the company to return their grateful thanks to you and the gentlemen associated with you, and through you to the City Government and citizens of Cambridge for their generous action towards them."

His sense of public obligations as a citizen was habitual and not confined to emergencies, either in war or in peace. Upon the bed of final illness, three weeks before his death, on the day of the State election, he spoke, in the morning, of being taken to vote, but was advised by his physician to wait until afternoon. The pleasing thought of citizenship in Heaven, where they go no more out forever, is here suggested, and forms a natural transition to Mr. Merrill's character as a Christian, which was, to a noteworthy degree, the basis and principle of his private and public life, the vital source of that useful civic career which rightly causes him to be noticed in an historical work like the present.

At the age of eighteen years he embraced the duty and privilege of a religious life, being baptized in the Baldwin Place Baptist Church, Boston, April 8, 1838, by the late Rev. Dr. Baron Stow, his parents' friend and his own; and at once addressing himself to the Christian and missionary endeavor for which his life was to be so remarkable. Upon removing from Charlestown, he united with the Old Cambridge Baptist Church, where, as in the wider field of the country and the world, he soon came to be known as a lover of the church; a man of effort for the salvation of others; a man of prayer; a liberal man that devised liberal things. The erection of this church's second house of worship went on at the same time with that of his own home, and he probably devoted about equal amounts of money to each. The catalogue would be long of the institutions and societies to which he made large and habitual gifts in life, supplemented by the bestowal upon them, in his will, of what would once have been regarded as, in itself, a very extensive fortune. His beneficence, too, in numberless and constant instances, was tender and personal, as well as systematic and general in religious, educational, patriotic and philanthropic channels. Sometimes the personal and institutional directions of his bounty found most manifest and felic-

itous combination, as in the Baldwin Place Home for Little Wanderers.

Decided in his religious, political and other convictions, Mr. Merrill was, at the same time, able to take broad and Catholic views. There was something in the man akin to the great State in which he was born and the great sons whom it has begotten. This magnitude, commingled with refinement, was observable in his person, nature and tastes. Of large stature and portly habit, he was of delicate health in youth, and always evinced traits of nice physical constitution. He was fond of the mountains and the ocean, of being abroad upon his grounds at Cambridge or Manchester-by-the-Sea, and was versed in woodcraft and horticulture, as well as ingenious, orderly and efficient in mechanical and practical devices. His home and library, favorite associations and pursuits, his written or spoken addresses, both in substance and expression, showed that he was a lover of great and good and fine men and things. The majestic eloquence of Webster and the elegant and finished oratory of Everett were alike his life-long admiration. On account of such traits as these, and the impressiveness, dignity and grace of his bearing, as well as because he had been mayor of the city, it was appropriate, when Cambridge celebrated her two hundred and fiftieth anniversary, with the oration of Colonel Higginson, the address of President Eliot, the presence and participation of one distinguished native poet, Holmes, and the proud remembrance and mention of another, Lowell, then at the court of St. James—it was fitting that Mr. Merrill should have been designated, in the order of ceremonies, as the companion of Longfellow, and never, it may be observed, did the gracious poet offer a more striking and regal figure than on that December day of 1880, erect, with flowing, whitened hair and beard, and clad in an ample fur-trimmed overcoat.

J. Warren Merrill was, indeed, a large man by nature, enlarged by New England education, by Christianity accepted as personal religion, by living heroically in a heroic time, by seeing much of men and manners in his own country, and in prolonged tours of foreign travel, and by sitting (as he did for years in the missionary organization of his communion) at a council-board for the world's evangelization.

It is a pleasant office to furnish for these records of this good old county of Middlesex, some account of this life and character. Such men are the best of citizens. Happy the Commonwealth which has its quiver full of sons whom wealth, ability and position animate, not to aggrandize self and to ignore others, but rather to seek by all good living in church and state and society to follow Him who came "not to be ministered unto, but to minister." This was the motto of a commemorative discourse in the Cambridge Church, which is so largely a Merrill memorial, on Sunday, November 24, 1889. Within the same walls had been held a brief and simple funeral service, followed by interment at Mount Auburn, on November 15th. He died, one month before the age of seventy years, November 12, 1889.

ERASMUS D. LEAVITT.[1]

Erasmus Darwin Leavitt, of Cambridge, son of Erasmus Darwin and Almira (Fay) Leavitt, was born in Lowell, Mass., October 27, 1836. He was educated in the Lowell Public School, entered the machine-shop of the Lowell Manufacturing Company in April, 1852, and served three years as apprentice, at the close of which time he worked under instruction for a year at the works of Corliss & Nightingale, of Providence, R. I., the birthplace of the Corliss engine. From 1856 to 1858 he was engaged in developing some inventions in steam engineering for which a patent had been granted to him in 1855. In 1858 and 1859 he was assistant foreman at the City Point Works, South Boston, and had charge of building the engines for the flagship "Hartford." From 1859 to '61 he was chief draughtsman for Thurston, Gardner & Company, of Providence, R. I., leaving there to enter the United States Navy in the summer of 1861, as third assistant engineer. He served through the War of the Rebellion, and during his term of service was detailed to the Naval Academy at Annapolis as instructor in steam engineering. Resigning in 1867, he resumed the practice of mechanical engineering, making a specialty of pumping and mining machinery.

In 1872 Mr. Leavitt designed and patented a novel pumping engine, which was first used at Lynn, Mass., and on account of its remarkable performance it became celebrated in Europe as well as in this country; similar engines were subsequently erected at Lawrence, Mass., Louisville, Ky., and the sewage station of the city of Boston.

In 1874 he became connected with the famous Calumet and Hecla Copper Mine as an adviser on mechanical matters, and has been consulting engineer of the company since 1878, furnishing the designs and plans for the immense plant required.

He has also acted as consulting engineer to the cities of Boston and Louisville, and to the firm of Henry R. Worthington, of New York, the celebrated builders of pumps.

He is a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers, American Institute of Mining Engineers, American Society of Mechanical Engineers (and past president of same), Boston Society of Civil Engineers, American Society of Naval Engineers, life member of British Association for Advancement of Science, member of American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Institution of Civil Engineers and the Institution of Mechanical Engineers of Great Britain. In 1884 he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Engineer-

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[1] By George H. Cox.



E. D. Leavitt



Curtis Davis

ing from Stevens Institute of Technology, of Hoboken, New Jersey.

Mr. Leavitt was married, June 5, 1867, to Annie Elizabeth, daughter of William Pettit, of Philadelphia, who was a pioneer in locomotive building in the United States, and long connected with the Baldwin Locomotive Works. Mrs. Leavitt died December 28, 1889. Their children were Mary Alford, Hart Hooker, Margaret Almira, Harriet Sherman and Annie Louise. Of these, three are living: Mary, Margaret and Annie.

Mr. Leavitt's life has been one of close application to his chosen profession, and to-day he occupies a leading position among the most eminent engineers of this country and of Europe, his ability being recognized by all his contemporaries. During his several trips abroad he has received marked attention from the leading men of his profession, and from the various engineering societies.

He is a man posessed of the strictest ideas of honor, and an unswerving fidelity to his own convictions. Of quiet, unassuming manner, he has been ever ready to assist the young engineer, listen with courtesy and deference to his opinions, and give him advice when desired.

CURTIS DAVIS.

The prosperity of New England is largely indebted to her self-made men, who have continually added to the wholesome wealth of the community by their persistent and unwearied efforts, have been workers, producers, and not mere consumers, obeying the ancient law of our race, "By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou gain thy bread."

Conspicuous among these and worthy of special mention was Curtis Davis, the son of Daniel and Mary (Brown) Davis. He was born in the town of Bradford, New Hampshire, February 11, 1814, and was the grandson of Isaac Davis, whose eight children were: Betsy, born December 29, 1760; Mollie, born May 31, 1762; James, born February 24, 1764; Daniel, born February 4, 1766; John, born December 24, 1768; Susan, born January 7, 1770; Sally, born April 17, 1772; and John, born August 14, 1774.

Daniel married Mary Brown and had eleven children: Samuel, born March 19, 1790; Enoch, born August 27, 1791 (died in infancy); Enoch, born January 6, 1793; Dorcas, born January 25, 1795; Eliphalet, born December 16, 1796; Lydia, born January 4, 1799; Diamond, born April 25, 1802; Hiram, born February 24, 1807; Lyman, born October 11, 1809; Isaac, born January 18, 1811, and Curtis.

Curtis was the youngest of his family, and although his father was a well-to-do farmer, yet with such a large family to support, frugality, economy and industry were essential characteristics for the development of the resources of the farm, and these children were well grounded in the principles which lead to success, and formed those habits of perseverance and diligence that have ever been their prominent traits. In 1832 Curtis left his pleasant home, a poor boy unacquainted with the ways of the world, his education being only that afforded by the common schools of the period, but his courage and determination were strong and his ambition was to engage in some business and follow it. He came to Cambridgeport, Massachusetts, then comparatively a small place, and engaged for a very moderate compensation with a firm in the soap business, of which his brother Eliphalet was a partner.

He continued in their employ for a short time and then returned to Bradford, where he remained for a year, and in the fall of 1833 he removed to Cambridgeport and resumed his former position, where he worked faithfully, and devoted himself to acquiring the details of the manufacture with a view to establishing himself on his own account which he did in 1834, by purchasing the business of Hiram Davis.

This establishment he sold in 1835, when he bought another factory of greater capacity, and in 1837 took into partnership Alexander Dickinson, with whom he was connected until 1851.

Mr. Davis then bought and enlarged the buildings now known as the Curtis Davis Soap Works, and the plant, covering an acre of ground, is the most noted and the largest of its kind in New England.

In 1864 Mr. Davis took into partnership his son-in-law, James Mellen, who took the superintendence of the sales-rooms in Boston, and who, since the death of Mr. Davis, January 13, 1887, has succeeded to the business of the firm and is now busily engaged in carrying on this large enterprise in an efficient manner.

Mr. Davis married, November 29, 1835, Martha Kemp, who was born in Pomfret, Vermont, April 1, 1818. From this union there were five children: Christina Van Ness, born April 15, 1840, and married James Mellen; Ermina Francis, who died December 25, 1854, aged twelve years; Curtis Rockwell, died Feb. 24, 1876, aged thirty-one years; Mary Lizzie, born Dec. 7, 1846, married Samuel Noyes, Jr.; Edwin Alberto, died July 8, 1851, aged twenty-two months.

For nearly fifty-two years Mr. Davis and his beloved wife lived together, experiencing many joys and many sorrows, each a help-meet to the other and each living lives eminently worthy of imitation.

Mr. Davis passed from the scenes of his activity and usefulness here to his reward beyond January 31, 1887, and his wife followed him April 20, 1889.

With all his devotion to business Mr. Davis did not neglect his civil relations towards the place which had been his home from boyhood.

He kept pace with the growth of Cambridgeport, having been identified with its manufacturing interests for half a century and was one of the solid men of this city.

High-minded and honorable, he possessed the respect and esteem of her citizens. Of a retiring disposition, he never sought for political preferment.

His integrity and honesty of purpose were ever shown in his business methods and as a director in the Citizens' Insurance Company and also in one of the Cambridge banks for several years he proved himself qualified for important public trusts.

His political affiliations from boyhood were with the Democratic party, and the principles and methods of that party as indorsed and carried out by President Cleveland found in him hearty support.

He has been a member of the Common Council, has served as alderman two years and represented Cambridge in the General Court for three terms.

Mr. Davis exemplified those qualities which distinguish those whom we call self-made men.

He commenced life with no vices; he was prudent, economical and temperate; business success he preferred to pleasure and to his work he carried enterprise, energy and will. He was essentially a moving force in his work, and this review of his life is of value to our young men, who can see what may be accomplished by industry, fidelity and honesty of purpose.

Up to the time of his death his heart held a firm grasp of his native town, and the home of his parents was ever tenderly cherished.

He had a pride in its scenery, its associations, and in the noticeable men it has produced, and Bradford has never had a native who more loyally prized her worth or who, in the far-reaching realm of business, has done her greater honor.

SAMUEL BAKER RINDGE.

Daniel Rindge, who is believed to be the ancestor of all of the name in America, came from England to Massachusetts Bay in 1638, settling first at Roxbury, but soon removing to Ipswich, where descendants of his name remained for five generations. He appears to have owned land on Heart Break Hill (a name which is variously explained, but probably due to its difficult ascent), also one house on the Turkey Shore and another in High Street, and his farm was within the present limits of the town of Hamilton.

The Portsmouth family of Rindge was an offshoot from that at Ipswich. One Daniel Rindge, of that branch was a successful merchant there and another, John Rindge, became a prominent man in the New Hampshire Colony and a member of the Colonial Council, in which capacity he signed bills of credit, as appears by a specimen still preserved in the museum at Plymouth, Mass. He was cho sen to represent the Colony before the King in England in relation to the disputed boundary line on the Massachusetts side and the town Rindge in New Hampshire was named in honor of him.

Daniel Rindge, the first settler, had a son Roger; Roger a son Daniel; this Daniel a son also Daniel; this last Daniel a son John; and John a son Samuel —all of these except the first being natives of Ipswich.

Samuel Rindge, born January 29, 1791, went from Ipswich to Salem and thence to East Cambridge, then known as Craigie's Point, where he was employed for many years by the New England Glass Company as overseer and purchaser of supplies. Previous to this he had been engaged in the manufacture of furniture, which was shipped to the South and sold there. He married, February 17, 1820, Maria Bradlee Wait, and he died February 1, 1850.

His oldest son, Samuel Baker Rindge, was born December 26, 1820; married, April 29, 1845, Clarissa Harrington, of Lexington, Mass., and died May 3, 1883. Of six children only one, Frederick Hastings Rindge, survived his parents.

Samuel B. Rindge, after the brief but solid schooling of his time, began his business life with no capital except a sound body and a willing mind. At the age of sixteen (1836) he entered the employment of Parker & Blanchard, which was the first firm in Boston that engaged in and relied solely upon the business of selling American-made textile fabrics on account of the manufacturers. The manufacturing business itself was then in its infancy and giving no sign of its later wonderful development. The boy's position was one that called for much hard work and yielded small remuneration. He was expected to be the first to come and the last to go, and in the time between was expected to make himself generally useful. In such a place a shirk would have found himself unhappy, but the lad Rindge was no shirk: his own work was always done promptly, and it was always his inclination to reach out for a share in the duties of those above him. When he was "the boy" he was always ready to fill a gap in the book-keeping, and when he became himself a book-keeper he managed, by working out of hours, to get time to act as a salesman in the busier portion of the day. He was abstemious in his habits and recognized alcoholic beverages and tobacco as his enemies. His powers of observation and his memory were alike remarkable; he saw everything and forgot nothing. As an accountant he was thorough and exact; as a salesman he was active and popular; he made himself an excellent judge of the qualities of manufactured goods and an expert in wool and other raw materials.

Such a man could not but rise, and in the year 1847 he was admitted a partner in the firm, then styled Parker, Wilder & Parker, and when he died he was the senior member of the house, then Parker, Wilder & Co.

He grew with his business, opening his mind and enlarging his scale of action as manufacturing developed and the times changed. Losses never discouraged, but simply instructed him, and the end of a season of panic which swept away a large fraction of his capital found him full of confidence in himself, not bewailing the past, but looking forward cheerily to the future.

It was a fault in his mercantile character that he took upon himself too much, and that as his work



Saml B Rinaldo

grew he did not devolve more upon his employees. It has been said of him that he did the work of ten men; certainly he loved work, but it would have been wise and it would probably have prolonged his life if he had been willing to limit himself more closely to the navigation of the ship, leaving others to trim the sails and keep the watch.

He was a stalwart-looking man to the last and his cheeks kept a ruddy hue of health. His powerful physique was illustrated by his interference in one instance to put a stop to a brutal fight between two men in a country town, where, as they were struggling on the ground, he grasped one of them by the collar of his coat and raised him to his feet as if he had been a child. But even the stoutest of men may be overloaded and Mr. Rindge, although warned of his danger, preferred apparently to incur the risk rather than deny himself the exhilaration of earnest occupation.

Nor was he content to confine his work to his own especial avocations. To be a director in the manufacturing concerns in which he was interested was to make but little addition to his cares, for he would have felt the same responsibility as their buying and selling agent; but as his reputation for business sagacity increased he was induced to assume additional duties. For two years he was an alderman of Cambridge. He was the director in two banks—the president of one; trustee in the Cambridge Savings Bank, president of the Union Glass Company, director in the Cambridge Railroad Company and in other corporations. Besides all these, when consulted by friends he was not content to limit his advice to generalities, but was apt to make a study of their interests as if they were his own; and it was said by an eminent lawyer of Boston that he had never known Mr. Rindge's equal in ability to grasp the deepest questions of business and the complicated problems often connected therewith.

One can only wonder that such a man should have lived so long. His strong constitution may explain in part his ability to bear a heavy strain, and his readiness to enter into any passing recreation, to enjoy travel and to be easily diverted may explain the rest. He found but little diversion in books—men and things were more interesting to him.

Mr. Rindge was fortunate, too, in his wife, a woman of remarkable kindliness and charity—everywhere revered for her many amiable qualities, and nowhere better appreciated than in her own home. Socially she was connected with many charitable societies in Cambridge, and being a strict church-goer she exerted a wide-spread influence upon the morals of the city. She died in less than two years after her widowhood, leaving by her will charitable foundations to commemorate her husband.

At a union meeting of officers of the various corporations with which he was connected, resolutions were passed in memory of Mr. Rindge, and it was said that every eye was dimmed by tears.

As showing the general esteem in which he was held, these few extracts from many public notices may suffice.

"As a merchant," says a Boston paper, "he leaves a character above reproach, as a citizen he was universally respected and he will be greatly missed by the mercantile communities of Boston and New York, where he was widely known and wherein he was accorded a position second to none."

"As a business man," writes a Cambridge editor, "he was held in the highest esteem, as is evidenced by his associations in this city. For many years he was a director in the Charles River National Bank and later became its President. He was also a director in the Lechmere National Bank and a trustee of the Cambridge Savings Bank. Mr. Rindge was always identified with projects for the good of the city, and was a liberal giver to worthy causes."

"With an ambition to work and win," says another notice, "but always jealous of his character, nothing could wean him from the path he had chosen. As he grew in years so grew his reputation for probity and commercial ability. . . . With advancement he assumed the burdens following such promotion with a degree of modesty equaled only by the diligence and uprightness exercised in the execution of all trusts committed to his care. And thus half a century of years in business life was passed, the experience of each year adding to the fullness of a mind already admired for the display of such superior qualities."

In the last few years of his life Mr. Rindge passed the summer seasons by the sea at the old town of Marblehead, at first as the tenant of others, but finally in the beautiful home which he built at Little-Top Hill, near Peach's Point. From the first he "took to" the town and its people, and his life here was one of unrestrained enjoyment. Here he threw off all business cares and immersed himself in healthy country living. His regard for the people was warmly returned, as is testified by the deep feeling which marked his obituary in the local press.

"It was with saddened faces and heavy hearts," says the *Marblehead Messenger*, "that our people heard of the death of Mr. Samuel B. Rindge last week. No person ever died in our midst who was more universally respected than was he.

"From the first he seemed to love our people and they in turn had learned to love him. Unlike a great many others who have sojourned in our community as summer residents, he could see nothing strange in our dialect or behavior that would excite ridicule or comment. Our crooked, narrow streets and quaint old houses called forth from him no disparaging remarks, but he could only see in those he met men, women and children created in the image of God like himself and that he was commanded to love them; and this he did most earnestly and his love was reciprocated by them.

"He did not seem to be over-anxious to form an

acquaintance with the *elite*, so called (although he treated all courteously), but rather the men of the people, the day laborers. He never passed one on the street without a kindly salutation and friendly greeting, and if one was burdened with a bundle or had a long walk to and from his work, he was invited to a seat beside him in his carriage to enjoy a ride and also the pleasure of his entertaining and genial conversation. . . .

"But above all he was a friend to the needy and down-trodden. No one who ever asked alms for himself or others, or a favor of any kind from him, was ever refused; but he never published it to the world, for quietly and without display he gave generously of his ample wealth. His 'creed' seemed to be more than an empty form for, like the Master, he went about doing good. He was in every sense a true Christian gentleman. . . .

"The world is made better by such lives. It would be well for some of our wealthy men to stop and consider if it is not better to make friends instead of enemies of their fellow-men who have less means than themselves. Let them study the life of this good man whose deeds are so enshrined in all our hearts as never to be forgotten. . . ."

Akin to the feature of character above commended, is the interest which Mr. Rindge took in the persons employed in mills under his direction. He remembered and recognized men and women, and enjoyed talking with them; and this not as *de haut en bas*, but placing himself and them on precisely the same level.

It was the desire of the family that the funeral services should be private and their wish was respected; but most unexpectedly a great throng attended at the burial. Neighbors and business fri ends, official associates and employees and many persons whom he had befriended were there, bearing witness by their attendance to their esteem and his worth.

JAMES MELLEN.

The general verdict of a man's contemporaries would be a truer estimate of his real worth than the glowing memorials which find their way into the obituary columns of the newspapers when a good citizen dies. Tried by this standard, the quiet, genial and unassuming traits of James Mellen would call forth a practically unanimous tribute of good will and esteem from his fellow-townsmen, and a hearty assent from a widely-scattered host of friends and business associates. His is an open record of an honorable and successful business man whose original stock in trade consisted chiefly in that old-fashioned family legacy—personal industry, honesty and brains. With such an equipment it is not strange that he has earned a large measure of success, an d is easily classed among the su bstantial citizens of Middlesex County. In brief outline, the record of his early years is that of the typical New England-bred boy. Born in Charlestown April 9, 1838, his childhood, until the age of seven ye ars, was passed there, when the family then moved to Cambridge. His father, James, Sr., was born November 1, 1815, and married, September 10, 1837, Sarah Ann (Hilton) Mellen, the widow of his brother, David Mellen, Jr., who was born March 15, 1804, who died November 11, 1836. The children of this last marriage were James, the subject of this sketch, and David, Jr., who was born November 24, 1839. David died September 18, 1852. The children by the marriage with David were Louisa Maria, born March 21, 1829; William Otis, born February 17, 1831; and Ellen Celinda, born May 8, 1833. The grandfather of Mr. Mellen was David, and his grandmother was Grace Beals.

The educational advantages of Mr. Mellen were those afforded by the public schools of Charlestown and Cambridge, which he attended until he was old enough to be of assistance to his father in his business as a contractor and mover of buildings. He entered heartily into this work with the vigor born of his sturdy Scotch ancestry, and became efficient in the details of this business. He was occasionally employed by Mr. Curtis Davis, who was then coming into prominence as the manufacturer of soap in a large way, and such was the aptness of young Mellen that he soon became a valuable acquisition to this (to him) new business, and in 1864 was taken into partnership by Mr. Davis, and became thoroughly identified with this industry, which had become, prior to the death of Mr. Davis, in 1887, of very large proportions, and to the accomplishment of which fact Mr. Mellen had contributed his full meed of energetic work with hands and brains. Nor was Mr. Davis alone of his family the one to be attracted by his manly and vigorous personality to this comely young man,—Cupid must have "had a hand in it," for November 1, 1860, Mr. Mellen, was married and the happy bride was Christana Van Ness, eldest daughter of Curtis Davis, and for over thirty years they have together enjoyed the fruitage of his intelligent business abilities in yearly increasing measure.

A beautiful home on Washington Avenue, in Cambridge, and a lovely summer cottage on the North Shore, are among the incidents of this companionship. Mr. Mellen, while not taking any active part in politics, is interested in public affairs, and while in th e main acting with the Republican party, he considers himself an Independent. He represented his section of the city in the Council, has had to do with the management of financial affairs, and is a safe adviser and a whole-souled, benevolent friend. The children of Mr. and Mrs. Mellen are: Edwin Davis, born Nov. 23, 1861; Mary Lizzie, born Aug. 19, 1863; Louisa Maria, born Sept. 18, 1865; Martha Davis, born Nov. 13, 1868; Sarah Agnes, born Nov. 20, 1869; Nettie Christana, born July 15, 1870, died July 14, 1871.

Of these children, Edwin Davis, Sept. 5, 1883, married Adele Lods, and they have one child, Lucile Christana, born July 5, 1886.



James Mellen



E. N. Horsford

Mary Lizzie, Nov. 1, 1886, was married to Frederick L. Cunningham, and they have one child, James Mellen, born Jan. 16, 1888.

Mr. Mellen has provided for his children more extended educational advantages than were common in his boyhood days. His son, Edwin D., having taken high rank as a scholar, has been taken into partnership with his father, and it is to be reasonably expected that this business will in the future be carried to greater degrees of perfection by the light of science and chemical analysis.

EBEN NORTON HORSFORD.

Eben Norton Horsford was born at Moscow, Livingston County, New York, July 27, 1818. His father was Jerediah Horsford, from Charlotte, Chittenden County, Vermont; and his mother, Charity Maria Norton, from Goshen, Litchfield County, Connecticut. She was in direct descent from Thomas Norton of the Colony of 1639, which came first to New Haven and afterwards went to Guilford.

The son enjoyed the rare advantages of a home in which good books were common, and the parental training was refined and vigorous. He attended the district schools and select schools until he was thirteen, when for three years he was a student in the Livingston County High School. While yet a boy he was employed in the extemporaneous surveys of the New York and Erie, and the Rochester and Auburn Railroads. Then followed a course of study at the Rensselaer Institute, where he graduated as civil engineer in 1837. He was for two years engaged in the geological survey of the State of New York, as an assistant to Professor Hall. For four years he was connected with the Albany Female Academy as Professor of Mathematics and the Natural Sciences, and during this time he lectured on chemistry in Newark College, Delaware. For two years after this he was a student of chemistry under Liebig, at Giessen, Germany. On his return to this country he was appointed Rumford Professor of Applied Sciences in Harvard University, and he filled this professorship for sixteen years. Since his resignation of that office he has been engaged in chemical manufactures based on his own inventions. He has taken out some thirty patents, most of them connected with chemistry.

In 1847 Professor Horsford was married to Mary L'Hommedieu Gardiner, daughter of the Hon. Samuel Smith Gardiner, of Shelter Island, N. Y. She died in 1855, leaving four daughters, one of whom is the wife of Andrew Fiske, Esq., of Boston, and one the wife of Judge Benjamin R. Curtis, of Boston.

In 1857 he married a sister of his former wife, Phœbe Dayton Gardiner, who has one daughter. His home is still in Cambridge.

Besides the professional career of Professor Horsford, he has engaged in many works of general utility and interest. His first work on his return from Germany was on the proper material for the service-pipes of the Boston Water-Works, in view of which the city of Boston presented him with a service of plate. He was appointed by Governor Andrew, soon after the opening of the late war, on the Commission for the Defence of Boston Harbor, and prepared the report of the plans to be pursued in the event of the approach of Confederate cruisers. He devised a marching ration for the army, reducing transportation to the simplest terms. Of this ration General Grant ordered and there were prepared half a million.

In 1873 he was a commissioner of the United States to the World's Fair at Vienna, and he published an elaborate report in connection with his official duties. In 1876 he was a commissioner at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia.

As the intimate friend of Henry F. Durant, Esq., the founder of Wellesley College, Professor Horsford has been the constant and munificent friend of that institution. He has been from its organization the president of the Board of Visitors, and has devoted much time to the interests of the college. He has endowed the college library and founded the system of the "Sabbatical Year," as it is called by which the professors are allowed the seventh year for rest and study in Europe, and a system of pensions for the professors.

Of late years he has given much time to geographical studies. His attention was turned to New England Cartography and especially to the finding of the lost city of Norumbega. His investigation led him to believe that the ancient city was not in Maine, but in Massachusetts. His first research led him to the Old Fort of Norumbeg, at the mouth of Stony Brook, in the town of Weston. When he had decided from the literature and geography where its site must have been, he drove to the spot, but a few miles from his own house, and there found the remains of extensive ditches and walls. Five years later he announced the discovery of the site and walls of the ancient city of Norumbega at Watertown. It was a startling discovery. His conclusion was inevitable. The maps, the books, the ancient walls, the results of his studies in the field, combined to convince him that this was the place which had been named in history and song, but had long ago been lost to sight. In the summer of 1889 he erected a tower of stone to mark the site of the ancient fort, and commemorate the discoveries of Vinland and Norumbega. In connection with this historical enterprise he found other extensive remains of Norse settlements on the banks of Charles River. Following the old sagas, he found that Leif Erikson after his landfall on Cape Cod, sailed up the Charles, in the year 1000. The coincidences between the sagas and the river and its banks were striking, and as one point after another became clear to his mind he saw where Leif and his companions had come ashore and where they had built their houses. He has issued monographs in which his in-

vestigations have been described at length with maps and photographs. When the statue of Leif Erikson was erected in Boston in 1887, the historical address on the day of its unveiling was given in Faneuil Hall by Professor Horsford.

In 1889 he gave a public address in Watertown, Massachusetts, before a large gathering, upon his discovery of Norumbega. The American Geographical Society was represented on the occasion.

By the invitation of the authorities of Boston, he delivered the memorial address upon the life and work of Prof. Samuel F. B. Morse, the inventor of the electric telegraph.

In 1886 he gave an address in connection with the library festival at Wellesley College. He has for many years conducted, as an expert, investigations in chemistry and physics. He has published numerous chemical researches in the scientific publications of Europe and America.

Professor Horsford is still busily engaged in professional and philanthropic work whose influence is extended and helpful.

CHAPTER XV.

ACTON.

BY REV. JAMES FLETCHER.

The hope of rescuing from the wreck of oblivion some of the precious relics of the past has been the solace of care in the preparation of this work.

Hearty thanks are here expressed and acknowledgments made to those who have contributed with the pen and the memory in aid of the sketch.

William D. Tuttle, Esq., the town clerk, and his son, Horace F., have rendered important assistance in gathering facts from the town records.

The historical map prepared by Horace F. Tuttle for the history, and which it was hoped could be published in the same, is a valuable acquisition for future referenee. Its important items are given. It should be printed and doubtless will be soon. Rev. Dr. Knowlton, Rev. F. P. Wood, Rev. Mr. Heath, A. A. Wyman, Esq., Horace Hosmer and his daughter Bertha, Deacon Samuel Hosmer, Mrs. John Hapgood, Mrs. Lottie Flagg, Luther Conant, Esq., Moses Taylor, Esq., and Luke Smith have rendered essential service in gathering up the fragments that nothing be lost.

The Centennial address of Josiah H. Adams, Esq., Shattuck's "History of Concord" and the "Colonial History" of Charles H. C. Walcott have been freely consulted in the compilation.

The history of Acton seems to the writer in the review like a romance dropped freshly from the skies. It is in reality a plain tale of persons and events which have consecrated for all time this locality.

JAMES FLETCHER.

COLONIAL PERIOD.—Acton, twenty-four miles northwest of Boston, has on the north Littleton and Westford; on the east Carlisle and Concord; on the south Sudbury, Maynard and Stow; and on the west Boxboro' and Littleton.

Acton at its incorporation, July 21, 1735, was bounded by Sudbury, Concord, Billerica, Chelmsford, Westford, Littleton and Stow, which then included Boxborough. The principal part of what is now Carlisle, then belonging to Old Concord, was set off as a part of the new town, Acton.

The Carlisle District of Acton was incorporated as a separate town in 1780; the easterly part of Old Concord was incorporated in the new town of Bedford in 1729; and the southerly part of Old Concord was incorporated in the new town of Lincoln in 1754, so that from 1754 to 1780 the township of Acton was larger than that of Concord, though much behind in wealth and population. At the time of Concord's incorporation, in 1635, what is now the Acton territory was not a part of Concord, but was granted to Concord a few years after by the name of the "Concord Village," or the new grant covering nearly the present boundaries of Acton. The Willard Farms included in the act incorporating Acton in 1735 had, previous to that act, been granted to Concord.

When Acton was made a town the statute bounded it on the east by "Concord old Bounds," from which it appears, as before stated, that it includes no part of the original Concord and that the dividing line between the two towns is a portion of the old Concord on that side.

The Acton boundary extended leads to a heap of lichen-covered boulders, surmounted by a stake.

This ancient monument is near the top of a hill in the southwesterly part of Carlisle, and undoubtedly marks the old northwest corner of Concord.

It was identified and pointed out to Chas. H. Walcott, of Concord, on the ground by Major B. F. Heald, of Carlisle, who says that he has often heard his father and other ancient men, long since deceased, speak of this bound as marking the old Concord corner.

Everything goes to corroborate this testimony. The place was commonly known by the name of "Berry Corner," and was the original northeast corner of Acton, but in 1780 (statute passed April 28, 1780) a portion of that town near this point was included in what was then constituted the District of Carlisle, and subsequently formed a part of the town of the same name (Carlisle did not acquire all the legal characteristics of a town until February 18, 1805—3 Special Laws, 497).

Thomas Wheeler and others who came to Concord about 1639, found the most convenient of the lands already given out, and in 1642 petitioned for a grant of land on the northwest, which was conceded on condition that they improved the grant within two years. Most of the lands were granted to Concord for feeding.

They were not very accurately defined, being found upon actual survey to contain a greater number of acres than nominally specified in the grants.

A settlement was begun on these grants as early as 1656 and possibly a few years earlier. The Shepherd and Law families were among the first settlers.

Many of the meadows were open prairies affording, with little or no labor, grass in abundance.

Some of the uplands had been cleared by the Indians and were favorite places for feeding. In those days the "new grant" was familiarly called, and with some reason, "Concord's sheep pasture."

In 1666, in pursuance of an order from the General Court, Richard Beers, of Watertown, and Thomas Noyes, of Sudbury, laid out the new grant, or Concord Village, as it was called, comprising the present

territory of Acton and portions of Carlisle and Littleton, and made their return in the following year.

On January 12, 1669, a lease was made by Concord to Captain Thomas Wheeler, for the term of twenty-one years, of two hundred acres of upland and sixty acres of meadow, lying west of Nashoba Brook, in consideration of which he agreed to pay a yearly rent of £5 after the expiration of the first seven years, and to build a house forty feet in length, eighteen feet wide and twelve feet stud, "covered with shingles, with a payer of chimnes," also a barn forty feet long, twenty-four feet wide, and twelve feet stud. These buildings were to be left at the end of the term for the use of the town, with thirty acres of land in tillage and sufficiently fenced.

He agreed further, and this was the main purpose of the lease, to receive and pasture the dry cattle belonging to the town's people, not to exceed one hundred and twenty in number nor to be fewer than eighty.

The cattle were to be marked by their owners and delivered to Captain Wheeler at his house, and the price was fixed at two shillings a head, payable one-third in wheat, one-third in rye or pease, and one-third in Indian corn.

The owners were to "keep the said herd twelve Sabboth dayes yearly, at the appointment and according to the proportion by said Thomas or his heires allotted."

The number of cattle received under this agreement fell below the lowest limit, and, in January, 1673, the terms of the contract were so modified that Captain Wheeler was entitled to receive one shilling per head.

The town of Concord laid out a road to Thomas Wheeler's mill, the first grist-mill in Acton, located on the present site of Wetherbee's mill, as is proved by the foundations of the old mill found when digging for the present mill.

The canal now used is essentially the same as then used.

The mill was tended for the most part by women. A Mrs. Joseph Barker had charge among the last.

Going up from that site to the present saw-mill we find on the east side of the dam, near the road, the abutments of what were old iron works, called at the time a forge.

Here they had a trip-hammer and other implements and conveniences for working in iron. Joseph Harris made the latches and the iron-work from this forge for the first meeting-house.

The ore, which was smelted with charcoal, was bog iron ore found in the vicinity, some rods southwest. The building for the storing of the charcoal was a little distance up the old road going west, beyond the old walls. The charcoal bed is easily determined by striking a spade into the ground.

The old road went south of the present saw-mill and wound around near the old wall up to the brook at the foot of the hill, and there followed up the stream on the right side.

Captain Thomas Wheeler's house, supposed to be the first dwelling-house deserving the name, was west of the brook, not far from the wall where the old lilac bushes still stand, which belonged to his garden plot.

The spring near the brook, now enclosed in a barrel, was Captain Wheeler's well. There are evidences of an old orchard opposite on the south side of the brook. The Canadian plum-trees near by are said to have come from the stones of plums which the soldiers brought on their return from Canada in the French and Indian War.

Mrs. Joseph Barker, who tended the mill, lived at one time in Captain Wheeler's house. John Barker's house was a little to the right, on the east side of the stream, and farther west of Thomas Wheeler's house and barn.

Captain Thomas Wheeler died in 1676, from wounds received in his fight with the Indians at Brookfield. He was born a leader of men in war and peace. The narrative of the expedition of Captain Edward Hutchinson, after hostilities had begun at Plymouth, written by Captain Thomas Wheeler, is the epic of Colonial times. He was so associated with the first start in the settlement and business activities of Acton, before its incorporation, that we give space to the excellent synopsis of his narrative, by Charles H. Walcott, the Colonial historian of Concord:

"Captain Hutchinson was commissioned by the Council at Boston to proceed to the Nipmuck country, so called, in what is now Worcester County, and confer with the Indians there for the purpose of preventing, if possible, any extension of Philip's influence in that direction.

"Captain Thomas Wheeler, of Concord, who was already advanced in years, and had commanded the western troop of horse ever since its organization, was ordered to accompany Hutchinson with an escort of twenty or twenty-five men of his company. Accordingly they set out from Cambridge and arrived at Quabaug, or Brookfield, on Sunday, August 1st. Here they received information that the Indians whom they expected to meet had withdrawn to a place about ten miles distant towards the northwest. A detachment of four men was sent forward to assure them of the peaceable character of the expedition, and a meeting was agreed upon for the next morning, at eight o'clock, on a plain within three miles of the town.

"There was some apprehension of treachery, but prominent citizens of Brookfield not only expressed confidence in the good intentions of the savages, but declared their own willingness to be present at the conference, and Hutchinson decided that the appointment must be kept. The Indians, however, did not appear, and this fact, together with other suspicious

circumstances, led the sagacious Wheeler to think that to venture further would be unwise. But Hutchinson was unwilling to abandon his mission with nothing accomplished, and, in deference to his wishes, the order was given to advance towards a swamp where the savages were supposed to be lurking.

"As they proceeded the narrowness of the path, with the swamp on one side and a rocky hill on the other, forced men and horses to march in single file.

"Suddenly the war-whoop resounded, and the advancing column was assailed by a volley of arrows and bullets discharged from behind trees and bushes, killing eight men, wounding five, and throwing the line into disorder, which was materially increased by the difficulty of turning about or passing by in the straitened passage-way.

"Captain Wheeler spurred his horse up the hillside, when, finding himself unhurt and perceiving that some of his men had fallen under the fire of the enemy, who were now rushing forward to finish their work, he turned about and dashed boldly forward to attack them.

"The movement separated him for a few moments from his men. A well-directed shot killed his horse and brought the old man to the ground wounded, and it would soon have been all over with the brave captain, had not his son Thomas, who was also wounded, come to his rescue.

"Quickly dismounting, he placed his father in the saddle, and ran by his side until he caught another horse that had lost his rider, and so the two escaped with their lives, but suffering severely from their wounds.

"This was merely the beginning. Hutchinson had received a wound that caused his death in a few days, and now the task of extricating the command from its perilous situation devolved upon Captain Wheeler. It was performed in masterly fashion. Keeping to the open country and avoiding the woods, they retraced their way, with the assistance of friendly Indian guides, to the village of Brookfield, took possession of one of the largest and strongest houses, and fortified as best they could.

"They had not long to wait before the enemy appeared in superior numbers, and attacked the stronghold with vigor.

"The captain's disability brought to the front Lieutenant Simon Davis, another Concord man, who fought and prayed with a fervor that reminds one of the soldiers of Cromwell. To him, associated with James Richardson and John Fiske, of Chelmsford, the direction of affairs was entrusted.

"Two men, dispatched to Boston for assistance, were unable to elude the vigilance of the besiegers, and were obliged to return.

"The Indians piled hay and other combustibles against the side of the house and set fire to them, thus forcing the English to expose themselves in their efforts to extinguish the flames. Their bows shot arrows tipped with 'wild fire,' which alighted on the buildings within the enclosure and set them afire.

"To get their combustible materials close to the walls, a remarkable engine, fourteen rods long, was constructed by the savages of poles and barrels, which they trundled forward on its menacing errand. For three days and nights this horrible warfare continued.

"The besieged were compelled to witness the mutilation of their dead comrades who had fallen outside, and to endure as best they could the jeers and taunts of the foe.

"Rain came to the assistance of the little band by putting out the fires of their assailants and rendering it difficult to kindle new ones. Davis, who is said to have been of a 'lively spirit,' exhorted his men to remember that God was fighting on their side, and to take good aim before firing.

"The prayers and hymns of the soldiers, borne out on wings of fire and smoke, were answered by cries of the unregenerate heathen, who gave utterance to hideous groanings in imitation of the singing of psalms.

"Twice did brave Ephraim Curtis attempt to make his way through the enemy's line to go for succor. Twice was he compelled to return baffled. The third time, by great exertion and crawling for a considerable distance on his hands and knees, he succeeded in reaching Marlborough, where he gave the alarm, and on the evening of the 4th the garrison was overjoyed at the arrival of their old neighbor and friend, Major Willard, with a force of forty-six soldiers and five Indians, who, hearing at Marlborough of their distress, had altered his course to come to their relief.

"Towards morning the Indians departed, having set fire to all the houses, except that which sheltered the whites.

"It has already been stated that Captain Wheeler was severely wounded, and his son was detained at Brookfield for several weeks by the injuries he had received.

"It is easy to believe that the Captain and the remainder of his troop received a hearty welcome on their return home. The town kept the 21st day of October, 1675, as 'a day of praise and thanksgiving to God for their remarkable deliverance and safe return.' It was a battle in which Concord men were foremost in the display of courage and the rarer qualities that constitute good leadership.

"The Indians appear to have behaved very badly from the beginning. They were guilty of an unprovoked and treacherous assault upon a party whose purpose was one of peace and friendship. The mission was an honorable one and faithfully discharged; and Wheeler and his men are deserving of praise for all time as brave soldiers who acquitted themselves nobly under the most trying circumstances."

Nathan Robbins appears to be the first owner of the land after Wheeler, and the land has passed from father to son ever since.

ACTS OF INCORPORATION.—An act to incorporate the town of Acton, passed July, 1735.

"Whereas the inhabitants and proprietors of the Northwesterly part of Concord, in the County of Middlesex, called the Village or New Grant, have represented to this court that they labor under great difficulties by reason of their remoteness from the place of public worship and therefore desire that they and their estates, together with the farms called Willard Farms, may be set off a distinct and separate township for which they have also obtained the consent of the town of Concord:

"Be it therefore enacted by his Excellency the Governor, Council and Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said Northwesterly part of Concord, together with the said farms be, and hereby are set off, constituted and erected into a distinct and separate township by the name of Acton, and agreeably to the following boundaries, namely, beginning at the Southwest corner of Concord old bounds, then Southwesterly on Sudbury and Stow line till it comes to Littleton line, then bounded Northerly by Littleton, Westford and Chelmsford, then Easterly by Billerica till it comes to the Northwest corner of Concord old bounds and by said bounds to the place first mentioned.

"And that the inhabitants of the lands before described and bounded be and hereby are vested with all the town privileges and immunities that the inhabitants of other towns within this Province are or by law ought to be vested with.

"Provided that the said inhabitants of the said town of Acton do, within three years from the publication of this Act, erect and finish a suitable house for the public worship of God and procure and settle a learned orthodox minister of good conversation and make provision for his comfortable and honorable support."

This vicinity was called Concord Village in those days.

Here was a happy, independent, industrious community, owning their lands, worshiping God in their own way and educating their children.

For seventeen years all went well, till Sir Edmund Andros appeared in Boston and tried to overthrow the charter which was served by the people as their safeguard and protection.

He prohibited town-meetings except once a year to choose officers.

Puritan flesh and blood could not stand this. Their town-meetings meant business, and now they were ordered to give them up. Taxes were laid without consulting those who were to pay them, and, worst of all, Andros declared all land titles null and void.

When the people showed their deeds from the Indians he said he cared no more for an Indian's signature than he did for the scratch of a bear's paw.

Then they pleaded what we in late days have called squatter sovereignty. But he said that no length of possession could make valid a grant from one who had no title.

Then the people rose to defend their homes and the rights of Englishmen.

On the 19th of April, 1689, the Concord Company, commanded by John Heald, the first selectman of Acton after its incorporation, marched to Boston to assist in the revolt which overthrew the Andros government.

In this way the men of Concord and Acton antedated the original 19th of April, which has since become the red-letter day in our history.

THE FIRST MEETING-HOUSE.—We will retrace our steps by the old Brooks tavern, to the spot opposite where now stands the stately school building of the Centre District.

We will have to pause a long time here before comprehending the situation. It is the spot where stood for seventy years that old landmark of the past—the first meeting-house of the town of Acton.

If you have seen the striking picture in the pamphlet of the centennial celebration, you will have been helped to an impression of the house and its surroundings.

You must stand yourself on that hill of Zion, for such it was to our early forefathers, and view the landscape o'er. On the south is the road that leads through the woods to the resting-place of the dead. On the east rises Annursneak Hill, hiding from view the peaceful homes of Mother Concord.

To the north of Annursneak is Strawberry Hill, whose brow strikes but eight feet below the brow of the former, having a view more commanding and more accessible. To the north and west are the delectable Hills, and towering above them all in the distance, Watatuck, Monadnock and Wachusett, old, familiar faces to every Acton boy and girl.

The building of this meeting-house is associated with the organization of Acton as a separate incorporated town. (See act of incorporation.) The location and erection of a meeting-house soon began to agitate the people. In October of the year of incorporation it was voted not to build that year, but "to set the meeting-house in the Center." By the centre was meant the point of intersection of lines drawn to the extreme limits of the town. This decision was not satisfactory to all the inhabitants.

At a meeting holden November 10, 1735, it was propounded whether the town would not reconsider their vote to have the meeting-house in the centre, and "agree to set it at some place near the center for convenience." It was voted not to reconsider. It was also voted not to do anything towards building the meeting-house the ensuing year.

At a meeting on the first Monday in December the same year it was again proposed to the town to reconsider the previous action, with reference to the location. The article was dismissed. But the minority had another meeting warned for December 29th, "To see if the Town will reconsider thar vote that they will set thare meeting-house in the Center, and agree to set it on a knowl with a grate many Pines on it, Laying South Easterly about twenty or thirty Rods of a black oak tree, whare the fire was made the last meeting, or to se if the Town will agree to set thare meeting-house on a knowl the North of an oak tree whare they last met, or to see if the Town will chuse two or three men to say which of the places is most convenient, or to se if the Commity think that knowl whereon stands a dead pine between the two aforesaid knowls, or to say which of the three places is most convenient."

At this meeting the location was changed to the

first "knowl" mentioned in the warrant. The site of the first meeting-house (a little to the south of where the Centre School-house now stands, near the two elms) was twenty or thirty rods southeast of the geographical centre of the town, as it was before the incorporation of Carlisle.

At the meeting which finally decided the location of the house, it was voted to begin that year and the dimensions were fixed upon.

The house was to be forty-six by thirty-eight feet in length and width and twenty feet in height.

At the next meeting (January 2, 1736) the former vote was reconsidered, and the vote was to have the house forty-six by thirty-six and "21 feet between joynts."

Voted, "That all the inhabitants of the town should have the offer to work at giting the timber for the house by the Commity."

Voted, "That Samuel Wheeler, Jonathan Parlin, Simon Hunt, John Shepherd and Daniel Shepherd be a Commity to manage ye affair of giting the timber for ye meeting-house."

Voted, "That the Commity should have six shillings per day for thar work, and the other Laborers five shillings per day."

Voted, "That there should be a Rate of seventy pounds made and assessed on the inhabitants of the town of Acton towards setting up the frame of the house."

May 10, 1736, it was voted "That the Selectmen should agree with Madam Cuming for ye land for ye meeting-house to stand on."

The deed of the land of the first meeting-house in Acton was dated January 25, 1737, signed by "Anne Cummings, wife of Mr. Alexander Cummings, Surgeon, now abroad, and attorney of said Alexander Cummings, being empowered and authorized by him."

This deed is written in a bold, large-lettered style, and is very plain to read—as but few specimens of penmanship seen in ancient or modern times.

It is in a fine state of preservation in the keeping of the town clerk.

The style of it reminds one of John Hancock's signature to the Declaration of Independence.

September 15, 1736, the town voted "To frame and Raise thar meeting-house before winter, and John Heald, Thomas Wheeler and Simon Hunt were chosen a Commity impowered to Regulate and Inspect and order ye framing and Raising ye meeting-house in Acton and like wise to agree with Carpenter or carpenters to frame ye house."

At the same meeting it was decided to do nothing about preaching for the ensuing winter.

November 1, 1736, *Voted*, "That they would board and shingle ye roofs and board and clap-board ye sides and ends, make window frames and casements and make ye door and crown of doors and windows. put troughs round, build ye pulpit and lay ye lower floor, ye work to be done by ye first of November next."

May 30, 1737, *Voted*, "To underpin the meeting-house by working each man a day."

Those who were delinquent were required to work a day "at high ways, by order of ye surveyor, more than thare equal part other ways wood have been."

"The work of pinting the underpining was let out to Jonathan Billings for 2£ 10*s.*, which work he engaged to do spedily and Do it Wel."

Public worsbip was first held in the meeting-house in January, 1738.

At the time of Mr. Swift's ordination, November, 1738, it was far from being finished.

May 15, 1745, *Voted*, "To raise twenty pounds, old tenor, for finishing the meeting house that year."

Not till two years after this was the house completed. One should read the several dates in order to get a full impression of the slowness and difficulty of building a meeting-house in those colonial times.

There is a tradition that Lord Acton, of England, for whom the town may possibly have been named, offered a bell for the house of worship, but, having no tower, and the people feeling too poor to erect one, the present was declined.

When the house was finished (so-called), in 1747, there were no pews, except on the lower floor adjoining the walls of the house, and these were but sixteen in number. The four pews which were under and over each of the gallery stairs were built at intervals some years after. Several of the pew-holders from time to time obtained leave of the town to make a new window for their own accommodation and at their own expense. Each seems to have consulted his own fancy, both as to size and location. Little windows, in this way, of different sizes and shapes, came to be placed near the corners of the building.

In the body of the house, on each side the broad aisle, were constructed what were then called *the body seats*, and these together with the gallery were occupied by all who, through poverty or otherwise, were not proprietors of a pew.

Both in the body seats and in the gallery the men were arranged on the right of the pulpit and the women on the left, so that while the pew-holder could sit with his wife at church, all others were obliged to keep at a respectful distance.

The custom of "seating the meeting-house," as it was called, was found necessary, and was well calculated to prevent confusion and to insure particularly to the aged a certain and comfortable seat.

To give the better satisfaction the committee were usually instructed to be governed by *age* and the amount of *taxes* paid for the three preceding years. In the year 1757 they were also instructed to be governed by "other circumstances," at their discretion.

The report of that committee was not accepted and a new committee was chosen with the usual instructions. What the "other circumstances" were does

not appear. But it should have been known that any circumstances which depended on the estimation and discretion of a committee would fail to give satisfaction in a matter of such peculiar delicacy.

The new committee, however, seem to have restored harmony, and the same practice was continued during the existence of the old meeting-house.

Special instructions were given in favor of negroes, who were to have the exclusive occupation of the "hind seat" in the gallery.

How the youthful eyes lingered on the heels of Quartus Hosmer as they disappeared in his passage up the gallery-stairs, and how eagerly they watched the re-appearance in the gallery of his snow-white eyes, made more conspicuous by the eel-skin ribbon which gathered into a queue his graceful curls!

He lived at the house then occupied by Mr. Hosmer, near the turnpike corner on the way from the Centre to the South, midway between the two villages.

In 1769 "the hind parts" of the body seats were removed and four new pews were erected in their place. They were occupied by Thomas Noyes, Daniel Brooks, Joseph Robbins and Jonathan Hosmer. In the same year the house was new covered and glazed. In 1783 four other other pews were built and another portion of the body seats was removed. Three of these were sold and the fourth was "assigned for the use of the clergyman. It was through the banisters of this pew "old Mother Robbins," who sat in the body seats, used to furnish the centennial orator, Josiah Adams, Esq., the son of the pastor, those marigolds, peonies, and pink roses, decorated and perfumed with pennyroyal, southernwood, and tansy. She was indeed a most interesting old lady. No other public building has existed in the town so long as this stood. It was the house in which the first minister, Mr. Swift, preached during the whole of his long service of thirty-seven years, and in which Mr. Moses Adams, the second minister, officiated during the period of thirty years.

It was used not simply for religious worship, but for town-meetings. Here the money was voted for the first public schools, here the roads were laid out, here the poor were provided for, here Acton took its municipal action preliminary to the Revolutionary War, and here the first vote was passed recommending the Continental Congress to put forth the Declaration of Independence. The house stood and was used for these public purposes until 1808, when it was forsaken and after a few years torn down.

It would be a novel and impressive service could the persons of the present generation be transferred just for one day and witness the scene in that old meeting-house on the "knowl." We would like to catch just one look at that venerable row of the deacons' seat. We would like to see them there, each in his turn reading the psalm, a line at a time, and tossing it up for the use of the singers in the front gallery. We would like to hear the peculiar voices of James Billings and Samuel Parlin coming back as an echo. This practice of reading a line at a time, which, doubtless, had its origin in a want of psalm-books, became so hallowed in the minds of many that its discontinuance was a work of some difficulty.

In 1790 the church voted that it should be dispensed with in the afternoon, and three years afterwards they voted to abandon the practice.

On the Sabbath previous to the dedication of their second meeting-house, the people of Acton came from all directions, a whole family on a horse, toward the old meeting-house, to bid farewell to the place where their fathers had worshiped. After the whole town had come, entered the church, taken their seats in the old-fashioned square pews, sung some of Watts' hymns, and listened to a long and fervent prayer, their beloved minister, the Rev. Moses Adams, eloquently discoursed from the following text (Micah 2: 10): "Arise and let us depart, for this is not our rest." "Let us sing in his praise," the minister said. All the psalm-books at once fluttered open at "York."

A sprig of green caraway carries me there to the old village church and the old village choir.

> "To the land of the leal they have gone with their song,
> Where the choir and the chorus together belong,
> Oh! be lifted ye gates! let me hear them again,
> Blessed song: blessed Sabbath. Forever. Amen."

Rev. John Swift, the First Pastor.—We come to the fine mansion now owned and occupied by Deacon William W. Davis. Since its recent improvements it has become an important addition to the structural adornment of the Centre. It is near enough to the main avenue of the village to be easily seen, and, with its elevated front and majestic elm towering above the whole, it makes a fine perspective view on approaching the town from either road.

Mr. Eliab Grimes, who formerly occupied the place, was a successful farmer who tilled the land in the warm months of the year, and taught the schools in the winter, and had important trusts of service from the town as selectman and representative. Joash Keyes, David Barnard, Esq., in 1800; Deacon Josiah Noyes, in 1780; and Rev. John Swift, in 1740. One dwelling-house on this site was burned. Here is where Mr. Swift, the first pastor of Acton, for so long a period lived. Here we must pause long enough to get affiliated to the historical atmosphere, which seems to pervade the whole region around.

At a meeting of the town October 4, 1737, while the first meeting-house was being built, a committee was selected to supply the pulpit. The meetings were to begin the first Sunday in January. At a meeting on January 25, 1738, it was voted "to raise thirty pounds to glaze ye meeting-house, to raise fifty pounds to support preaching, and Joseph Fletcher should be paid for a cushing for ye pulpit out of the tax money." In the warrant for a meeting holden on March 28th was this article: "To se if ye town will appint a day for fasting and prayer to God, with

the advice and assistance of sum of ye Neighboring Ministers for further directions, for the establishing ye gospel among them, as, allso, who and how many thay will advise with, as, allso, to chose a commett to mannig ye affare and provide for ye Pulpit for ye time to come."

Voted "to appint ye last Thursday of March for fasting and prayer."

Voted "that thay will call in five of ye Neighboring Ministers for advice in calling a Minister, viz.: Mr. Lorin, of Sudbury; Mr. Cook, East Sudbury; Mr. Gardner, of Stow; Mr. Peabody, of Natick; and Mr. Rogers, of Littleton. Also, voted ye Selectmen be a Committ to Mannig ye affare, and provide for ye pulpit for ye futur." At this meeting John Cragin was appointed to take care of the meeting-house, and thus he became Acton's first sexton.

May 9, 1738, the town invited Mr. John Swift, of Framingham, to settle with them as minister. It was voted to give him £250 as a settlement, and an annual salary of £150, to be paid in semi-annual instalments in Massachusetts bills, which at the time was equivalent to about £117 settlement, and £70 salary. The contracting committee were John Heald, Samuel Wheeler, John Brooks, Ammiruhammah Faulkner, Simon Hunt and Joseph Fletcher. The salary offered was to rise or fall with the price of the principal necessaries of life. In the year 1754, the following list of articles considered as principally necessary for consumption in a minister's family were reported by a town's committee, with the current prices in 1735 annexed, and were adopted as a basis for regulating the amount of Mr. Swift's salary.

The signatures of the parties on the record show their entire satisfaction.

"30 b. Corn, at 6*s.*; 20 b. Rye, at 10*s.*; 500 lb. Pork, at 8*d.*; 300 lb. Beef, at 5*d.*; 25 lb. wool, at 3*s.* 6*d.*; 15 lb. Cotton, at 4*s.* 6*d.*; 50 lb. Flax, at 1*s.* 3*d.*; 56 lb. sugar, at 1*s.* 4*d.*; 20 gals. Rum, at 8*s.*; 80 lb. Butter, at 1*s.* 4*d.*; 2 Hats, at £3; 10 pr. shoes, at 15*s.*"

The contract and agreement between Rev. John Swift and the town of Acton is here copied as an instructive chapter on the times:

"Whare-as the Town of Acton at a Town Meeting Duly warned May 19th, 1738, did invite ye Rev. John Swift into ye work of ye ministry among them, and did all so pass a vote to give him two hundred and fifty Pounds towards a settlement, and a hundred and fifty Pounds Sallary yearly and since, at a town meeting October ye 10th, 1738, did vote that said Sallary should be kept up to ye value of it and paid in every half years End yearly, and did also chuse John Heald, Joseph Fletcher, John Brooks, Samuel Wheeler and Simon Hunt as a Committ to contract with the Said Mr. Swift about ye said Sallary, the contract and agreement between said Mr. Swift and said Committ is as follows:

"1st. That said sallary shall be paid According to ye ould tenure of the Massachusetts Bills or in an equivalency of such bills of pr. cent or lawful currency as shall pass from time to time.

"2d. That the value of said sallary be kept up from time to time according as when it was voted on May afore according to ye prise of the necessary provisions of life.

"3d. That the payment of said sallary continue so long as said Mr. Swift shall continue in ye work of ye ministry in said Acton and in witness her of said Mr. Swift and said Committe have hereunto set their hands this 30th day of October A. D., 1738. John Swift, John Heald, Joseph Fletcher, Amme Faulkner, Simon Hunt, John Brooks.

"Ordered on this book of Records,

"Attest SIMON HUNT, *Town Clerk.*"

The contract was faithfully kept by the people of Acton, and the pastorate of Mr. Swift continued till his death, November 7, 1775, thirty-seven years lacking one day, at the age of sixty-two years.

The small-pox prevailed as an epidemic in Acton that year. Mr. Swift took the disease and never afterwards was able to preach.

Mr. Swift was ordained on the 8th day of November, 1738. No particulars of the ordination can be gathered either from the town or church records, except that "the Council had entertainment at the house of Mr. Joseph Fletcher."

Mr. Swift was the only son of the Rev. John Swift, of Framingham. He was born in Framingham, in 1713; graduated at Cambridge in 1733, and at the time of his ordination was twenty-five years of age. He was little above the common height, rather slender, his manners and address agreeable and pleasant. He was somewhat economical in the management of his affairs, but kind to the poor and a good neighbor. He was opposed to excess and extravagance of every kind and to promote peace and good feeling was his constant care. He had some singularities of character, but led an exemplary life, and retained the affections and respect of his people through a ministry of thirty-seven years. His preaching was practical, plain and serious, though it is said he had occasionally some unusual expressions in the pulpit which were rather amusing.

As was the custom of many clergymen of his day, he used to receive lads into his family for instruction in the studies preparatory to college. In one year five young men were presented by him at Cambridge, and all passed the examination and were admitted. There are a few scraps in his handwriting which appear to discover considerable ease in the use of the Latin language, and in his church records there are many similar instances, but they are so attended with abbreviations and characters that it is not always easy to discover their import. Some extracts from his church records are given. The volume is a very small one. It begins without caption or heading, and there is nothing to indicate what the contents are to be.

The first entry is in the following words: "Nov. 8, 1738. I was ordained pastor of the church in Acton." He speaks of himself in the same manner in all parts of the record.

Under date of June 14, 1739, is the following record, "It being lecture day, after the blessing was pronounced I desired the church to tarry, and asked their minds concerning the remainder of the elements after communion and they voted 'I should have 'em.'"

"Sept. 11, 1744. I made a speech to the church thus: 'Brethren, I doubt not but you have taken

notice of the long absence of brother Mark White, Jr., from the ordinances of God in this place. If you request it of him to give us the reasons of his absence some time hence, I desire you would manifest it by an uplifted hand. Whereupon there was an affirmative vote.' June 7, 1749 notations of sacraments ceased here, because I recorded them in my almanac interlineary."

The book is a curious intermixture of Latin and English accounts of admissions to the church, baptisms, administrations of the Supper and dealings with delinquents, and it is evident that Mr. Swift had little more in view than brief memoranda for his own use. He writes: "I regret that I did not at the beginning of my ministry procure a larger book, and keep a more particular and extensive record. I hope my successor will profit by this hint." Rev. Mr. Swift lived to see the opening of the Revolutionary War. His preaching, prayers and influence at the time doubtless helped in the preliminaries of that eventful struggle.

Thomas Thorp, in his deposition given in 1835 to the selectmen and committee of the town, says: "On the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, I had notice that the regulars were coming to Concord. I took my equipments and proceeded to Capt. Davis's house. I passed the house of Rev. Mr. Swift. His son, Doctor John Swift, made me a present of a cartridge-box, as he saw I had none. I well remember there was on the outside a piece of red cloth in the shape of a heart."

On that memorable morning Capt. Davis marched his company by Mr. Swift's house to the music of fife and drum. The blood in the pastor's veins quickened at the sight and sound, and he waved his benedictions over the heroic company as they passed on to the scene of action. He helped to sustain the widow in her first shock as Davis came lifeless to a home he had left but a few hours before, strong and vigorous. Mr. Swift did not see the end, only the beginning of the struggle.

In November of the same year a funeral cortege was seen wending its way to the old cemetery in Acton. They were following the remains of their first pastor. A mound and a simple marble slab mark his grave. Four pine trees of stately growth sing their requiem over his precious dust as the years come and go. All honor to the dear memory of him who laid the foundation stones of this goodly church of Acton, and did so much to form the peaceful, frugal character of its inhabitants.

> "Honor and blessings on his head
> While living—good report when dead.'

We do not easily part from a spot so suggestive of the stirring events, parochial, ministerial, civil and military, which centralized in the early days of Acton, on these very acres. We will leave the homestead in the care of Deacon Davis, who has spent the best energies of his life in improving and adorning the premises, and whose sympathies are in full accord with all the memories of the past and with all the prospects of the future.

Music in the First Church.—In 1785 the singers were directed, for the first time to sit together in the gallery.

In 1793 the practice of performing sacred music by reading the line of the hymn as sung was discontinued. A church Bible was presented in 1806 by Deacon John White, of Concord.

In the church records, as far back as March 23, 1797, is found the following vote: 1st. "It is the desire of the church that singing should be performed as a part of public worship in the church and congregation.

"2d. It is the desire of the church that the selectmen insert an article in the warrant for the next May meeting to see if the town will raise a sum of money to support a singing-school in the town and that the pastor apply to the selectmen in the name of the church for that purpose.

"3d. Voted to choose five persons to lead the singing in the future.

"4th. Voted to choose a committee of three to nominate five persons for singers."

Deacon Joseph Brabrook, Deacon Simon Hunt and Thomas Noyes were chosen this committee. They nominated Winthrop Faulkner, Nathaniel Edwards, Jr., Simon Hosmer, Josiah Noyes and Paul Brooks, and these persons were chosen, by vote, to lead the singing in the future.

Voted, "It is the desire of the church that the singers use a Bass Viol in the public worship, if it be agreeable to them.

Voted, "It is the desire of the church that all persons who are qualified would assist the singing in the public worship."

Deacon Simon Hosmer played for thirty years.

Deacons in the First Church.—Joseph Fletcher, chosen December 15, 1738, died September 11, 1746, aged 61; John Heald, chosen December 15, 1738, died May 16, 1775, aged 82; Jonathan Hosmer, died 1775, aged 64; John Brooks, died March 6, 1777, aged 76; Samuel Hayward, chosen September 29, 1775, died March 6, 1795, aged 78; Francis Faulkner, chosen September 29, 1775, died August 5, 1805, aged 78; Joseph Brabrook, chosen September 29, 1775, died April 28, 1812, aged 73; Simon Hunt, chosen April 19, 1792, died April 27, 1820, aged 86; Josiah Noyes, chosen March 27, 1806, dismissed and removed to Westmoreland, N. H., October 16, 1808; Benjamin Hayward, chosen March 27, 1806, excused June 15, 1821; John Wheeler, chosen April 18, 1811, died December 17, 1824, aged 64; John White, chosen April 18, 1811, died April 3, 1824, aged 54; Phineas Wheeler, chosen June 15, 1821, died in 1838, aged 65; Daniel F. Barker, chosen June 15, 1821, died in 1840; Silas Hosmer, chosen June 15, 1821.

WOODLAWN CEMETERY.—This is now a very old and extensive burying-ground, pleasantly located, with a slight natural grade descending from the north to the south—the new portion towards East Acton being level and of light, dry soil adapted to burying purposes. It has two pumps, a hearse-house and receiving-tomb, and a beautiful pine grove shielding from the summer's sun where public services can be held. Many ornamental monuments and slabs have been erected in later years.

The original deed to the town for the opening of Woodlawn Cemetery was given by Nathan Robbins January 16, 1737, and contained one-half an acre. The second deed was given by Joseph Robbins December 11, 1769, a small tract adjoining southeast corner. The third deed was dated November 2, 1812; the fourth deed was dated January 1, 1844; the fifth deed was dated August 22, 1862. The present area (1890) is between eleven and twelve acres. The oldest date noticed upon any of the slabs is 1743.

In earlier times slabs were not erected—a simple stone marking the place of burial. Many have been buried here whose graves have no outward token of their locality. A recent careful count of the graves in this cemetery makes the number 1671, showing that here lie the remains of a population nearly if not quite equal to those above ground on the present limits of the town. The location is about midway between East Acton and the Centre, and easily reached by good roads leading from all the villages and the other portions of the town.

Within the memory of some now living, before the new road from the Centre was laid out and the only passage was by the present site of Mr. Moorhouse, winding through a continuous line of woods, growing darker till the gurgling waters of Rocky Guzzle were heard just as the grave-stones struck the eye, it required more nerve than most boys and girls had in those more superstitious times to travel that way alone in the night or even in day-time. The hair would stand on end in spite of one's self as one reached the sombre retreat. Few were brave enough to pass that way to mill unattended unless necessity or the calls of love impelled.

With the more cheery aspect of the thoroughfares in later years and with the mind cleared of the ghost, stories, which, if heard, are discredited on the spot and expelled at once from the memory, one can travel that way and sing or whistle as he goes by, conscious of none but helpful companionship.

A few epitaphs on the tomb-stones are here given, which may be of interest. The oldest slabs of unique design have at the top the Latin words *Memento mori*, which means, remember that you must die.

Erected in memory of Mr. Josiah Hayward, who departed this life May 6, 1783, aged 76.

He was a gentleman of worth and integrity, lived much respected for his private, social and public virtues; sustained divers civil offices with honor to himself and benefit to the community and particularly that of a representative for this town in the General Assembly, where he showed himself a warm friend of his country.

His memory is precious with the friends of virtue, religion and mankind.

He had life in his imagination and a good judgment, was a humble, patient Christian, ever ready to do good when he saw an opportunity.

Whoever you be that see my hearse,
Take notice of and learn this verse,
For by it you may understand,
You have not time at your command.

Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord from henceforth, yea, saith the Spirit that they may rest from their labors and their works do follow them.

On the marble slab at the tomb of Rev. John Swift:

Rev. John Swift died November 7, 1775, aged 62 years.

He was ordained as the first pastor of the Congregational Church of Acton, November 8, 1738, and continued in this relation until death. He was a plain, practical and serious preacher and a faithful minister.

Memento Mori.

In memory of Major Daniel Fletcher, who departed this life December 15, 1776, in the 59th year of his age.

'Tis dangers great he has gone through
From enemies' hands his God him drew
When fighting for that noble cause,
His country and its famous laws.
But now we trust to rest has gone
Where wars and fightings there is none.

Here lies buried the body of Deacon Joseph Fletcher, who departed this life September 11, 1746, in the 61st year of his age.

Memento Mori.

This stone is erected to preserve the remembrance of Deacon Samuel Hayward, and to remind the living that they must follow him. He died March 6, 1791, aged 78.

For many years he commanded the militia in this town. He was a kind husband and father, neighbor and a lover of his country, of good men, of religion and of the poor. The memory of such a man is blessed.

Erected in memory of Captain Stevens Hayward, who died October 6, 1817.

In memory of Deacon John White, who died April 3, 1821, in his 53d year.

Erected in memory of James Fletcher, who died December 9, 1815, aged 57, whose death was caused by the falling of a tree.

The rising morning don't assure,
That we shall end the day,
For death stands ready at the door,
To snatch our lives away.

The following inscription is upon a large slab mounted in a horizontal position:

Sacred to the memory of Rev. Moses Adams, who was born in Framingham, October 16, 1749, graduated at Cambridge in 1771; was ordained in 1777, minister of the Church and congregation of Acton, and continued such till October 13, 1819, when he died on the 16th, which was the 70th anniversary of his birth.

His remains were placed beneath this stone. In his person he was dignified and modest, in his intellect vigorous and sound, in his heart benevolent and devout. His preaching was plain and practical, and his example added greatly to his power. The Scriptures were his study and delight, and while he exercised the protestant right of expounding them for himself, his candor toward the sincere who differed from him was in the spirit of the Gospel.

The good being whom he loved with supreme devotion was pleased to grant him many years of prosperity and gladness, and to add not a few of affliction and sorrow.

The first he enjoyed with moderation and gratitude, and in the last he exhibited the power of religion to sustain the practical Christian.

To his people and his family he was ardently attached and spent his life in exertions and prayers for their welfare, and they have placed this inscription to testify their reverence for his character and their love for his memory.

We cannot mourn the venerable shade whom angels led in triumph to the skies while following sorrow halted at the tomb.

THE NORTH ACTON CEMETERY.—Its location is between three and four miles from Acton Centre, on the road to Carlisle on the left hand. It is a very old burying-ground of small area and contains about 100 graves.

A few of the epitaphs are given :

Sacred to the memory of Captain Samuel Davis, who died July 4th, 1800, aged 89.

Retire my friends,
Dry up your tears,
Here I must lie
Till Christ appears.

In memory of —— Davis, who died September 16, 1815, aged 72.

Beneath this stone
Death's prisoner lyes,
The stone shall move,
The prisoner rise,
When Jesus with Almighty word,
Calls his dead saints
To meet the Lord.

Memento Mori.

Here lies buried the body of Deacon John Heald, who departed this life May 16, 1775, in the 82d year of his age. His wife Mary died September 1, 1758, aged 61.

MOUNT HOPE CEMETERY, West Acton.—The West Acton Cemetery is gracefully located on elevated dry ground on the southern border of the village to the right as one passes from West to South Acton. It was opened in 1848. It is regularly laid out; has a new receiving-tomb and many modern slabs and several costly monuments of artistic design. It contains 271 graves and will have an increasing interest as the years go by.

THE BROOKS TAVERN.—Many now living can recall the gambrel roof two-story house at the foot of the hill, near where Mr. Moorhouse now lives, owned and occupied for many years by Mr. Nathaniel Stearns, the father of Mrs. Moses Taylor.

In the earlier days, before the present avenue and village at the Centre had been laid out, it stood as a conspicuous centre-figure facing the old meeting-house on the knoll, near where the school-house now stands.

The space between these two buildings was the Acton Common of ye olden time. Here were the military drills. Here were the town-meeting gatherings. This Stearns house was the hotel of the surrounding districts, and was known as the "Brocks Tavern," from Daniel Brooks, who occupied it in 1762, and Paul Brooks afterwards.

When the new meeting-house of 1807 was raised it was necessary to send to Boston to engage sailors accustomed to climb the perilous heights of a sea-faring life. They assisted in raising and locating the frame of the steeple. After the deed was accomplished they celebrated the exploit in feasting and dancing at the "Brooks Tavern."

Could the walls of this tavern be put upon the stand, and could they report all they have seen and heard in the line of local history, we would have a chapter which would thrill us with its heroic, humorous and tragic details.

THE FLETCHER HOMESTEAD.—As we leave this enchanted spot we notice the old stepping-stone of the meeting-house which Mason Robbins has erected in the wall at the right, and inscribed upon its broad face the memorial tablet of the bygone days. As we reach the house now owned and occupied by Mrs. Jonathan Loker, we see a lane to the left leading into the vacant pasture and orchard.

Pass into that lane for a few rods, and we reach the marks of an old cellar on the left. Here stood for many years, from 1794 on, the Fletcher homestead, where James Fletcher, the father of Deacon John Fletcher, and his brother James and Betsey, the sister, lived during childhood up to the years of maturity. A few feet from this ancient cellar-hole to the west is the site of the first Fletcher russet apple-tree. Childhood's memories easily recall the ancient unpainted cottage, the quaint old chimney with the brick-oven on the side, and the fire-place large enough for the burning of logs of size and length, and in front to the southeast a vegetable garden unmatched at the time for its culture and richness; and a large chestnut-tree to the south, planted by Deacon John, in early life.

The farm and homestead of Potter Conant, where Herbert Robbins now lives, on the cross-road, near Mr. Thomas Hammond's, was originally owned and occupied by James Fletcher, the father of Deacon John, and the birth-place of the latter. It was sold in exchange to Potter Conant, when Deacon John was four years old.

Thomas Smith, the father of Solomon Smith, died here in 1758. Solomon Smith, who was at the Concord fight, lived here at the time. His son, Luke Smith, was at Baltimore with his knapsack and gun, when the rioters mobbed the old Sixth on the 19th of April, 1861. Silas Conant lived here later. Betsey married a Mr. Shattuck, who moved to Landaff, N. H., and was the mother of Lydia Shattuck, the noted teacher at Mount Holyoke College. For forty-one years she was connected with the institution, as a pupil in the fall of 1848, and of late years has been the only in-tructor who had studied under Mary Lyon. She began to teach immediately after graduation. She made a specialty of natural history studies and was an enthusiastic botanist. She was associated with Professor Agassiz and Guyot in founding the Anderson School on Penikese Island, and was largely instrumental in awakening the interest which led to the founding of Williston Hall at South Hadley. Last summer she was made professor emeritus and granted a permanent home at the college. She died at the college November 2, 1889, aged sixty-seven years and five months.

THE SKINNER HOUSE.—This structure, of which the artist has given a genuine and beautiful sketch, is located in the southeast corner of Acton. Its stands on rising ground, just off the main road, facing a striking landscape towards the west, which includes

the Assabet River, with its picturesque scenery of banks, foliage and bridge. The artist stood with this view all in his rear, with what is embraced in the sketch in front. The house was built in 1801, by Mr. Simeon Hayward, the father of Mrs. Skinner. It was at the time one of the most costly and tasteful residences in the whole town and held that rank for years. Even at this late date it will stand criticism with many dwelling-houses more modern and expensive.

That majestic elm which towers above the house on the right is a hundred years old, and is a fair specimen of its cotemporaries distributed in all parts of the town. Without them Acton would be shorn of its distinguishing beauty. To the left is the carriage-house and in the background the barn.

This house took the place of the old one which stood just in the rear of this when Mrs. Skinner was born, August 14, 1796. Her grandfather, Josiah Hayward, moved on to this site in 1737, and had prominence in the early history of the town. He and his wife were allowed a seat in the first meeting-house in 1737, which was considered at the time a marked compliment to their intelligence and rank. On the south and east sides of the house are many thick trees to prevent accident in case of explosion at the powder-mills which are built a short distance away on the banks of the Assabet River.

Do not pause too long on the outskirts of this delightful homestead. A knock at the door will give you a welcome within. Here lives the oldest person in town,—Mrs. Mary Skinner. On meeting her, she takes you by the hand with a genial welcoming expression of the face which puts you at ease and makes you glad that you came.

One needs not the painted miniature done on ivory when she was twenty-one years old to assure the beauty of her youth. There are in her aged countenance no doubtful traces of that early charm, which made her a most attractive maiden. This interesting old lady never tires in telling of the frolics and festivities of her girlhood days, and the doings of the beaux and belles.

The young people for miles around used to meet at the wayside inn, where many a grand ball and party was given in honor of the lovely Jerusha Howe, the beauty of the town of Sudbury. Mrs. Skinner went to the dancing-school when eight years old.

Do not miss the kind offer of Miss Dole, the faithful attendant for years of the venerable Mrs. Skinner, to visit the spare parlors. Here, one may fairly revel among the old-fashioned portraits, curious-shaped dishes and antique furniture. In a corner of the parlor is a tiny piano of rosewood, with gilded finishing and ornaments made eighty years ago. It still has the clear sweet tone of ye olden time. Underneath the key-board are three drawers to hold music, each with little gilded knobs. There is some exquite music-copying which Mrs. Skinner d'd years ago. Also many pictures which she painted; but the most interesting of all are the white satin shoes which she wore when she was married. On a little printed slip neatly pasted inside of one of them the maker's name is given, mentioning that he kept a variety store, and also that at his establishment customers could have "rips mended gratis."

At the age of twenty-eight she married and removed to Andover, Mass., where her husband, Mr. Henry Skinner, was in business. She lived there about four years, but after the death of her husband and two children, who died within eleven days of each other, she returned to her home, which she left as a bride, and here she has lived ever since. At the age of sixty-four she found it necessary to wear glasses, but only for a short time, and now has remarkable eye-sight. She keeps well informed through the daily papers, and sits up until a late hour to have the news read to her.

All her near relatives are dead. Her father, Simeon Hayward, died June 5, 1803, when she was seven years old. Her son, Henry Skinner, born two months after the decease of her husband, graduated from Harvard College before he was eighteen years old, in 1846—a civil engineer—died February 18, 1867. Her sister Betsey, who lived in the same house with her, with her husband, Rev. Samuel Adams, have both been dead for years. Betsey, when a young maiden, by the election of the ladies of Acton, presented to the Davis Blues an elegant standard and bugle. The address on that occasion was marked with sentiment and culture. It closes in these words,—"Should ever our invaded country call you to the onset you will unfurl your banner and remember that he whose name it bears sealed his patriotism with his blood."

Her attendant for years says Mrs. Skinner has a most lovely disposition. You allude to the many changes and trials her of life, and she says, "My life has been a favored one." She never speaks an unkind word, is never out of patience with persons or things. No matter what happens, it is always right—all right. She has been kind to so many. No one knows how many she has helped. No matter who comes with a subscription paper she listens patiently and gives cheerfully. When subscribing to bear the expense of her husband's portrait and of the sketch of her historic homestead, she said, "I may not be alive when the picture is taken, but it may do some one some good."

In sickness her aim seems to be to relieve the care of attendance. Only yesterday she quoted the remark: Every person has three characters: 1. The one which their neighbors give. 2. The one which they themselves give. 3. The one which they really are. They all seem to be blended in one in Mrs. Skinner.

Mrs. Skinner has been for the larger portion of her

life a consistent member and liberal patron of the Acton Church. She gave the pulpit to the new meeting-house. Sitting in her cosy room, with its quaint ornaments and substantial furnishings, her white hands resting on her lap, she is a never-to-be-forgotten picture of serene, happy old age, while all about her there appears a peace above all earthly dignities —a still and quiet conscience.

THE OLD PARSONAGE.—Town Records, January, 1780 :

"*Voted*, that the select man appoint a town-meeting Tuesday, Jan. 25th, 1780, at one o'clock P.M., to see if the town will raise a sum of money to make good that part of the Rev. Moses Adams' settlement that is to be laid out in building him a dwelling-house, and pass any other votes that may be thought proper when met Relating to settlement or the pay of the workers that have Don Labour on said house.

"Acton, Jan. 31, 1780."

The town being met according to adjournment by reason of the severity of the weather adjourned the meeting to the house of Caroline Brooks, in order to do the business, and proceeded as follows: On the second article it was voted "to allow the artificers that worked at Rev. Mr. Adams' house 15 dollars per day and ten Dollars for common Labour, 24*s.* per mile for carting."

"*Voted*, three thousand Pounds to make good the one Hundred Pound of Rev. Mr. Adams' settlement.

"*Voted*, three Thousand five hundred and sixty to Pounds to the Rev. Mr. Adams for his sallary this present year."

These figures show the depreciation of the currency during the Revolutionary period.

We proceed in our historic ramble, reluctant to part from the ancient "Knowl" where stood the First Church of Acton for threescore years and ten.

We drift on this tidal-wave of past reminiscences, and the drift takes us at once down the road a few rods to the northwest, where sits to-day so gracefully the old parsonage of our fathers and grandfathers and mothers and grandmothers of ye olden time. It faces the gentle slope in front to the southeast, looking towards the Hill of Zion on the "Knowl" and ye old Acton Common and the Brooks Tavern just beyond, now all gone to rest. It is a quaint old mansion, with a stately elm standing over it in all the majesty of years. The structure was built five years after the Concord Fight, 1780.

The side of the house faces the street and is three stories. Its front, built on a hillside, is half three and the other half two stories. A long flight of steps leads up to a large portico, which makes the front entrance overlooking the green fields and orchards just beyond. The chimney rises in the centre of the roof some three feet high and six feet wide. Its four flues answer all household purposes. The lilac bushes and the yellow lily bed on the roadside, just outside the wall, are still flourishing as in the earliest recollection of the oldest persons now living.

Moses Taylor, Esq., has done a great service to the future public by purchasing this estate and restoring the faded tints of early days—green blinds, light yellow, the main color of the house, with white trimmings. It is now presentable to the eye of the antiquarian, and even to the modern critic.

When laying out the new sidewalk leading up to the village, Mr. Taylor said : "Spare the lilac bushes and lily-bed. They shall remain for old memory's sake. I used to go by these loved relics in school-day times, and they are to me now even dearer and sweeter than when a boy."

Mrs. Adams, the wife of Rev. Moses Adams, the second minister, a very energetic lady and a notable housekeeper, kept store in the basement story. Keeping store, added to her maternal duties, as the mother of three sons and three daughters, house-work, spinning, weaving, knitting and cheese-making, to say nothing of parish duties, must have made for her a busy life, and this part of the house at least must have been a lively centre for the earthly activities of the parsonage. The upper part of the house was the scene of the pastor's private study, and contained rooms neatly furnished for those times and ever ready to receive guests from abroad.

Rev. Moses Adams, the first pastor occupying this house, had been selected with great care. In May, 1776, the town chose a committee to take advice of the president of the college and the neighboring ministers and to engage four candidates to preach four Sabbaths each in succession. One of the four was Moses Adams. He, like his predecessor, Rev. Mr. Swift, was a native of Framingham. He was born October 16, 1749, and graduated at Cambridge, 1771. On the 29th of August, 1776, it was voted "to hear Mr. Moses Adams eight Sabbaths longer on probation," and on the 20th of December "to hear Mr. Moses Adams four Sabbaths longer than is agreed for."

In the mean time the church had appointed the 2d day of January for a fast, and had invited the neighboring ministers to attend on the occasion. On the 8th day of January they made choice of Mr. Adams to take the oversight and charge of the church. The choice was confirmed by the town on the 15th of the same month. At an adjournment of that meeting, on the 17th of March, an offer was made of £200 settlement and £80 salary in lawful money, according 6*s.* 8*d.* per ounce. It was also voted to provide him with fire-wood the first year after his settlement. The invitation was accepted, and Mr. Adams was ordained on the 25th day of June, 1777, then in his twenty-eighth year.

He was the only child of respectable but humble parents. By the death of both parents he became an orphan at the age of seven years. The property left him was sufficient, with economy, to defray the expense of a public education. The first years of his ministry were attended with considerable pecuniary embarrassment, for, although precaution was taken to make the salary payable in silver, yet the value of *that* compared with the necessaries of life very considerably decreased.

The promptness and spirit with which the people of Acton met the calls of the Government for the support of the war rendered them less able to pay their minister. His settlement had been relied on to meet the expenses of building a house, which a young and increasing family made a matter of necessity. The settlement was not wholly paid for several years. The subject was agitated at two meetings in 1781, and in February, 1782, the selectmen were directed to pay the remaining balance.

In 1783 Mr. Adams, in a communication which is recorded, made a statement of £123, which he considered his due for balances unpaid of his three first years' salary, accompanied by an offer to deduct £43 if the remainder should be paid or put on interest. It is not certain whether this was a legal or merely an equitable claim, but the town promptly acceded to the proposal. In justice to the town it should be observed that so far as it regards their pecuniary dealings with their two first ministers a liberality and sense of justice is manifest, with few exceptions, from the beginning to the end of the records. There were other negotiations in regard to the salary. It was all, however, in perfect good feeling and in accordance with the respect and affection which existed between Mr. Adams and his people through the whole period of his long ministry of forty-two years.

He died on the 13th of October, 1819, and was buried on the 16th, which was the seventieth anniversary of his death.

In consequence of his request in writing—which was found after his decease—no sermon was delivered at his funeral. To anticipate the silent tear was more to him than the voice of praise. He had days of prosperity and he knew how to enjoy them. He witnessed seasons of sorrow and bore them with rare equanimity. In public duties, in social intercourse, in the schools, in the transactions of private life, he carried himself with a genial but serene self-poise commanding universal confidence, veneration and love.

The house where such a man lived and died, whose walls witnessed the mental struggles of his closet and study, the composition of his four thousand sermons, the training and education of his children, and of those from abroad, fitting for college under his care, is a hallowed retreat calling for a tender appreciation by all who shall hereafter gaze upon this memorial structure. The following items have been copied from the town records, in regard to his children. Moses, son of Moses and Abigail Adams, born November 28, 1777; Mabby, daughter, born January 21, 1780; Josiah, born November 3, 1781; Joseph, born September 25, 1783; Clarissa, born July 13, 1785.

We must not leave the site too hastily; still another chapter of records opens upon our vision right here and now.

The pulpit was constantly supplied by the town during the last sickness of Mr. Adams, and after his decease. In the next month a committee was chosen to procure a candidate. They engaged Mr. Marshall Shedd, who was graduated at Dartmouth in 1817, and was then a member of the Rev. Mr. Greenough's church in Newton, Massachusetts, which was his native town.

On the 20th of February, 1820, Mr. Shedd was unanimously invited by the church to become their pastor, and on the 13th of March the town unanimously voted to give him a call. Five hundred dollars was offered as a settlement, which was increased by subscription and the salary was fixed at six hundred dollars, with fifteen cords of wood. In case of permanent inability the salary was to be reduced to two hundred dollars. This liberal offer was accepted, and on the 10th of May Mr. Shedd was ordained pastor of the church and minister of the congregation in Acton.

The ordaining council consisted of Mr. Willard, of Boxborough; Mr. Newell, of Stow; Mr. Greenough, of Newton; Mr. Litchfield, of Carlisle; Dr. Ripley, of Concord; Dr. Homer, of Newton; Mr. Foster, of Littleton; Dr. Holmes, of Cambridge; Mr. Blake, of Westford; Dr. Pierce, of Brookline; Mr. Noyes, of Needham; Mr. Hulbert, of Sudbury, with delegates from their respective churches. Such a combination of religious opinions in an ordaining council obtained by a unanimous vote of both church and congregation was very remarkable at that period, and discovers a liberality of Christian feeling which is worthy of all imitation.

Mr. Shedd was a pious, peaceable and exemplary minister, with more than ordinary talents and industrious in the discharge of duty. It was a time of great religious conflict. The heat of controversy became intense in all this vicinity of towns, resulting in the division of churches and congregations.

Parochial difficulties multiplied in all directions. Acton began to feel the irritations of the epoch. Mr. Shedd labored to harmonize the colliding elements, but the lines of divergence were too sharply drawn, and he bowed to the inevitable and gracefully retired.

Providence opened to him, as he thought, a more hopeful field for himself and family in what was then the new settlements in Northern New York, he decided to enter it, and in May, 1831, the corporation, which was now called a parish, concurred with the church in granting Mr. Shedd's request that his connection might be dissolved, and in the same month that agreement was confirmed by an ecclesiastical council.

Mr. Shedd came to Acton a married man, his companion having been born in Newton, like himself a Miss Eliza Thayer, daughter of Obadiah Thayer. He resided with Mr. Shedd in Acton at the parsonage.

He is still remembered by some of the oldest inhabitants of Acton as a man of great excellence of character, a rare mingling of refined and positive traits, an unswerving advocate of truth and righteousness. He died in Hillsborough, N. Y., in 1834.

The first year of Mr. Shedd's pastorate was eventful. On the 10th of May he was ordained. On the 21st of June he became the father of one of the most notable and worthy men now living. It is no ordinary honor for the parsonage and the town to be the birth-place of Rev. Prof. William G. T. Shedd, D.D.

The simple surface record of the man runs thus: born in Acton, June 21, 1820; graduated at the University of Vermont, Burlington, in 1839; at Andover Seminary in 1843; pastor of Brandon, Vermont, 1843–45; Professor of English Literature in the University of Vermont, 1845–52; Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Theology in Auburn Seminary, 1852–54; Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Pastoral Theology in Andover Seminary, 1854–62; co-pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York City, 1862–63; Professor of Sacred Literature in Union Theological Seminary, New York City, 1863–74; Professor of Systematic Theology in Union Seminary since 1874.

His publications are: History of Christian Doctrine, Theological Essays, Literary Essays, Homiletics and Pastoral Theology, Sermons to the Natural Man, Translation of Guericke's Church History, Translation of Theremin's Rhetoric.

He has adorned every position which he has touched. He is a scholar, a gentleman, an author, a preacher, a philosopher, a theologian, a Christian of the very highest order in the land, and so acknowledged even by those not always agreeing with his views.

He has not forgotten his birth-place or the scenes of his boyhood, though leaving the place when eleven years old and visiting it but twice since that time.

He remembers his old family physician, Dr. Cowdry; Deacon Silas Hosmer, one of the officers of the church, who died at the age of eighty-four; the two Fletchers, Deacon John and his brother James; the Faulkner mills, where there were about a dozen houses when last he saw it; East Acton, the place where he went to take the stage, upon the main road, when great journeys were to be made; Wetherbee's Hotel and some fine old elms, which he hopes are still standing; Deacon Phineas Wheeler and his grist-mill, to which he often carried the grist; the Common in Acton Centre, now covered with fine shade-trees, where there was not a single tree of any kind when he played ball upon it in his boyhood; those inscriptions upon the grave-stones around the monument which he used to read when a boy in the old cemetery; the huckleberry and blueberry bushes still growing in the same rough pastures, where he has picked many a quart.

He is now in his seventieth year, but there are some still living who recall his early days on the street and at the parsonage. He was a model youth, and had in him at the start elements which all recognized as the promise of his future career, if his life should be spared.

The following tributes to the memory of his father and mother were received in a letter from him dated December 23, 1889: "My father lived to the great age of eighty-five, dying in Hillsborough, N. Y., in 1872. After leaving Acton he was never settled as a pastor, but for many years, until age and infirmities prevented, he preached to the feeble churches in the region, and did a great and good work in the moral and religious up-building of society. My mother died soon after our family removed to Northern New York, which was in October, 1831. She departed this life in February, 1833. I was only twelve years of age, but the impress she made upon me in those twelve years is greater than that made by any other human being, or than all other human beings collectively."

In the same letter he gives this record of his two brothers—younger than himself—whom several old schoolmates, now living in Acton, remember with interest. Marshall died in Hillsborough, N. Y., in 1879, in the Christian faith and hope. The younger brother, Henry S., is living, and for more than twenty years has been connected with the post-office in this city (New York).

The Acton town records give the following dates of birth: William G. Thayer Shedd, son of Marshall and Eliza Shedd, born June 21, 1820; Marshall, born April 11, 1822; Henry Spring Shedd, born February 21, 1824; Elizabeth Thayer Shedd, born September 9, 1825. In his last brief visit to Acton several years ago he said in conversation: "The old scenes and persons in Acton come back from my boyhood memories with outlines of distinctness more and more vivid as the years go by."

REVOLUTIONARY PRELIMINARIES.—At a special meeting in January, 1768, the town voted "to comply with the proposals sent to the town by the town of Boston, relating to the encouragement of manufacture among ourselves and not purchasing superfluities from abroad."

In September of that year Joseph Fletcher was chosen to sit in a convention at Boston, to be holden on the 22d of that month.

ACTION OF THE TOWN ON THE MEMORABLE 5TH OF MARCH, 1770.

"Taking into consideration the distressed circumstances that this Province and all North America are involved in by reason(s) of the Acts of Parliament imposing duties and taxes for the sole purpose to raise a Revenue, and when the Royal ear seems to be stopt against all our humble Prayers and petitions for redress of grievances, and considering the Salutary Measures that the Body of Merchants and Traders in this province have come into in order for the redress of the many troubles that we are involved in, and to support and maintain our Charter Rights and Privilege and to prevent our total Ruin and Destruction, taking all these things into serious Consideration, came into the following votes:

"1st. That we will use our utmost endeavors to encourage and support the body of merchants and traders in their endeavors to retrieve this Province out of its present Distresses to whom this Town vote their thanks for the Constitutional and spirited measures pursued by them for the good of this Province.

"2. That from this Time we will have no commercial or social connection with those who at this time do refuse to contribute to the relief of this abused country—especially those that import British Goods contrary

to the Agreement of the body of merchants in Boston or elsewhere, that we will not afford them our Custom, but treat them with the utmost neglect and all those who countenance them.

"3. That we will use our utmost endeavors to prevent the consumption of all foreign superfluities, and that we will use our utmost Endeavors to promote and encourage our own manufactures.

"4. That the Town Clerk transmit a copy of these votes of the Town to the Committee of Merchants of inspection at Boston.

"A true copy attested.

"FRANCIS FAULKNER,
"*Town Clerk.*"

A committee of nine of the principal men of the town was appointed to consider the rights of the Colony and the violation of said rights, and draft such votes as they thought proper.

In January, 1773, the following report of the Committee was accepted and adopted:

"Taking into serious consideration the alarming circumstances of the Province relating to the violation of our charter rights and privileges (as we apprehend) by the British administration, we are of opinion: That the rights of the Colonists natural, ecclesiastical and civil are well stated by the Town of Boston.

"And it is our opinion that the taxing of us without our consent—the making the Governor of the Province and the Judges of the Supreme Court independent of the people and dependent on the Crown, out of money extorted from us, and many other instances of encroachments upon our said charter rights are intolerable grievances, and have a direct tendency to overthrow our happy constitution and bring us into a state of abject slavery.

"But we have a gracious Sovereign, who is the Father of America as well as Great Britain, and as the man in whom we have had no confidence is removed from before the Throne and another in whom we hope to have reason to put confidence placed in his stead, we hope that our petitions will be forwarded and heard, and all our grievances redressed.

"*Voted* also, that as we have no member in the house of Representatives, we earnestly recommend it to the Representative Body of this Province that you gentlemen, inspect with a jealous eye our charter rights and privileges, and that you use every constitutional method to obtain redress of all our grievances, and that you strenuously endeavor in such ways as you in your wisdom think fit, that the honorable judges of the Supreme Court may have their support as formerly agreeable to the charter of the Province.

"*Voted*, That the sincere thanks of the Town be given to the inhabitants of the Town of Boston for their spirited endeavors to preserve our rights and privileges inviolate when threatened with destruction.

In March, 1774, resolutions were passed with reference to paying duty on tea belonging to the East India Company.

In August, 1774, three of the principal citizens of the town were appointed delegates to a County Convention to be holden in Concord the 30th of that month.

In October of the same year two of the three delegates referred to above were chosen to sit in a Provincial Congress, which was to assemble at Concord soon, and at the same meeting a Committee of Correspondence was appointed.

In December, 1774, £25 was voted for the use of the Province, and a vote was passed to indemnify the assessors for not making returns to the British government. It was also voted to join the association of the Continental Congress, and a committee was appointed to see that all inhabitants above sixteen years of age signed their compliance, and that the names of those who did not sign should be reported to the Committee of Correspondence. Samuel Hayward, Francis Faulkner, Jonathan Billings, Josiah Hayward, John Heald, Jr., Joseph Robbins and Simon Tuttle were chosen a committee for that purpose.

In November, 1774, a company of minute-men was raised by voluntary enlistment, and elected Isaac Davis for their commander. The company by agreement met for discipline twice in each week, through the winter and spring till the fight at Concord.

In January the town voted to pay them eight pence for every meeting till the 1st of May, provided they should be on duty as much as three hours, and should attend within half an hour the time appointed for the meeting.

In the winter of 1774–7 the town had two militia companies, one in the south and one in the east.

In 1775 Josiah Hayward was twice chosen a delegate to the Provincial Congress at Cambridge.

In June, 1776, a vote was passed giving the following instructions to the representative of the town:

"*To Mr. Mark White:*

"SIR,—Our not being favored with the resolution to the Honorable House of Representatives, calling upon the several towns in this Colony to express their minds with respect to the important question of American Independence is the occasion of our not expressing our minds sooner.

"But we now cheerfully embrace this opportunity to instruct you on that important question.

"The subverting our Constitution, the many injuries and unheard of barbarities which the Colonies have received from Great Britain, confirm us in the opinion that the present age will be deficient in their duty to God, their posterity and themselves, if they do not establish an American Republic. This is the only form of Government we wish to see established.

"But we mean not to dictate—

"We freely submit this interesting affair to the wisdom of the Continental Congress, who, we trust, are guided and directed by the Supreme Governor of the world, and we instruct you, sir, to give them the strongest assurance that, if they should declare America to be a Free and Independent Republic, your constituents will support and defend the measure with their lives and fortunes."

In October, 1776, when a proposition was before the people that the executive and legislative branches of the Provincial Government should frame a Constitution for the State, the town of Acton committed the subject to Francis Faulkner, Ephraim Hapgood, Samuel Hayward, Ephraim Hosmer, Joseph Robbins and Nathaniel Edwards, who reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously accepted:

"1st. *Resolved*, that as this State is at present destitute of an established form of Government, it is necessary one should be immediately formed and established.

"2. *Resolved*, That the Supreme Legislature in that capacity are by no means a body proper to form and establish a constitution for the following reasons, viz.:

"Because a constitution properly formed has a system of principles established to secure subjects in the possession of their rights and privileges against any encroachments of the Legislative part, and it is our opinion that the same body which has a right to form a constitution has a right to alter it, and we conceive a constitution alterable by the Supreme Legislative power is no security to the subjects against the encroachments of that power on our rights and privileges.

"*Resolved*, that the town thinks it expedient that a convention be chosen by the inhabitants of the several towns and districts in this State being free to form and establish a constitution for the State.

"*Resolved*, That the Honorable Assembly of this State be desired to recommend to the inhabitants of the State to choose a convention for the above purpose as soon as possible.

"*Resolved*, that the Convention publish their proposed constitution before they establish it for the inspection and remarks of the Inhabitants of this State."

At a meeting in February, 1778, "the United States Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union," after being twice read, were accepted by the town.

In May, 1778, a Constitution and frame of government for the State, which had been formed by the General Court, was laid before the town for consideration, and was rejected by a vote of fifty-one to eighteen.

The instrument was so offensive to the inhabitants that in May, 1779, an article being inserted in the warrant, "to see if the town will choose at this time to have a new Constitution or frame of government," the constitution was rejected.

The proposition, however, though rejected by this town, was accepted by a majority of the people, and in July, 1779, Francis Faulkner was chosen a delegate to sit in a convention in Cambridge to form a Constitution, and the result was that the present Constitution of this Commonwealth was laid before the town for *consideration* on the 28th day of April, 1780, and it being *read*, the meeting was adjourned for consideration till the 15th of May.

On that the articles were *debated*, and at a further adjournment on the 29th of the same month every article was *approved* by a majority of more than two-thirds of the voters. These simple records show heroic grit, combined statesmanship and patriotism worthy of those olden dates and worthy of any dates since or of any that are to follow.

The Faulkner House (South Acton).—This is the oldest house now standing in Acton. You go from the railroad station south across the bridge and ascend the steep hill, and you at once approach the ancient structure. It has on its face and surroundings an impress of age, which strikes the eye at first glance, and the impress deepens as the eye tarries for a second look.

Colonel Winthrop E. Faulkner, who died March 25, 1880, aged seventy-five years, used to say that they told him when a child it must have been 150 years old then. No tongue and no records fix the original date of this ancient landmark. It is safe to call it 200 years old, some parts of it at least.

It was a block-house, and in the early Colonial times it was a garrison-house where the settlers in the neighborhood would gather in the night for protection against the assaults of the Indians.

Enter the southwest room. It will easily accommodate 100 persons. It is a square room neatly kept and furnished with antique mementos. Raise your hand and you easily touch the projecting beams of dry hard oak, which the sharpest steel cannot cleave, eighteen inches solid. The space between the beams of the sides of the room are filled with brick, which make it fire-proof against the shot of the enemy.

You notice the two small glass windows as large as an orange in the entering door of this room. They were for use in watching the proceeding of the courts which once were held here by Francis Faulkner, the justice.

Measure the old chimney, nine feet by seven, solid brick furnished with three large fire-places and an oven below and an oven above in the attic for smoking hams, large enough to accommodate all the neighbors and hooks attached in the arch where the hams could remain suspended till called for.

Mark that fine photograph on the wall. It is the life-like face of Colonel Winthrop E. Faulkner. Give him a royal greeting, for he was the life of the village and town in childhood's days and in later years, and there comes his aged widow, still living and gracing the old homestead and guarding the precious relics, now in her eighty-third year.

Mrs. Lottie Flagg, her daughter, the veteran and successful school-teacher, who does a noble work in helping the outfit and hospitality of this historic site. Note her words as she repeats the tale of this rallying centre on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775.

Francis Faulkner, Jr., a boy of fifteen years, was lying awake early in the morning, no one yet moving and listening to the clatter of a horse's feet drawing nearer and nearer. Suddenly he leaped from his bed, ran into his father's room and cried out, "Father, there's a horse coming on the full run and he's bringing news." His father, Colonel Francis, already had on his pantaloons and his gun in his hand. The fleet horseman wheeled across the bridge and up to the house, and shouted, "Rouse your minute-men, Mr. Faulkner! The British are marching on Lexington and Concord," and away he went to spread the news.

Mr. Faulkner, without stopping to dress, fired three times as fast as he could load and fire—that being the preconcerted signal to call out the minute-men.

> "And so, through the night, went his cry of alarm
> To every Middlesex village and farm;
> A cry of defiance, and not of fear;
> A voice in the darkness, a knock at the door,
> And a word that shall echo forever more."

Being the chairman of safety and colonel of the Middlesex Regiment of Militia—the men were to assemble at his house. Almost immediately a neighbor repeated the signal and the boy Francis listened with breathless interest to hear the signal guns grow fainter and fainter off in the distant farm-houses. Signal-fires were also lighted, and every house awoke from its slumbers to the new era. By this time the family were all up in the greatest commotion—the younger children crying because the British would come and kill them. Very soon the minute-men began to come in, every one with his gun, powder-horn, pouch of bullets and a piece of bread and cheese, the only breakfast he proposed to make before meeting the enemy of his country. Some came hurrying in with their wives and children in the greatest excitement, to get more certain news and to know what was to be

done. Word came from Captain Davis that he would march as soon as thirty should come in. In the mean time they were busy in driving down stakes on the lawn and hanging kettles for cooking the soldiers' dinners. They brought from the houses beef and pork, patatoes and cabbages. The women would cook the dinner, and some of the elder boys, of whom Francis, Jr., was one, were designated to bring it along packed in saddle-bags. By the time these preliminaries for dinner were made Lieutenant Hunt took command of the West Militia Company, Capt. Faulkner having a few days before been promoted to the position of colonel of the Middlesex Regiment.

The line was formed on the lawn south of the house, and they marched amid the tears of their families. Colonel Faulkner accompanied them to take command of the Middlesex Regiment, as the other companies would come in at Concord. Uncle Francis, the boy, waited with great impatience for the dinner to be cooked and packed. Every woman wanted to prepare the dinner complete and separate for her husband or sons. But after much discussion it was agreed to pack all the beef and pork, bread and vegetables, each kind by itself, and let the men themselves divide it. At length, after some hours of talking and boiling and packing, the horses were loaded, and the boys started off.

I asked Uncle Francis why in the world they did not take a wagon, and one horse would be enough for the whole. Didn't they know enough to do that? "Oh, yes—they knew too much to do that," he said. The British soldiers might have the road. If we saw a red-coat we were told to give him a wide birth, or he might get us and our dinner. We could quietly topple over a stone wall or take out a few rails and escape through the fields and find our men wherever they might be. To the great surprise of the boy he found the Acton men in the highest spirits. They had made the red-coats run for their lives.

This house is so associated with the history of the Faulkner family, and this family is so blended with the history of the town, that a brief family record is here appended.

Francis Faulkner, the father of Ammiruhammah, and the grandfather of Col. Francis Faulkner, was a resident of Andover, Mass., and married Abigail Dane, daughter of Rev. Francis Dane, the second minister of Andover, a woman of noble character and exemplary piety. She was accused of witchcraft, tried and condemned to death. She passed through the terrible ordeal with unshaken firmness, and the sentence was revoked.

Ammiruhammah Faulkner, son of Francis, came from Andover and settled in "Concord Village," in 1735, at the "great falls," of the "Great Brook," where he erected the mills which have since been owned and occupied by his descendants, where he died Aug. 4. 1756, aged sixty-four.

Col. Francis Faulkner, son of Ammiruhammah, was born in Andover, Mass., Sept. 29, 1728, and died in Acton Aug. 5, 1805, aged seventy-seven. He married Lizzie Mussey April 29, 1756. He was a member of the Provincial Congress held in Concord, 1774, and represented the town of Acton in the Legislature of 1783–4–5. He had a military commission under George III., but the oppressive and arbitrary acts of Great Britain induced him to renounce his allegiance to the crown. In 1775 he was elected major of a regiment organized to "oppose invasion."

On the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, he marched with the Acton patriots to the Concord North Bridge, where he engaged the British, and with his men pursued them to Charlestown. He was several times engaged in actual service during the war, being lieutenant-colonel in the Regiment Middlesex Militia called to reinforce the Continental Army at the occupation of Dorchester Heights, in March, 1776. He was in service when Burgoyne was taken, and commanded the regiment which guarded the prisoners on that occasion. He was a courageous officer, an able legislator and an exemplary Christian. He built the mills which for a century and a half have been known as the Faulkner Mills, now of South Acton. They were first only a saw and a grist-mill, the two most indispensable agents of civilization and comfort in a new country. To these was added in due time a fulling-mill, which was among the very earliest efforts at the manufacture of woolen cloth in this country.

There was first a carding-machine, which changed as by magic the wool into beautiful rolls. They were distributed to many houses to be spun and woven into rough woolen cloth and returned to the mill. Here the cloth was fulled under stampers with soap, which made it foam and helped cleanse and thicken it up. The process of raising nap with teazles was exceedingly interesting. The teazle was a product of nature and seemed expressly and wonderfully created for that very purpose. Then came the shearing off inequalities by the swift revolving shears and the final finishing up into cloth. When the wool was of fine quality and evenly spun the result was a passable broadcloth of great durability.

In order to encourage wool production and skill in using it, prizes were offered for the finest specimen of home-made broadcloth—that is, the wool, the spinning and weaving were of home; the rest was of the fulling-mill. This spinning and weaving were the fine arts of our grandmothers and great-grandmothers, and noble women were proud of the prizes they won. A prize to a spinster was sure to attract the most flattering attention and take her speedily out of spinsterhood.

Colonel Faulkner was not only an active, energetic "clothier," but also a leading citizen in all public interests. For thirty-five successive years he was chosen town clerk, and the records are kept with neatness, clearness and order. (See Cyrus Hamlin's

Historical Sketch, read before Historical Society at Lexington.)

Winthrop Faulkner, the son of Francis, was born in Acton March 21, 1774, and died in Acton March 17, 1813. He received a justice's commission at the age of twenty-three. He was a man of cultivated mind and sound judgment, and his advice was generally sought for all important town matters. He was one of the original members of the Corinthian Lodge of Masons in Concord.

Colonel Winthop E. Faulkner.—He was the son of Winthrop Faulkner, born April 16, 1805, and died March 25, 1880. He was initiated into the Corinthian Lodge of Masons in 1854. He married Martha Adams Bixby, of Framingham. He was noted in all the relations of life. He was an enterprising miller, an enthusiast in music, dancing, military, civil, social and parish activities. He was a pushing man, forward in all enterprises for the public improvement. He was one of the prime movers in projecting the Fitchburg Railroad, and but for his enterprise in controlling the first plans, the road would have gone in another direction. He was for a long run of years one of the most active directors.

The Robbins House. — Returning from the Fletcher homestead to the main road, and proceeding direct by the cemetery and beyond till we reach nearly the brow of the hill on the left, we come to the site of what was for so many years called the Robbins House. The land on which it was located was purchased of Captain Thomas Wheeler, whose house (the first in Acton) was located a few rods to the south, near the little brook before described in this narrative. When the latter house was taken down the timbers were found to be in good condition, and were used in the construction of the L part of Nathan Robbins' house.

It was an historic structure from the start, and was emphatically so after the 19th of April, 1775. "Before light on that eventful morning, hours before the British entered Concord, a horseman, whose name was never known, going at full speed (they spared neither horseflesh nor manflesh in those days), rode up to this house, then occupied by Captain Joseph Robbins, the commissioned officer in the town of Acton, who lived nearest North Bridge, and struck with a large, heavy club, as they thought, the corner of the house, never dismounting, but crying out at the top of his voice, 'Capt. Robbins! Capt. Robbins! up, up! The Regulars have come to Concord. Rendezvous at old North Bridge! quick as possible alarm Acton.'"

His only son—afterwards a venerable magistrate—John Robbins, Esq., was then asleep in the garret—a lad ten years old.

But "those rappings"—and there was no sham about them—and that cry brought him to his feet *instanter* and every other living man in that house. It waked the babe in the cradle. In a few minutes he was on "father's old mare," bound for Captain Davis's, not a mile off, who commanded the minute-men, and then to Deacon Simon Hunt's, in the west part of the town, who commanded the West Company as first lieutenant, Captain Francis Faulkner having, a few days before, been promoted to be major, and the vacancy not having been filled.

"The hurrying footsteps of that steed
The fate of a nation was riding that night."

The locality where this house stood is easily recognized from the indications on the ground. It was a two-story building. The barn was struck by lightning in the year 1830, and was rapidly consumed. The citizens rallied to save the building, or at least part of it, but Esq. Robbins shouted out with his stentorian voice: "Boys, save your fingers. There is plenty of timber in the woods where this came from!" He knew how to shout, for he was often moderator of the Acton town-meetings, which gave him a good chance to drill in that line of practice. The house stood afterwards for years unoccupied, but at last it yielded to the destiny of flames, supposed to have been an accidental fire, from the carelessness of transient occupants. The old door-stone still remains in position, battered somewhat by relic-hunters, who have chipped from it for the sake of a memento. A tablet memorial will some day be erected on this ground befitting its historic interest.

The report of this house having been haunted in former years is easily credited by the superstitious, but denied by the more phlegmatic crowd. That those April rappings should have reverberations long continued is credible, and any one going by of an imaginative and appreciative turn of mind can hear them still ringing in his ears.

Captain Davis' Route to the North Bridge.—The 19th of April, 1775. It was a bright, genial morning. The sun was up at a good, cheery height of an hour and a half. The birds were chanting the very best songs of the opening spring. The men were drawn up in line. The captain at last gave the word "march." Luther Blanchard, the fifer, and Francis Barker, the drummer, struck at once the stirring notes of the "White Cockade," and forward they moved with a quick, brave step. They soon reached the homestead of Parson Swift. They could not stop for the greetings or the partings of the good man, but on they pressed, with their faces set for Mother Concord. They moved along over the old and only road leading from the present site of Deacon W. W. Davis' crossing in a straight line through to the meeting-house on the "knowll."

The road struck the other road just below Dr. Cowdry's barn, where now stands Deacon John Fletcher's barn, just relocated by Moses Taylor, Esq. The old road-bed was found when recently digging the cellar for the barn.

They could not stop for the silent benedictions of the old church, but the prayers and blessings of the

pastor they could hear, and march all the faster for the memory. The handkerchiefs waving from the Brooks Tavern doors and windows helped the thrill of the hour. Down the hills they moved by the present site of Mr. McCarthy, up the ascent to the right, over the heights on the road path, now closed, but still a favorite walk down the hill, across the Revolutionary Bridge, west of Horace Hosmer's present site, the road leading by the spot where the elms south of his house now stand.

This bridge stood very near the spot where the railroad bridge now stands. Some of the stone which formed the abutments of the old bridge were used in the construction of the railroad bridge. The bridge, a few rods to the south of the original, has been sketched by Arthur F. Davis, Acton's young artist, and it is a favorite landscape etching on sale in the cities.

Up the hill they hasten and turn to the right, going by Mr. Hammond Taylor's present residence, the old Brabrook homestead, on the south side, which was then the front side, the road on the north being a comparatively new opening; there they left the main road, struck through the woods, taking a bee-line to their destined point. After passing the woods, the march is by the Nathan Brooks place, now owned and occupied by Mr. H. F. Davis. The passage then was by the nearest way to Barrett's Mills, as then called, not far from the North Bridge.

Luther Blanchard.—He was born within the limits of what is now Boxboro', a part of Littleton at the time of the Concord Fight. He was a favorite young man, tall, straight, handsome and athletic. He was living at the time with Abner Hosmer, a mason, whose residence was the site of Mr. Herman A. Gould, on the South Acton road, from the West, making him a near neighbor to Captain Davis. He was learning the mason's trade. He was a notable fifer, and his skill and zeal on the morning of the 19th had much to do with the spirit of the whole occasion. The scene was just adapted to wake the musical genius to its highest pitch, and if there were any white feathers around they soon changed to fiery red at the signal from Luther's fife. When they began firing at the bridge, the British at first used blank cartridges. Captain Davis inquired if they were firing bullets. Luther said "Yes," for one had hit him and he was wounded. "If it had gone an inch further one way it would have killed me, and if an inch in the opposite direction it would have not have hit me at all." He followed on in the pursuit of the British on their retreat to Boston, fifing with all the vigor of his manly strength, which grew less as the excitement of the day began to tell upon his wasted forces. The wound, which he did not think serious at first, grew worse as he proceeded, and on reaching Cambridge he was obliged to be taken to a hospital, where he died.

Mrs. Jonathan B. Davis, a daughter of Simon Hosmer, often told these facts to Mr. Luke Blanchard, now living. It was the statement of Mr. Luke Blanchard's father, who was always careful in what he affirmed, that Luther died from the effects of his wound. Luther Blanchard's brother Calvin died from the fall of a tree. He helped tear down barns to build the fort on Bunker Hill. He would carry one end of the timber while it would take two men at the other end to balance.

Luther and Calvin Blanchard's father was in the fight at Quebec, and lost his life on the Plains of Abraham. There must have been patriotic gunpowder in the very blood of the Blanchards at the original start.

Aaron Jones was near Captain Davis when he fell, and followed in pursuit of the British on their retreat. He never could forget that morning or speak of it without a changed tone and face. He thought much of Luther Blanchard as an associate on that eventful day, and of his fifing march. He named one of his sons Luther Blanchard in memory of the martyr fifer. As the first blood shed on the 19th at Concord antedated the fall of Davis, in the person of Luther Blanchard, there ought to be a tablet, somewhere, memorizing the fact.

The James Hayward House.—The house in West Acton, formerly the residence of Hon. Stevens Hayward and in later years known as the Leland Place, now occupied by Mr. Kraetzer. Mr. Woodbury, in his legislative speech, thus relates the circumstances of James Hayward's fall on the 19th of April, 1775:

"At Fiske's Hill, in Lexington, they had, as some, thought, the severest encounter of all the way. The road ran around the eastern base of a steep, thick-wooded hill. James Hayward, who had been active and foremost all the way, after the British had passed on, came down from the hill and was aiming for a well of water—the same well is still to be seen at the two-story Dutch-roofed red house on the right from Concord to Lexington, not two miles from the old meeting-house. As he passed by the end of that house he spied a British soldier, still lingering behind the main body, plundering. The Briton also saw him and ran to the front door to cut him off. Lifting up his loaded musket he exclaims, 'You are a dead man.' Hayward immediately said, 'So are you.' They both fired and both fell. The Briton was shot dead, Hayward mortally wounded, the ball entering his side through this hole," holding up the powder-horn, "driving the splinters into his body. He lived eight hours; retained his reason to the last.

"His venerable father, Deacon Samuel Hayward, whose house he had left that morning in the bloom of vigorous manhood, had time to reach Lexington and comfort him with his conversation by reading the Scriptures and prayer. 'James, you are mortally wounded. You can live but a few hours. Before sunrise to-morrow you will no doubt be a corpse.

Are you sorry that you turned out?' 'Father, hand me my powder-horn and bullet-pouch. I started with one pound of powder and forty balls, you see what is left,'—he had used all but two or three of them,—'you see what I have been about. I never did such a forenoon's work before. I am not sorry. Tell mother not to mourn too much for me, *for I am not sorry I turned out.* I die willingly for my country. She will now, I doubt not, by help of God, be free. And tell her whom I loved better than my mother—you know whom I mean—that I am not sorry. I never shall see her again. May I meet her in heaven.'

"Hayward had lost, by the cut of an axe, part of his toes on one foot, and was not liable to military duty. He 'turned out' that morning as a volunteer in the strictest sense—as hundreds did. He was one of the earliest at Davis' house, belonged to the same school district and born and bred by the side of him, their fathers being next-door neighbors. He was twenty-eight years old, one of the most athletic, fine-looking, well-informed, well-bred young men in town. He had been a schoolmaster, he knew the crisis, he knew what he was fighting for and what was to be gained. He came early to Davis' house and acted with his company. He was seen to go to grinding on the grindstone the point of his bayonet there. On being asked why he did it, 'Because,' said he, 'I expect, before night, we shall come to a push with them and I want my bayonet *sharp*.'"

A fine stone tablet has been erected by the town of Lexington opposite the house where Hayward fell, in honor of the man and the event.

Abner Hosmer House.—Abner Hosmer, a private in Davis' company of minute-men; only twenty-two years old; unmarried; the son of Dea. Jonathan Hosmer, of the Acton Church. A friend and neighbor of Davis fell dead at the same volley—shot through the head. He lived where Mr. Gould now lives, half-way between South and West Villages, nearly a mile from either.

Mrs. Mehitable Piper (Acton's centenarian).—She was the daughter of Joseph Barker (2d) and wife of Silas Piper; born Jan. 24, 1771. She died March 25, 1872, at the age of 101 years and two months. Her funeral took place at her residence on the 28th. The house was filled with relatives and friends. After prayer and touching words of consolation a solemn funeral procession followed the remains to the church at the Centre. The house was filled in every part. Rev. Mr. Hayward, Universalist, and Rev. F. P. Wood, Orthodox, officiated.

Her existence was contemporaneous with that of the nation itself. She saw her mother weep in her father's embrace when he tore himself from the bosom of his family to take the part of a patriot in the Concord fight. She was living at the time where Moses Taylor, Esq., now lives, and went up to the top of Raspberry Hill, back of Rev. F. P. Wood's present residence, to see or hear something from Concord. She had seen every phase of her country's wonderful growth, and to perpetuate and promote it had sent her descendants into the War of 1812 and through the streets of Baltimore to the terrible War of the Rebellion.

She was the last of the devoted band of Puritans who had worshiped God in the town at the time when religious differences were unknown. She was the relic of other days and the wept of many hearts. Though older than the nation, she did not live long enough to make a single enemy, and her friends were those who at any time had known or seen her. She was buried in Woodlawn Cemetery by the side of her partner.

Some of her ancestors were remarkable for their longevity, her father being upwards of ninety-nine years of age at his death.

She lived eighty years in one spot. She had twelve children, forty-two grandchildren, seventy great-grandchildren, and two children of the fifth generation. Her father stood beside Captain Davis after he fell, and exclaimed to his comrades, "*Boys, don't give up!*"

Rev. J. T. Woodbury's Speech.—Who was Captain Isaac Davis? Who was Abner Hosmer? Who was James Hayward? And what was Concord fight? What did they fight for, and what did they win? These were Massachusetts Province militiamen; not in these good, quiet, piping times of peace, but in 1775, at the very dark, gloomy outbreak of the American Revolution.

Let us turn back to the bloody annals of that eventful day. Let us see, as well as we can at this distance of three-quarters of a century, just how matters and things stood.

General Gage had full possession of this city. The flag that waved over it was not that of "the old pine-tree"; nor that one, with that beautiful insignia, over your head, sir—with the uplifted right hand lettered over with this most warlike and, to my taste, most appropriate motto in a wrongful world like this, "*Ense petit placidam, sub libertate quietem.*" No, no! It was the flag of that hereditary despot, George the Third!

And if there had been no Isaac Davis or other men of his stamp on the ground in that day, the flag of the crouching lion, the flag of Queen Victoria—due successor to that same hated George the Third; first the oppressor, and then the unscrupulous murderer of our fathers! Yes; I know what I say—the unscrupulous murderer of our fathers—would still wave over this beautiful city and would now be streaming in the wind over every American ship in this harbor. Where, in that case, would have been this Legislature? Why, sir, it would never have been; and my conscientious friend from West Brookfield, instead of sitting here a good "Free Soil" man, as he is, would have been called to no such high vocation as making

laws for a free people—for the good old Commonwealth of Massachusetts; voting for Robert Rantoul, Jr., or Charles Sumner, or Hon. Mr. Winthrop to represent us in a body known as the United States Senate, pronounced the most august, dignified legislative assembly in the civilized world. Oh, no! Far otherwise! If permitted to legislate at all, it would be done under the dictation of Queen Victoria; and if he made laws it would be with a ring in his nose to pull him this way and that, or with his head in the British Lion's mouth—that same lion's mouth which roared in 1775—showing his teeth and lashing his sides at our fathers.

This city was in full possession of the enemy, and had been for several months. Gen. Gage had converted that house of prayer, the Old South Church—where we met a few days since, to sit, delighted auditors, to that unsurpassed election sermon—into a riding-school, a drilling-place for his cavalry. The pulpit and all the pews of the lower floor were, with vandal violence, torn out and tan brought in; and here the dragoons of King George practiced, on their prancing war-horses, the sword exercises, with Tory ladies and gentlemen for spectators in the galleries.

At the 19th of April, 1775, it was not "*Ense petit placidam, sub libertate quietem.*" "*Sub libertate!*" It would have been, rather, "*Sub vili servitio*"—sub anything—rather than liberty under the British Crown!

Information had been received from most reliable sources that valuable powder, ball and other munitions of war were deposited in Concord. Gen. Gage determined to have them. Concord was a great place in '75. The Provincial Congress had just suspended its session there of near two months, adjourning over to the 10th of May, with Warren for their president, and such men as old Samuel Adams, John Hancock, John Adams and James Otis as their advisers. Yes, Concord was the centre of the brave old Middlesex, containing within it all the early battle-grounds of liberty—Old North Bridge, Lexington Common and Bunker Hill—and was for a time the capital of the Province, the seat of the Government of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

And Concord had within it as true-hearted Whig patriots as ever breathed. Rev. Mr. Emerson was called a "high son of liberty." To contend with tyrants and stand up against them, resisting unto blood, fighting for the inalienable rights of the people, was a part of his holy religion. And he was one of the most godly men and eloquent ministers in the Colony. He actually felt it to be his duty to God to quit that most delightful town and village, and that most affectionate church and people, and enter the Continental army and serve them as chaplain of a regiment.

What a patient, noble-hearted, truthful, loyal, confiding, affectionate generation of men they were. And remember, these were the men, exasperated beyond all further endurance by the course of a deluded Parliament and besotted ministry, who flew to arms on the 19th of April, 1775. These were the men who then hunted up their powder-horns and bullet-pouches, took down their guns from the hooks, and ground up their bayonets, on that most memorable of all days in the annals of the old thirteen Colonies—nay, in the annals of the world—which record the struggles that noble men have made in all ages to be free!

Yes, to my mind, Mr. Speaker, it is a more glorious day, a day more full of thrilling incidents and great steps taken by the people to be free than even the 4th of July, itself, 1776.

Why, sir, the 19th of April, '75, that resistance, open, unorganized, armed, marshaled resistance at the old North Bridge—that marching down in battle array, at that soul-stirring air, which every soldier in this house must remember to this day, for the tune is in fashion yet—I mean "the White Cockade"—was itself a prior declaration of independence, written out not with ink upon paper or parchment, but a declaration of independence made by drawn swords, uplifted right arms; fixed bayonets ground sharp, cracking musketry, a declaration written out in the best blood of this land, at Lexington first, and finally all the way for eighteen miles from Old North Bridge to Charlestown Neck, where these panting fugitives found shelter under the guns of British ships of war riding at anchor in Mystic River ready to receive them; a declaration that put more at hazard, and cost the men who made it more, after all, of blood and treasure, than that of 1776.

It cost Davis, Hosmer and Hayward and hundreds of others, equally brave and worthy, their hearts' blood. It cost many an aged father and mother their darling son, many a wife her husband, many a Middlesex maid her lover.

Oh, what a glorious, but oh, what a bloody day it was! That was the day which split in twain the British empire never again to be united. What was the battle of Waterloo? What question did it settle? Why, simply who, of several kings, should wear the crown. Well, I always thought, ever since I read it, when a boy, that if I had fought on either side it would have been with Napoleon against the allied forces. But what is the question to me, or what is the question to you, or to any of us, or our children after us, if we are to be ruled over by crowned heads and hereditary monarchs? What matters it who they are, or which one it shall be?

In ancient times three hundred Greeks, under Leonidas, stood in the pass of Thermopylæ and for three successive days beat back and kept at bay five million Persians, led on by Xerxes, the Great. It was a gallant act, but did it preserve the blood-bought liberties of Greece? No. In time they were cloven down, and the land of Demosthenes and Solon marked for ages by the footsteps of the slave.

We weep over it, but we cannot alter it. But not so, thank God! with "Concord fight," and by "Con-

cord fight," I say here, for fear of being misunderstood, I mean by "Concord" all the transactions of that day.

I regard them as one great drama, scene first of which was at Lexington early in the morning, when old Mrs. Harrington called up her son Jonathan, who alone, while I speak, survives of all that host on either side in arms that day. He lives, blessed be God, he still lives; I know him well, a trembling, but still breathing memento of the renowned past; yet lingering by mercy of God on these "mortal shores," if for nothing else, to wake up your sleeping sympathies and induce you, if anything could, to aid in the noble work of building over the bones of his slaughtered companions-in-arms, Davis, Hosmer and Hayward, such a monument as they deserve. Oh, I wish he was here. I wish he only stood on yonder platform, noble man!

"Concord fight" broke the ice. "Concord fight," the rush from the heights at North Bridge was the first open marshaled resistance to the King. Our fathers, cautious men, took there a step that they could not take back if they would, and would not if they could. Till they made that attack probably no British blood had been shed.

If rebels at all, it was only on paper. They had not levied war. They had not *vi et armis* attacked their lawful king. But by that act they passed the Rubicon; till then they *might* retreat with honor; but after that it was too late. The sword was drawn and had been made red in the blood of princes, in the person of their armed defenders.

Attacking Captain Laurie and his detachment at North Bridge was, in law, attacking King George himself. Now they *must* fight or be eternally disgraced. And now they did fight in good earnest. They drew the sword and threw away, as well they might, the scabbard. Yesterday they humbly petitioned. They petitioned no longer. Oh, what a change from the 19th to the 20th of April. They had been, up to that day, a grave, God-fearing, loyal, set of men, honoring the king. Now they strike for national independence and after a seven-years' war, by the help of God, they won it. They obtained nationality. It that day breathed into life; the Colony gave way to the State; that morning Davis and all of them were British colonists. They became by that day's resistance either rebels doomed to die by the halter, or free, independent citizens. If the old Pine Tree flag still waved over them unchanged, they themselves were changed too, entirely and forever.

Old Middlesex was allowed the privilege of opening this war; of first baptizing the land with her blood. God did well to select old Middlesex, and the loved and revered centre of old Middlesex, namely, Concord, as the spot not where this achievement was to be completed, but where it was to be begun, and well begun; where the troops of crowned kings were to meet, not the troops of the people, but the people themselves, and be routed and beaten from the field, and what is more, stay beaten we hope, we doubt not to the end of time.

And let us remember that our fathers, from the first to the last in that eventful struggle, made most devout appeals to Almighty God. It was so with the whole Revolutionary War. It was all begun, continued and ended in God. Every man and every boy that went from the little mountain town of Acton with its five hundred souls, went that morning from a house of prayer. A more prayerful, pious, God-fearing, man-loving people, I have never read or heard of; if you have, sir, I should like to know who they are, and where they live. They were Puritans, Plymouth Rock Puritans, men who would petition and petition and petition, most respectfully and most courteously, and when their petition and petitioners, old Ben. Franklin and the rest, were proudly spurned away from the foot of the throne, petition again; and do it again for more than ten long, tedious, years; but after all they would fight and fight as never man fought, and they did so fight.

When such men take up arms let kings and queens take care of themselves. When you have waked up such men to resistance unto blood you have waked up a lion in his den. You may kill them. They are vulnerable besides on the heel, but, my word for it, you never can conquer them.

At old North Bridge, about nine o'clock in the forenoon, on the memorable 19th of April, 1775, King George's troops met these men and after receiving their first fire fled, and the flight still continues—the flight of kings before the people.

Davis' minute-men were ready first and were on the ground first. They were an *élite* corps, young men, volunteers, and give me young men for war. They must be ready at a moment's warning. They were soon at Davis' house and gun-shop. Here they waited till about fifty had arrived. While there some of them were powdering their hair just as the Greeks were accustomed to put garlands of flowers on their heads as they went forth to battle, and they expected a battle. They were fixing their gun-locks and making a few cartridges, but cartridges and cartridge-boxes were rare in those days. The accoutrements of the heroes of the Revolution were the powder-horn and the bullet-pouch, at least of the militia.

And Concord fight, with all its unequaled and uneclipsed glory was won, by help of God, by Massachusetts militiamen. Some were laughing and joking to think that they were going to have what they had for months longed for, a "hit at old Gage." But Davis was a thoughtful, sedate, serious man, a genuine Puritan like Samuel Adams, and he rebuked them. He told them that in his opinion it was "a most eventful crisis for the colonies; blood would be spilt, that was certain; the crimsoned fountain would be opened, none could tell when it would close, nor with whose blood it would overflow. Let every man gird himself

for battle, and not be afraid, for God is on our side. He had great hopes that the country would be free, though he might not live to see it." The truth was, and it should come out.

Davis expected to die that day if he went into battle. He never expected to come back alive to that house.

And no wonder that after the company started and had marched out of his lane some twenty rods to the highway he halted them and went back. He was an affectionate man. He loved that youthful wife of his and those four sick children, and he thought to see them never again and he never did. There was such a presentiment in his mind. His widow has often told me all about it and she thought the same herself, and no wonder he went back and took one more last lingering look of them, saying—he seemed to want to say something, but as he stood on that threshold where I have often stood and where, in my mind's eye, I have often seen his manly form, he could only say, "Take good care of the children," the feelings of the father struggling in him and for a moment almost overcoming the soldier. The ground of this presentiment was this: A few days before the fight Mr. Davis and wife had been away from home of an afternoon. On returning they noticed, as they entered, a large owl sitting on Davis' gun as it hung on the hooks—his favorite gun—the very gun he carried to the fight—a beautiful piece for those days—his own workmanship—the same he grasped in both hands when he was shot at the bridge, being just about to fire himself and which, when stone dead, he grasped still, his friends having, to get it away, to unclinch his stiff fingers.

Sir, however you may view this occurrence or however I may, it matters not; I am telling how that brave man viewed it and his wife and the men of those times. It was an ill omen—a bad sign. The sober conclusion was that the first time Davis went into battle he would lose his life. This was the conclusion, and so it turned out. The family could give no account of the creature and they knew not how it came in. The hideous bird was not allowed to be disturbed or frightened away, and there he stayed two or three days sitting upon that gun.

But mark: with this distinct impression on his mind did the heart of this Puritan patriarch quail? No; not at all, not at all. He believed in the Puritan's God—the Infinite Spirit sitting on the throne of the Universe, Proprietor of all, Creator and upholder of all, superintending and disposing of all, that the hairs of his head were all numbered and not even a sparrow could fall to the ground without his God's express notice, knowledge and consent. He took that gun from those hooks with no trembling hand or wavering heart, and with his trusty sword hanging by his side he started for North Bridge with the firm tread of a giant. Death! Davis did not fear to die. And he had the magic power, which some men certainly have. God bestows it upon them to inspire every one around them with the same feeling. His soldiers to a man would have gone anywhere after such a leader.

After about two miles of hurried march they came out of the woods only a few rods from Colonel James Barrett's, in Concord, and halted in the highway, whether discovered or not (this road came into the road by Barrett's some twenty rods from Barrett's house), looking with burning indignation to see Captain Parsons and his detachment of British troopers with axes break up the gun-carriages and bring out hay and wood and burn them in the yard.

They had great thoughts of firing in upon them then and there to venture. But Davis was a military man, and his orders were to rendezvous at North Bridge and he knew very well that taking possession of North Bridge would cut off all retreat for this detachment of horse and they must be taken prisoners.

In a few minutes more he wheeled his company into line on the high lands of North Bridge, taking the extreme left of the line—that line being formed facing the river, which was his place, as the youngest commissioned officer present in the regiment—a place occupied a few days before by him at a regimental muster of the minute-men.

A council of war was immediately summoned by Colonel James Barrett and attended on the spot, made up of commissioned officers and Committees of Safety. The question was, What shall now be done? The provincials had been talking for months, nay, for years, of the wrongs they had borne at the hands of a cruel motherland. They had passed good paper resolutions by the dozen. They had fired off their paper-bullets, but what shall *now be done?* Enough had been SAID. What shall now be done? What a moment! What a crisis for the destinies of this land and of all lands, of the rights and liberties of the human race. Never was a council of war or council of peace called to meet a more important question, one on the decision of which more was at stake. Their council was divided. Some thought it best, at once, to rush down and take possession of the bridge and cut off the retreat of Captain Parsons; others thought not.

Here were probably found in battle array over six hundred troops standing there under arms. Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn were in plain sight, with their red coats on, their cocked-up hats and their spy-glasses inspecting from the old grave-yard hills the gathering foe, for they came in from all directions suddenly, unaccountably, like the gathering of a summer thunder-cloud. Of course it was admitted on all hands that they could take possession of the bridge, but it was to be expected that this skirmish must bring on a general engagement with the main body in the town. The Provincials would be in greater force by twelve o'clock M. than at nine. And if the whole British Army of eight hundred men

should take the field against them in their present number most undoubtedly the men would run—they never would "stand fire." Their officers thought so: their officers said so on the spot. They gave it as their opinion, and it is probable that no attack at that hour would have been made had it not happened that, at that moment, the smoke began to rise from the centre of the town—all in plain sight from these heights—the smoke of burning houses. And they said, Shall we stand here like cowards and see Old Concord burn?

Colonel Barrett gave consent to make the attack. Davis came back to his company, drew his sword and commanded them to advance six paces. He then faced them to the right, and at his favorite tune of "The White Cockade" led the column of attack towards the bridge. By the side of Davis marched Major Buttrick, of Concord, as brave a man as lived, and old Colonel Robinson, of Westford. The British on this began to take up the bridge; the Americans on this quickened their pace. Immediately the firing on both sides began. Davis is at once shot dead through the heart. The ball passed quite through his body, making a very large wound, perhaps driving in a button of his coat. His blood gushed out in one great stream, flying, it is said, more than ten feet, besprinkling and besmearing his own clothes, these shoe-buckles and the clothes of Orderly Sergeant David Forbush and a file leader, Thomas Thorp. Davis, when hit, as is usual with men when shot thus through the heart, leaped up his full length and fell over the causeway on the wet ground, firmly grasping all the while, with both hands, that beautiful gun; and when his weeping comrades came to take care of his youthful but bloody remains, they, with difficulty, unclutched those hands now cold and stiff in death. He was just elevating to his sure eye this gun. No man was a surer shot. What a baptism of blood did those soldiers then receive! The question is now, Do these men deserve this monument? One that shall speak?

Davis' case is without a parallel and was so considered by the Legislature and by Congress when they granted aid to his widow. There never can be another. *There never can be but one man who headed the first column of attack on the King's troops in the Revolutionary War. And Isaac Davis was that man.* Others fell, but not exactly as he fell. Give them the marble. Vote them the monument, one that shall speak to all future generations and speak to the terror of kings and to the encouragement of all who will be free and who, when the bloody crisis comes to strike for it, "are not afraid to go."

The Birth-Place of Captain Isaac Davis.—Captain Isaac Davis was the son of Ezekiel Davis and Mary Gibson, of Stow. He was born February 23, 1745, at the place in West Acton known as the Jonathan B. Davis House, where Mr. George Hagar now lives. He was baptized, June 23, 1745. He married Hannah Brown, of Acton, October 24, 1764. She was born in Acton in 1746. On February 10, 1765, he covenanted with the church.

Captain Isaac Davis' House at the Time of the Concord Fight.—It lies about eighty rods southwest from the present site of Deacon W. W. Davis, at Acton Centre. We pass through the lane from Deacon Davis', still traveled as a private way, but at that time the old road; then go through the pastures, then strike the avenue leading to the residence of Mr. Charles Wheeler. His present house now stands very nearly where Captain Davis' house stood in 1775.

The two fine elms in front on the opposite side of the road, if permitted to stand, will help the antiquarian to locate the grounds, destined, as the years go by, more than ever to be the centre of Acton's local interest. The house in which he lived, has been replaced by another and that one repaired and enlarged. It was for many years the residence of Nathaniel Greene Brown, from 1812. It was occupied by Joseph Brown many years before 1812. It was known for some time as the Ward Haskell place, who reconstructed the building in later years, a noted carpenter. Elias Chaffin occupied the place in 1812. The original house was two story in front, and the back sloped down to one, the kitchen in the lower part.

An old apple-tree, a few years since, stood seven rods from Mr. Wheeler's house in his present orchard. This was the shooting mark of Captain Davis in his gun practice. The scars made by the bullets had been healed over, and what seemed like burrs covered the body of the tree when cut down. Mr. Wheeler now regrets that the wood of this tree was not at the time made into small memorial blocks, as keepsakes in memory of the noted marksman. Such relics are more in demand now that the days of the newness have passed, and the oldness has come instead.

This site must ever have a historical value, as the house of Davis, on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, where his company gathered, ready for battle, and where the funeral took place, of the three martyred soldiers, Mr. Swift officiating, and where the yeomanry of this surrounding country met on that epoch day, to join with the widow and the breaved public in solemn rites of burial. The antique flat stepping-stone at the ell door of Mr. Wheeler's house is the same trodden by Captain Davis and family, and consecrated by the remembrances of that funeral occasion.

Captain Isaac Davis' Widow and Family Record and later Residence.—The children of Isaac and Hannah (Brown) Davis were: Isaac, born in 1765, a bachelor. He gave his father's sword to Concord. Another son whose name is not known. Hannah, born in 1768, and married Amos Noyes in 1793. She had a daughter, Harriet, who married Mr. Simon Davis, the father of Harriet and Simon Davis. Amos Noyes was the grandfather of Lucian Ephraim,

born in 1773, settled in Maine. Mary, born in 1774, married Noah Fitch in 1796.

The widow married for *second* husband Mr. Samuel Jones, a man of property, July 30, 1782. She had by Mr. Jones, Samuel and Eliza. Samuel was a lawyer and built the house adjoining the monument house, one story, where he had a law-office.

The building was built upon the stumps of the trees, without a cellar. These old stumps were found years afterwards when digging the cellar. This house was afterwards more recently raised to two stories by Simon Davis.

Samuel also built the house owned and occupied now by Mr. John E. Cutter, and the house now owned and occupied by Rev. F. P. Wood, and where for a time Mr. Jones himself lived.

Elijah married a Mr. Waite, and lived in Groton, Massachusetts, and afterwards moved to Albany, New York. She taught school and was highly educated. She secured on one of her visits to Acton a fine oil portrait of her mother in later life, which was much admired and must be a valuable painting if still preserved as an heirloom.

For her *third* husband she married a Mr. Francis Leighton, of Westford, November 21, 1802. After his decease she lived with her granddaughter, Mrs. Simon Davis (Harriet Noyes) occupying the house now owned by Mr. Lucian Noyes, the grandson of Amos Noyes.

There she was living when Rev. Mr. Woodbury called upon her in company with his brother Levi. When asked by Mr. Levi how she managed to live so long, she replied, "I have always lived on the best I could get."

She was a good-sized woman, well developed, and with marked features. She is well remembered by many still living in Acton.

Mr. Woodbury, in his legislative speech, thus refers to her: "These buckles were given to me by Davis' widow, when ninety years old, under very affecting circumstances. I had rendered her aid, in procuring an annuity of fifty dollars from the Commonwealth, and that being insufficient, two hundred dollars more from the United States. Before these grants she had nearly come to want. The money arrived. We were all delighted at the success almost unexpected, for advocating which before the House of Representatives I am under greater obligations to my eloquent friend on my right (General Caleb Cushing), then a member of the House, than to any other man, and to Honorable Daniel Webster in the United States Senate, for which, with all his recent sins on his head, I must love him as long as I live. He never employed his gigantic mind in a nobler cause."

On receiving the money, "Take your pay, Mr. Woodbury," said the old lady.

"I am fully paid already," I said; "but, if you have any Revolutionary relic of your husband, Captain Davis, if nothing more than a button, I should like it right well. She took her cane and hobbled along to her old chest and drew out these shoe-buckles.

"There," said she, "I have lost everything else that belonged to him. These I had preserved for his children, but if you will accept them they are yours."

Precious relics! seventy-five years ago bathed in the heart's blood of one who, in the name of God and oppressed humanity, headed the column of the first successful attack in modern times of people resisting kings, of ruled against rulers, of oppressed against oppressors. Yes, the very first in these years of the world, but by the grace of God, who has declared himself the God of the oppressed, *not the last!* no, by no means. When I have done with them I will hand them over to my children as worth their weight in gold. By these buckles I would swear my son, as Hamilcar, that noble African prince, swore his son Hannibal, "never to give up to Rome." I say, by these shoe-buckles, would I swear my son *to be faithful* unto death, as Davis was in the cause of human liberty, and the just rights of man. Handle them, sir! handle them! How at the touch of these, patriotism, like electricity, will thrill through your bones:

"And one was safe and asleep in his bed,
Who at the bridge would be first to fall,
Who that day would be lying dead,
Pierced by a British musket ball."

REVOLUTIONARY WAR.—January 20, 1776, Middlesex County was ordered to raise a regiment of 571. Acton's quota was thirteen.

A new organization of militia was made in February, 1776, and Acton was assigned to the Third Regiment, Francis Faulkner, of Acton, being made Lieutenant-colonel. The officers of the Acton company were Simon Hunt, captain; John Heald, Jr., first lieutenant; Benjamin Brabrook, second lieutenant. A regiment raised in September, 1776, commanded by Eleazer Brooks, of Lincoln, was in the battle of White Plains. Rev. Moses Adams, of Acton, was chaplain. The Acton company was in the engagement, Thomas Darby being killed. The regiment behaved bravely.

Of a company of eighty-nine men at Dorchester, in the fall of 1776, Acton furnished five.

Thirteen Acton men were of the 670 Middlesex men in the three months' New York Campaign, beginning in November, 1776.

A company sent to Rhode Island in the summer of 1777 had for its first lieutenant Daniel Davis, of Acton. In October, same year, a volunteer company of sixty-three men from Acton and Concord left Concord for Saratoga, arriving there on the 10th and encamping two days. On the 13th they went to Fort Edward. On the 14th and 15th they went on a scout, and on the 16th brought in fifty-three Indians, several Tories and some women. They returned to Saratoga on the 16th, and had the pleasure to see the whole of Burgoyne's army "parade their arms," and march out

of our lines. They guarded the prisoners to Cambridge. Captain Simon Hunt, of Acton, commanded the company that was of the guard at Cambridge, November 28, 1777.

Acton furnished five men for the army April 20, 1779; four more between April and June; eleven, September 1st; eleven June 5, 1780; ten December 2d; and eight June 15, 1781.

List of the Men of Acton in the War of the Revolution.

Isaac Davis; Capt. Davis lived on the Ward Haskell farm, about one mile west of the meeting-house. John Hayward, Lieut., grandfather to Ebenezer Hayward, lived on the Swift Fletcher place. John Heald, Ensign, entered the Continental army and rose to be Captain; lived on John Nickles' place, and after the war kept tavern on the Westford and Concord road, under the great elms, where John Heald died a few years since, and where his son William now resides. His daughter Lydia gave me a letter of Ensign John, dated at Ticonderoga, March 20, 1776, for his wife, directed to Lieut. John Heald, his father, who was out also in the Revolutionary war. Joseph Piper, clerk, uncle to our Silas Piper; David Forbush, Orderly Sergeant, died 1803, aged 85, uncle to Captain Forbush, covered with David's blood when shot; Oliver Emerson, Sergeant, died in 1818, aged 43 years; George Mayfield, Sergeant; Seth Brooks, Sergeant, grandfather of Esquire Nathan Brooks; Luther Blanchard, fifer; Francis Baker, drummer; Joseph Braker 2d; Ephraim Billings, out in most of the war; Oliver Brown; Joseph Chaffin, out in most of the war; Ezekiel Davis, brother to Captain Isaac; David Davis; Elijah Davis; John Davis, Mr. Luther Conant's uncle; Reuben Davis, at the taking of Burgoyne; Jacob Gilbert; Dea. Benjamin Hayward, out in most of the war, brother of James; Abner Hosmer, killed; James Law, Reuben Law, Joseph Locke, Philip Piper; Joseph Reed, out in most of the war, our William R.'s father; Stephen Shepherd, out in most of the war; Solomon Smith, at the taking of Burgoyne; Jonathan Stratton; William Thomas, a school teacher, well informed; Thomas Thorp, Ord. Sergeant several years in the Continental army, and was during all the war; died, 96 years old, at Acton; Jonas Hunt, he was Frances Tuttle's uncle; Abraham Young; Stephen Hosmer, brother to Abner, who was killed; total of Capt. Davis's company, Joseph Harris (alive in 1851, 81 years old) said the true number was 38; James Hayward, an exempt, acted with them as volunteer; A. F. Adams, John Adams; Benjamin Brabrook, deacon; Joseph Brabrook; Joseph Barker 1st, our Joseph's grandfather; Samuel Barker, John Barker, William Barker; David Barker, died at Ticonderoga in 1776; James Billings; Jonathan Billings, died 1824, at the age of 85; Joseph Brooks, Daniel Brooks, Silas Brooks, Paul Brooks, George F. Brooks, Elias Barrow, David Brooks; Joseph Brown, Captain during the war, fought at Bunker Hill and Saratoga, and received a ball at Bunker Hill, which lodged in his body and was afterwards skillfully extracted and Brown shot it back at Saratoga; Stephen Chaffin; Elias Chaffin, died in 1832, aged 77; David Chaffin, Simon Chaffin, John Chaffin; Francis Chaffin, alarmed Joseph Reed, went into Continental army and died of small-pox; Robert Chaffin, Esq., Robert's father, died 1828, aged 76; John Cole, William Cutting, Silas Conant, Josiah Davis (Isaac's brother), Stephen Davis, Jonas Davis, James Davis, Ephraim Davis, A. C. Davis, Samuel Davis, Amos Davis; Daniel Davis, Captain, and father to Ebenezer, was at the taking of Burgoyne; Flint Davis; John Dexter, brother to Timothy; Ephraim Dudley; Thomas Derby, killed in battle; Col. John Edwards, Nathaniel Edwards, John Faulkner, A. Faulkner, Nathaniel Faulkner; Col. Francis Faulkner, at the taking of Burgoyne, and was Col., grandfather to Col. Winthrop E. Faulkner; James Faulkner, Ephraim Forbush, Samuel Fitch; James Fletcher, father to Dea. John Fletcher, took part in the Concord fight at sixteen years of age, as a volunteer in Davis's company, afterwards enlisted and served through the war, and died, from the fall of a tree, at 53, without pay and before pensions; Peter Fletcher, Jonas Fletcher, Col. Joseph Fletcher, Daniel Henry Flint, Samuel Fitch, Jude Gilbert; Titus Hayward, colored man, hired by Simon Tuttle; Simon Hayward; Dea. Samuel Hayward, father of Jonas; James Hayward, killed, acted as volunteer in Davis' company; Samuel Hayward, Jr., Josiah Hayward, sons of Samuel; Stephen Hayward, father of Hon. Steven Hayward; Ephraim Hapgood, father of Nathaniel; John Hapgood, John Hapgood, Jr.; Jonathan Hosmer, Esq., Simon's father, died in the army; Abraham Hapgood, father of James; Col. John Heald, father of John H.; Ephraim Hosmer; Samuel Hosmer, father of Dea. Silas Hosmer; Simon Hunt, Lieut., commanding West Company of common militia from Acton, Capt. Faulkner having been promoted to be Major; lived on Bright place; Captain in the war; a good officer; Jonas Hunt; John Hunt, his brother, on Coffin place; Paul Hunt, son of Simon; Nathan Hunt, son of Capt. Simon; Simon Hunt, Jr., son of Capt. Simon; Oliver Houghton, Jonas Heald, Israel Heald, Titus Law, Thomas Law, Stephen Law, Stephen Law, Jr., John Litchfield, John Lampson; Aaron Jones, father to Capt. Abel; Oliver Jones, Samuel Jones, Jonas Munroe, Nathan Marsh, Thomas Noyes (Lieut.), Josiah Noyes, John Oliver, Abel Proctor; Samuel Piper, at Ticonderoga in 1776; Samuel Parlin, Asa Parlin, Esq., Nathan Parlin, Josiah Parker, Jonas Parker, John Prescott; Benj. Prescott, Jos. Robbins, Captain of East Company, lived near old graveyard; Joseph Robbins 2d, also Captain; George Robbins, John Robbins, John Robbins, Jr., Jonathan Robbins, Philip Robbins, Robert Robbins, Ephraim Robbins, James Russell (Captain in the French War), Amos Russell, Moses Richardson, Jonas Shepherd, James Shurland; Samuel Temple, served during the war, a very good soldier, died 1826, aged 74; Samuel Tuttle; Simon Tuttle, Esq., Francis' grandfather; Eleazer Sawtell; Edward Wetherbee, Edward's father, gave the alarm up to Simon Tuttle's road to Littleton; was at the taking of Burgoyne; Oliver Wetherbee, Ammi Wetherbee, Roger Wheeler, Thomas Wheeler, Sampson Wheeler, Ezra Wheeler, Hezekiah Wheeler, John Proctor Wheeler, Oliver Wheeler, Timothy Wheeler, Samuel Wheeler, Jude Wheeler, John Wheeler, Daniel White, Mark White, Ebenezer White, Moses Woods, Abraham Young, Samuel Wright, John Willey, Lemuel Whitney, Nehemiah Wheeler.

The list is, no doubt, incomplete. Probably forty or fifty more names ought to be added; here are one hundred and eighty-one.

James T. Woodbury.

Supplies were furnished for the army as needed and called for.

Revolution Items.—Samuel Hosmer, father of Deacon Silas, was in the Revolution. He went down to Rhode Island, lived upon horse flesh and berries. He was a born fisherman.

Ezekiel Davis, a soldier of the Revolution, brother of Captain Isaac Davis, in his company. Wounded in the hat at the Concord fight. Died February 15, 1820, aged sixty-eight.

John Cole, captain in Colonel Robinson's regiment; served in Rhode Island from July, 1777, to January 1, 1778.

Simon Hunt, captain in Third Regiment Militia.

Benjamin Brabrook, second lieutenant; died January 14, 1827, eighty-five years, six months.

Thomas B. Darby, killed at battle of White Plains, 1776.

Fifteen Acton men were in that battle.

East Acton Company: Captain, Joseph Robbins; Israel Heald, first lieutenant; Robert Chaffin, second lieutenant.

Littleton, February 19, 1776.—Jonathan Fletcher was a minute-man at Lexington, April 19, 1775. He enlisted in Captain Abijah Wyman's company, William Prescott's regiment. He was at the battle of Bunker Hill, at which Colonel Prescott's regiment suffered such severe loss of life. At the siege of Boston, on Winter Hill, January, 1776, as fifer from Acton. He was lieutenant and captain until the close of the war—five years. Eighteen years old when enlisted. Son of Major Daniel.

Colonel Francis Faulkner and Captain Simon Hunt were in the battle of White Plains, Colonel Eleazer Brooks' regiment; behaved finely on this occasion.

Ralph Waldo Emerson's Address.—At the second centennial anniversary of the incorporation of the

town of Concord, September 12, 1835, ten of the surviving veterans who were in arms at the Bridge on the 19th of April, 1775, honored the festival with their presence; four of the ten were from Acton—Thomas Thorp, Solomon Smith, John Oliver, Aaron Jones. Ralph Waldo Emerson, the orator of that day, thus speaks of these men:

"The presence of these aged men, who were in arms on that day, seems to bring us nearer to it. The benignant Providence which has prolonged their lives to this hour, gratifies the strong curiosity of the new generation. The Pilgrims are gone; but we see what manner of persons they were who stood in the worst perils of the Revolution. We hold by the hand the last of the invincible men of old, and confirm from living lips the sealed records of time. And you, my fathers, whom God and the history of your country have ennobled, may well bear a chief part in keeping this peaceful birthday of our town. You are indeed extraordinary heroes. If ever men in arms had a spotless cause, you had. You have fought a good fight. And having quit you like men in the battle, you have quit yourselves like men in your virtuous families, in your corn-fields, and in society.

"We will not hide your honorable gray hairs under perishing laurel leaves, but the eye of affection and veneration follows you. You are set apart, and forever, for the esteem and gratitude of the human race. To you belongs a better badge than stars and ribbons. This prospering country is your ornament, and this expanding nation is multiplying your praise with millions of tongues."

The French and Indian War.—Acton has preserved its record as a gunpowder settlement from the start. Before its separate organization as a town, during the Colonial period, there are proofs which show its preparations for self-defence, in case of attack from the Indians or any other foes. After that date the town records show the same. March 21, 1744, the town voted to procure powder and bullets as a town stock. At a later date the town voted to replenish the stock of ammunition.

The town had an important part in "the French and Indian War," 1756–63.

There is a tradition that Captain Gershom Davis led out a company from Acton in 1759, and that Captain J. Robbins led another company four years later near the close of the war.

Major Daniel Fletcher was born within the present territorial limits of Acton, October 18, 1718. He was a lieutenant in Captain David Melvin's company from March to September in 1747, and was stationed at Northfield. He was a captain of a company of foot in his Majesty's Service, in a regiment raised by the Province of Massachusetts Bay for the reduction of Canada, whereof Ebenezer Nichols, Esq., was colonel, in which expedition he was wounded and taken prisoner. Enlisted as captain March 13, 1758, to November 28, 1858. He was captain in Colonel Frye's regiment, and in the service in the Province of Nova Scotia, after the 1st of January, 1760, and at the time of their discharge.

In 1768 he was a member of the House of Representatives of His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. On June 26, 1776, he was elected by ballot by the Massachusetts Assembly, major for the Third Battalion destined to Canada. He died in the fifty-ninth year of his age. See his epitaph in the record of Woodlawn Cemetery. He had nine children, all born in Acton,—Daniel, Charles (died young), Peter, Sarah, Ruth, Joseph, Charles, Jonathan. His oldest son, Daniel, married Ann Bacon, of Acton, September 11, 1760. They had one child, Ann, born November 12, 1769, married May 27, 1788, to James Law. Peter married Martha Farrar, of Acton, and they had several children. Ruth married Joseph Barker, and they had several children. Joseph married Abigail Bacon, of Lincoln, Massachusetts.

The Second Meeting-House.—The town had much difficulty in locating this house. At one time they voted to build at the junction of the road leading from West Acton with the road leading from Ensign Josiah Noyes to Moses Richardson, near a flat rock at that point, supposed to be the one lying east of the Puddle hole, on Joseph Reed's land, and west of Francis Barker's, now occupied by Mr. Maurice Lane.

This vote was afterwards reconsidered, and they finally left it to a committee to decide, consisting of Joseph B. Varnum, of Dracut, John Whitney, of Lancaster, and Walter McFarland, of Hopkington. The committee decided that the house ought to stand upon the site now occupied by the present town-house.

Their report was accepted by a vote of 73 to 59. After the house was located it was thought best to have it face a Common, and for this purpose the following purchases of land were made: Of Deacon Joseph Brabrook, 25 rods at $200 per acre, $31.40; of John White, a little over an acre, Mr. White to remove his house and fruit trees, $460; of Paul Brooks, one-half acre and 27 rods, $80.40. In addition to these the following gifts of land were made to the town: By James Fletcher, father of Deacon John, 9 rods; Samuel and James Jones, 1 acre and 27 rods. The town seems to have been especially indebted to him for its Common. He was a prominent man at that time and represented the town in the General Court that year, and he was doubtless a moving spirit in the matter. He was a lawyer, and had an office in the north end of the house lately occupied by A. L. Noyes, of the Monument House. He built and resided in the house now the home of Rev. F. P. Wood. He constructed a turnpike over the hill by his house upon the elevation of land over which it passed, but he became financially embarrassed and left for New Orleans to escape imprisonment for debt.

In connection with the building of the second meeting-house was the following vote:—"At a meeting, November 3, 1806, it was propounded whether the committee shall at the sale of the pews give the people any spirituous liquors at the expense of the town—passed in the negative." This prohibition idea seems to be no new notion in the history of the town:

"*September* 4, 1812.

"To know if the town will provide any refreshments for the companies in this town on muster day, and pass any vote or votes the town may think proper upon the above article.

"Voted to provide some refreshments for the companies on muster day.

"Voted to raise forty-six dollars.

"Voted to choose a com. to provide the following: 200 w. beef; 50 D. O. cheese; 3 bushel of meal made into bread; 2 D. O. pottatoes; 200 pickles; 10 gallons of W. I. Rum."

This muster was to be on Acton Common, September 1, 1806. The town voted to choose a committee of five persons to make a draft of such a meeting-house as they shall think proper for the accommodation of the inhabitants, and report to the town at that next meeting. Voted to choose said committee by ballot. The following persons were elected for the purpose: Aaron Jones, David Barnard, Winthrop Faulkner, Phineas Wheeler, Captain David Davis. The dimensions of the building subsequently reported by this committee were fifty-seven feet long and fifty-five wide, with a projection of fifteen feet in front. *Voted*, to accept and build the meeting-house as reported. *Voted*, to build the year ensuing and have said house finished January 1, 1808. *Voted*, that the committee who drafted the plan be the committee to have charge of the building.

It was for the times a generous appropriation, and the structure was successfully completed and was universally admired as a model in its design. It had an elevated tower for the belfry and above the belfry another ornamental circular story, supported by high posts, with a circular and graceful roof, rising from whose centre projected the elevated iron shaft for the support of the vane.

The internal arrangements were in harmony—a spacious vestibule, with three doors from the outside and the same from within; square pews, with rising seats; an elevated pulpit, approached by long, winding steps on either side; a gallery, high and ranging on three sides, curving in front; a ceiling, high and arched overhead.

The artistic effect from within on the Sabbath, when the whole town was supposed to be present, and the great choir joined with the pastor in giving effect to the service in prayer and song, and all the congregation stood with reverent mien, was impressive to any one participating. The Sabbath in those days had an interest, civil, social and religious, beyond the ordinary rountine of later dates.

The sacrifices made in constructing this costly temple intensified the appreciation by the people of its beauty and its uses. There was timber enough in this building to construct a good-sized village, spread lightly around according to modern style. It was of the best quality and furnished in lavish abundance.

The first bell, which was mounted high up in the tower, cost $570, and when it swung out its peals on Sabbath morn it was a missive to all the households in the town. It meant business as well as worship to get all things in readiness and reach the steps of the church before the last stroke of the tolling bell.

There must have been at one time at least thirty horse-sheds ranged in lines in the rear of the building and giving an impressive outlook to its surroundings, especially on the Sabbath and town-meeting days, when they would all be occupied.

John C. Park, Esq., grandson of Parson Adams, writes to Hon. John Fletcher from Boston, February 6, 1874, acknowledging the receipt of the *Acton Monitor:* "Some of the happiest days of my childhood were spent at Acton, and many pleasant memories are revived. I must come and see for myself, for I cannot realize the burning of gas in a village where I helped my grandmother and aunt to make 'dips.' Speaking of Hosmer, one of my earliest recollections is my childish admiration of the great 'H,' a silver-plated letter on the back of the chaire which brought Deacon Hosmer to meeting. Do you remember it? Do you remember how we used to turn up the seats for prayer in the old church, and the clatter it made letting them down at the close, and how one naughty little boy (John C. Park) used to keep his to the last?"

Persons connected with this church so far as obtained: Deacons: Simon Hunt, Benjamin Hayward, Josiah Noyes, John Wheeler, John White, Phinehas Wheeler, Daniel Fletcher Barker, Silas Hosmer, John White 2d.

Pew-holders (left body pews): Mrs. Simeon Hayward, David Barnard, Esq., Stevens Hayward, Esq., Deacon John White, Luther Conant.

Right body pews: Simon Hosmer, Esq., Silas Holden, Levi Waitt, Deacon Benjamin Hayward, Seth Brooks.

Choristers: Winthrop Faulkner, Silas Jones, Luther B. Jones, Daniel Jones.

Players on musical instruments: Bass viol, Jonathan Billing, Abraham B. Handley; double bass viol, Eben Davis; violin, Winthrop E. Faulkner, Henry Skinner; clarionet, Elnathan Jones, Samuel Hosmer.

Singers: Polly Davis, Ellen Jones, Lucy J. Jones, Abigail Jones, Jerusha Brooks, Ann Piper, Captain Abel Jones, Simon Davis, Seth Davis, Benjamin Wild, Amasa Wild, Edward Wetherbee, Oliver Wetherbee, Jedidiah Tuttle, Rebecca Davis, Susan Davis, Catharine Wetherbee, Lucinda Wetherbee, Polly Wetherbee, Susan Piper, Lucinda Piper, Mary Faulkner, Charlotte Faulkner, Catharine Faulkner, Susan Faulkner, Clarissa Jones, Amasa Davis, Jessie Pierce, Uriah Foster, Alden Fuller, Jonathan Piper, Dr. Harris Cowdry.

Rev. Mr. Adams, the second minister, enjoyed the advantages of this spacious and elegant church during the last eleven years of his pastorate and of his life; Rev. Mr. Shedd during the eleven years of his pastorate. The building stood for over fifty years as an attractive centre for civil and religious uses. By the decision of the courts the building came into the possession of the First Parish, and this parish deeded it to the town June 4, 1859.

In the great fire of November, 1862, which took in the barn of the hotel and which consumed the hotel, the tailor's shop building, occupied by Samuel Despean as a tailor-shop and by Daniel Jones as a store, the shoe factory of John Fletcher & Sons, and threatened at one time the whole village; a blazing shingle was wafted on high across the Common and struck the highest roof of the church tower, became fixed and soon ignited the steeple. The people below stood helpless and appalled, as nothing could be done to stay the raging flames. The whole building with all its massive timbers were in one brief hour a heap of smouldering ashes. This earthly structure went up as in a chariot of fire and was translated to the third heavens by the order of Him to whom it was originally dedicated. The building has gone, but its memories of pastor and choir and congregation abide.

William D. Tuttle.—The time when the very first settlements were made on the present territory of Acton is a matter of some uncertainty. It is evident from the town records that the town was pretty well settled over at the date of its incorporation. People were living in all parts of it at that time. The Indians had withdrawn to other hunting-grounds, and had ceased to be a cause of fear or annoyance.

The first public enterprise was the building of a meeting-house for public worship, being one of the conditions of the act of incorporation, and the next was to construct roads by which the people could get to it.

These were little more than bridle-paths cut through the forest from one homestead to another and connecting them all more or less directly with the meeting-house and the mills. That it was the day of humble beginning and of many privations and hardships we can well believe.

For lack of bridges, streams were crossed at what were called ford-ways. Forests were to be felled, houses to be erected, fences to be built, which required the strong arms of a sturdy race of men. Life was real and earnest to the men and women of that time. If their home life was barren of many of the luxuries and conveniences of modern days, there was in it a large element of downright sincerity, hearty good cheer and mutual helpfulness.

The church was then the centre of the social as well as the religious life of the people. It must have been an interesting sight to see the people on Sunday coming up from all parts of the town on horseback or on foot, for carriages, whether spring or otherwise, were not yet, to attend divine service at the ancient church.

It was here that neighborly courtesies were exercised, mutual acquaintances and friendship formed, many of which developed in after years into more intimate relations. The town-meeting—that nursery of statesmen—was also another of the educators of those days. Four or five times in a year did the inhabitants come together as a body to discuss their local affairs, to choose their town officers and to make regulations for their mutual welfare. If any one had a grievance, if his taxes pressed too heavily, if his accommodations in the way of roads were insufficient—whatever might be the cause of his complaint, here was a tribunal of his peers, where he could be heard and where justice was usually done.

From its first settlement to the present time Acton has been mainly an agricultural town. The first settlers depended for their livelihood on what they could get from the soil and from what grew above it. They had cattle, horses, sheep and hogs, the latter being permitted for many years to run at large and pick up their living in the woods.

Their agriculture was a varied one; money was scarce and hard to get. Everything that could contribute to the support and sustenance of a family was included in the farmer's course of husbandry. Wool, flax, Indian corn, rye, oats, beans, turnips, beef, pork and the products of the dairy were the principal products raised. Clothing was largely of home manufacture and the noise of the spinning-wheel and loom was heard in every well-appointed household.

They had plenty of apples, all natural fruit (the finer varieties being of later introduction), and nearly all the large farms had a cider-mill, which was kept busy during the months of October and November in producing a beverage all too common in those days.

From a census return made in 1790, it appears that no large number of cattle and horses was kept compared with what is usual at present, and but little English hay cut; the natural meadows being relied upon to a great extent for the supply of hay for stock.

Coming down to a later time, to the year 1800, a period of sixty-five years, we find the town's people in comparatively easy circumstances. Many had accumulated a fair estate for those times. More pretentious houses were erected and an era of general prosperity seems to have dawned.

In 1807 the town built the second meeting-house at an expense of nearly or quite $10,000, paid for by the sale of pews and a town tax of $1151, all of which was accomplished without apparent difficulty.

The manufacture of bellows was carried on extensively by Ebenezer Davis, senior and junior, for many years in the east part of the town.

A large and well-appointed flour and grain mill was erected on an ancient mill site by Daniel Wetherbee, in 1840, which, under the management of himself and son, has continued to the present time.

The pencil manufactory of Henry M. Smith, East Acton, was built in 1848, by Ebenezer Davis, Esq., and has been occupied successively since that time by Benjamin Davis, sash and blind manufactory; by William Schouler, print works; by A. G. Fay as pencil manufactory, and by its present occupant also in the manufacture of lead-pencils.

Among the various industries pursued for many years in the early part of the century, was the cooperating business, from fifteen to twenty thousand barrels annually having been manufactured. The little cooper-shops, so numerous in all parts of the town, in which many of the inhabitants found employment in the winter season, is conclusive proof that the business was a source of very considerable income.

The indenture of Gill Piper March 25, 1790, copied from the town papers is here inserted as a specimen of the times and the business then popular.

THE INDENTURE OF GILL PIPER.

March 25, 1790.

This indenture witnesseth, That Francis Faulkner, Aaron Jones and Jonas Heald, Selectmen of the town of Acton, Mass, Middlesex Co., put and bind Gill Piper, a minor, now under the care of the Selectmen aforesaid, unto Paul Hunt, and Betsey, his wife, to Larne the Cooper's trade; after the manner of an apprentice to dwell and serve from the date hereof until he, the said Gill Piper, shall arrive to the age of 21 years; during all which term the said Gill, his said Master and Mistress worthily and faithfully shall serve, their secrets keep close, their Lawful and reasonable commands Readily obey and perform; damage to his said Master and Mistress he shall not do, or suffer to be done by others without informing his said Master or Mistress of the same; tavern he shall not frequent; at cards, dice, or any other unlawful game he shall not play; matrimony he shall not contract, or fornication commit with any person; but in all things behave himself as a good and faithful apprentice until his fulfilment of his years or term above mentioned; and the said Paul Hunt, for himself and his heirs, do covenant, promise and agree with the said Francis Faulkner, Aaron Jones, and Jonas Heald, selectmen of the said town of Acton, and their successors in said trust, in this manner following, that is to say, that said Paul Hunt will teach or cause to be taught the said Gill Piper to read and write and cipher (if capable to learn) by giving him one month's schooling in each of the first two years of his service and one month in the last two years of his service, and will find and provide for the same Gill Piper good and sufficient meat, drink, washing and lodging, and also sufficient apparel suitable for one of his degree and calling, during the said term, and at the end of said term to dismiss the said Gill Piper with two good suits of Apparel, one suitable for Sabbath days, the other for working days. In witness whereof, the parties set their hands and seals to this indenture, the 22d day of March, 1790.

(Signed) PAUL HUNT.
FRANCIS FAULKNER.
AARON JONES.
JONAS HEALD

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of
JOSEPH BAKER, JR.,
JOB F. BROOKS.

Middlesex, ss:
March ye 25th, 1790.
The above indenture considered and approved of by
SILAS TAYLOR,
FRANCIS FAULKNER,
two Justices of Peace.

Gill Piper has not been heard from since so far as the town records go. We may infer with this start in life, that he became a worthy citizen. Nothing to the contrary has come to eye or ear.

Many hop kilns were erected, but in a few years the prices received were so fluctuating and unsatisfactory as to deter many from embarking in it and the business at length became so unremunerative that their culture was abandoned altogether.

CENTRE VILLAGE.—Previous to the time of the building of the second meeting-house there was no considerable village in the town. There were at that time a very few dwelling houses in the Centre, probably not more than a scant half-dozen in all. At this time there was, beside the first meeting-house, the old tavern, kept by Daniel Brooks, his widow Caroline and his son Paul, and afterwards occupied by Nathaniel Stearns; the well-known parsonage built by Moses Adams, sometimes called the Bullard place; the house of Benjamin Brabrook, situated a little easterly from the residence of Edward Tuttle; the house of John White, blacksmith, a little westerly of the present town-house; a cottage-house, where Francis Hosmer now lives, and one where Eddie F. Conant resides.

The building of the second meeting-house gave an impetus to building operations in this village; and about this time, 1807, the tavern first occupied by Henry Durant, afterward by Silas Jones, for many years and others later, was built, as also the house now occupied by T. F. Noyes; L. B. Jones' house now occupied by Rev. F. P. Wood; one on the site of that occupied by William D. Tuttle; one by John and James Fletcher, lately removed to make room for the Memorial Library. The house so long occupied by Stephen Weston, now occupied by John F. Davis, and the Cyrus Dole house now occupied by J. E. Cutter and the Edward Tuttle house.

The large mansion west of the town-house, long the residence of Hon. Stevens Hayward, was built about this time by Doctor Peter Goodknow. A store was kept on the site of the library building by James and John Fletcher, which was burnt. At a later date the store now occupied by M. E. Taylor, was built and kept by Joseph W. Tuttle, Francis Tuttle, James Tuttle, Rufus Holden, Daniel Jones, J. E. Cutter and many others, almost continuously to the present time. Samuel Jones, Esq., had a law-office for a short time where the house of A. L. Noyes stands. Samuel Jones, Sr., married the widow of Captain Isaac Davis, and resided on the place now occupied by Rev. F. P. Wood. To his public spirit we are largely indebted for Acton's beautiful Common.

In 1806 the town bought of Captain Paul Brooks 107 square rods of land at the east end of the Common, and in 1807, of John White 154 rods, northerly and westerly of the second meeting-house.

In 1806 Samuel Jones, Esq., in consideration of the good-will and respect he had for the inhabitants of Acton, deeded to the town about one and a quarter acres of land extending along the south side of the present Common, from near the house of A. L. Noyes to the house of Luke Smith, to be used as a town-common. The town also purchased of Joseph Brabrook thirty-one rods of land in 1808, on the northerly side of the Common, extending from the Robert Chaffin place to the town-house.

At this time there were not so many houses where the thriving villages of West and South Acton now stand. The latter was universally called Mill Corner, and had three dwelling-houses within a radius of a quarter of a mile, the Ammiruhamah Faulkner House, the tavern and store owned and occupied by Samuel Jones and his son Captain Aaron, the cottage-house, nestled under the hill owned by Captain Abel Jones, a son of Aaron; and the mills consisting of a saw and grist-mill and a fulling-mill, where cloth was dressed and fulled. Many now living can remember the time when these, with a few out-buildings, were all that made up the village of Mill Corner.

Where the enterprising village of West Acton now stands there was less in the way of building and business. Bradley Stone built the brick house on the corner in the centre of the village. He established a blacksmith and wheelwright-shop, near where the house of Varnum B. Mead now stands, and carried on the business for some years. He also built the first store in West Acton, which was first opened by Sidney and Henry Bull, and afterwards kept by Burbeck & Tenney.

The building of the Fitchburg Railroad, in 1844, marks an important era in the history of the town. Entering the limits of the town at the southeast corner and passing westerly and northerly through the south and west parts of the town, a sudden impetus was given to the growth of these villages, which has continued ever since.

Before this time a communication with our commercial metropolis, Boston, was slow and difficult. The country trader's merchandise had to be hauled by means of ox or horse-teams from the city. Lines of stage-coaches indeed radiated in all directions from the city for the conveyance of passengers, but so much time was consumed in going and returning by this conveyance that a stop over night was absolutely necessary if any business was to be done.

Instead of being whirled rapidly in an hour's time or less into Boston, and having ample time for the transaction of business and returning at night with equal ease and rapidity to our homes, a visit to Boston before the era of the railroad was something to be planned as a matter of serious concern. All the internal commerce between city and country necessitated stage-coaches and teams of every description, and on all the main lines of road might be seen long lines of four and eight-horse teams conveying merchandise to and from the city.

As a matter of necessity, taverns and hostelries were numerous and generally well patronized. Thus in the east part of Acton, on the road leading from Boston to Keene, there were no less than four or five houses of public entertainment. With the advent of railroads all this changed. The Fitchburg Railroad was completed to West Acton in the autumn of 1844, and that village became a distributing point for the delivery of goods destined for more remote points above.

Two names may be mentioned in connection with the location of this road through the limits of this town,—Colonel Winthrop E. Faulkner, of South Acton, and Bradley Stone, of West Acton.

Public-spirited and powerfully impressed with the importance of securing the location of the road through their respective villages, they labored untiringly until this was secured, positively and beyond a doubt. No personal effort was spared and no obstacle was suffered to stand in the way, until the coveted end was gained. Who will say that their ambition was not a worthy one, and has not been amptly justified?

The April meeting warrant for 1840 contained this article: "To see if the town will take measures to have trees set out on the Common." On this article the town granted leave to set trees on the Common, and chose a committee of seven to say where they shall be placed. Francis Tuttle, John Fletcher, Winthrop E. Faulkner, John White, Nathan Brooks, Simon Tuttle and Rufus Holden were appointed as this committee.

The said trees were to consist of rock maple, buttonwood, elm and white ash. As the result of this action of the town, the committee extended a general invitation to all the inhabitants to bring in suitable trees for transplanting, of the kinds mentioned, on the 19th of April. As the 19th came on Sunday that year, the trees were set on the following day under the direction of the committee. The people responded nobly, and from all parts of the town the citizens came into the village on the morning of the 20th loaded with trees; nearly all lived and grew well. Most of the rock maples were set out at a later date, 1859.

Our notice of the village of the Centre would be incomplete without the mention of the name of one prominent in the business history of the town for years. John Fletcher, at first a country trader in a small way, began the manufacture of boots and shoes in 1815. Finding a ready sale for his goods, he continued to enlarge his manufacturing facilities until his boots and shoes were well and creditably known far and wide. He associated his two sons, John and Edwin, with him under the firm-name of John Fletcher & Sons. The firm did a successful business for many years.

THE GREAT FIRE.—In the evening of Oct. 24, 1862, occurred the greatest fire Acton has ever known. Beginning at the stable near the hotel, the shoe manufactory of John Fletcher & Sons, the hotel, and store occupied by Daniel Jones, and finally the town hall, formerly the meeting-house, built in 1807, all were in a short time consumed.

The incendiary had done his work but too well, and had left, as he had threatened, a black mark in the Centre Village. Looking over the scene of desolation, it seemed as though the place was doomed to extinction. Good friends, however, came to the rescue. In

the November warrant for town-meeting an article was inserted to see what action the town will take in regard to building a new town-house. At this meeting it was voted to choose a committee of six persons, one from each school district, to obtain plans, specifications and estimates to report at a future meeting.

On Tuesday, the 2d day of December, another meeting was called to hear the report of the committee. At this meeting it was voted not to build a town-house. Another meeting was called on the 15th of the same month. In the warrant was inserted the following: "To see if the town will build a house suitable for a town hall and armory for the Davis Guards."

At this meeting it was voted that when the town build a town-house it be built on the spot where the old one stood. Also voted to choose a committee of seven, by ballot, with full powers to build a town-house with an armory in it suitable for the town within the next twelve months. This committee consisted of Daniel Wetherbee, Samuel Hosmer, James Tuttle, Cyrus Fletcher, David M. Handley, Artemas M. Rowell and Luther Conant.

This was erected the next year, as also the large shoe manufactory of John Fletcher and a new hotel by John E. Cutter. Thus, in a measure, was replaced Acton's great loss by fire.

Among other noted residents of the village for many years was Jonas Blodgett, blacksmith and auctioneer. He came to Acton about the year 1830, and carried on his trade until failing health and eyesight obliged him to retire.

West Acton.[1]—The brick house on the corner was built by Bradley Stone. He also built the first store at the corner in 1837, where Mead Brothers are now, occupied formerly by Burbeck & Tenney, then Sidney and Henry Bull.

In 1858 Charles Robinson moved that building to where it now stands, occupied by George Conant, bluine manufactory, and built the present store. The hall now used by Isaac Davis' Grand Army Post was built by Mr. Robinson for the use of the Universalist Society, and was used by it for ten years.

The first meat market was opened by John R. Houghton under the tin-shop of L. M. Holt, and was occupied by him until he built his present market. A blacksmith-shop was built by Bradley Stone where the house of V. B. Mead now stands. When this was burned he built a new shop near the site of the old one, and where it now stands, occupied by Samuel A. Guilford. The shop was run for awhile by Enoch Hall, who in 1865 transformed a barn standing near it into the present wheelwright-shop of Herbert F. Clark.

The New England Vise Company in 1868 erected a building for its business which proved unsuccessful. The Butter and Cheese Factory Company was incorporated about 1873, and ran three or four years. This venture proved unprofitable, and the building erected for the company is now occupied by William H. Lawrence, blacksmith, and Waldo Littlefield, carriage manufacturer.

A part of the ground now occupied by the refrigerator and apple-house of A. & O. Mead & Co. was a building put up by the West Acton Steam Mill Company in 1848, which was burned in 1852, and, as the business had not been satisfactory, was not rebuilt. The building for the manufacture of overalls and clothing was put up by Charles H. Taylor in 1886.

Soon after the railroad was built through West Acton a tin-shop was built by Henderson Rowell, who occupied it until his death, in 1860. Since then it has been carried on by various persons in the same place, and is now run by Lorenzo M. Holt, who does a large and increasing business.

About 1858 a shoemaker's-shop was built, and was occupied by Oliver C. Wyman until his death, in 1885. The business since then has been carried on by William Mott.

In 1845 Shepley & Davis built a house, which was occupied by a Mr. Page and called Page's Tavern. After a few years it was purchased by Adelbert and Oliver Mead, and reoccupied by them for a dwelling-house a number of years. Since then it has been occupied by various tenants.

In 1848 Dr. Reuben Green opened an office. In 1852 he was bought out by Dr. Isaiah Hutchins, who still occupies the building erected by Dr. Green. In 1848 a post-office was opened in Dr. Green's office, in which building it remained until Dr. Hutchins, in 1854, resigned, whereupon it was transferred to the store, where it remained until the Cleveland administration, when Hanson Littlefield became postmaster, and the office was removed to his store. In 1889 Charles B. Stone, the present incumbent, was reappointed, and removed the office to the room specially built for it.

The grain and grist-mill and cider-mill of E. C. Parker & Co. was built in 1868, burned in 1869 and rebuilt in 1870. The cigar-factory of Frank R. Knowlton was over the store of Hanson Littlefield until the new factory was built in 1889.

Tubs and Pails.—B. F. Taft began the manufacture in the building and was succeeded by Samuel Sargent. Sargent was succeeded by Enoch Hall, who, with his sons, now carry on the business. The business has become an important source of thrift. It was started seventeen years ago and has been steadily increasing.

The lumbering business has been introduced and enlarged; wood lots and farms have been bought in the neighboring towns with reference to the lumber supply. Tubs, churns and pails are manufactured in large quantities and sent for market in all directions, as far as Australia, South America, California and Europe. Twenty-five men are employed through the year, with extra help in the winter. Estimated average sales per year, $50,000.

[1] Items furnished by A. A. Wyman, Esq.

Mrs. John Hapgood, the mother of Mrs. Nash, a few weeks before her death, when enjoying unusual clearness of mind, though over eighty years old, wrote out carefully these items from her own personal recollections, and the original copy in her handwriting is now with the town clerk. The statements have since been corroborated by Deacon Samuel Hosmer, over eighty-six years old, whose memory is quite clear and retentive.

H. A. Gould's Place.—Deacon Jonathan Hosmer was the first settler on the place that is now owned by Mr. Gould; he had four sons—Jonathan, Stephen, Abner and Jonas. Abner was the one that fell, April 19, 1775, at Concord Bridge, with Captain Davis. I remember of hearing my aunt Sarah Hosmer, sister of N. D. Hosmer and wife of Samuel Hosmer, when she was very young, say that her grandfather went out to see if he could hear any news on that day, and when he returned he groaned when he passed their window to go into the front door. What sorrow was then experienced!

Stephen Hosmer, one of the sons of Deacon Jonathan Hosmer, settled on the homestead with his father (at Gould's place). His sons were three—Stephen, Nathan Davis and Jonathan. Nathan Davis Hosmer, son of Stephen Hosmer, bought the place, the homestead, and built the new house which is now occupied by Mr. Gould.

The old house was pretty large for those days, two front rooms with entry between, upright back part with two rooms below. The back chanbers were low and unfinished.

Aaron Hosmer, son of Nathan D. Hosmer, had made arrangements to keep the place, the homestead, as his own; but he died a few months before his father died. If Aaron Hosmer had lived, the place would probably have been in the Hosmer name now, which would have been the fourth generation.

Jonathan Hosmer, son of Deacon Jonathan Hosmer, bought and settled on the place now occupied by Mr. Neil, the Simon Hosmer place. It is the first house beyond the Kelley place toward Acton Centre. He had but one son, Simon Hosmer, Esq. He bought the place and lived there most of his lifetime. Afterwards it went into other hands. Francis Tuttle owned it at one time.

Noyes & Barker Place.—Ephraim Hosmer owned the farm that is now occupied by Noyes & Barker. He was a nephew of Deacon Jonathan Hosmer; he had a number of children, but buried two or three by the dreadful disease of malignant sore throat. My grandmother, Sarah Davis, wife of Stephen Hosmer, said that one of the girls told her she was hungry but she could not swallow—a terrible disease to get into a family. He had two sons that lived, Joel and Samuel, father of Deacon Silas Hosmer.

Joel kept the home place, but when the turnpike was being made, he thought it would be important to have a hotel or tavern, as it used to be called, and he built the large house for that purpose now owned by Joseph Noyes and Joseph Barker; but custom failed, it did not meet his expectation, and after a few years the farm had to be sold, a very great disappointment to him and all of his family.

Frank Knowlton's Place.—Samuel Hosmer, brother to Joel Hosmer and son of Ephraim Hosmer, bought the place that Frank Knowlton now owns. He lived in a small house, but had quite a large barn. He was the father of Deacon Silas Hosmer, who succeeded his father on the home farm and built the large two-story house since remodeled by F. R. Knowlton, who is the husband of Emma, daughter of Deacon Silas Hosmer.

Handley Place.—Mr. John Tuttle owned that place in 1800 and was called a very wealthy man. It has been owned by many different persons since—Jacob Priest, Reuben Handley.

Isaac Reed's Place.—William Reed was the first owner of the farm, living there during his lifetime. Then his son William bought and lived there during his life. The present owner is his son, Isaac Reed.

Andrew Hapgood's Place.—It was owned by a widow Brooks. Ephraim Hapgood and Nathaniel Hapgood, two brothers, bought it of her, Ephraim keeping the old house and Nathaniel building a new one just above it. Ephraim Hapgood and Nathaniel Hapgood were sons of Ephraim Hapgood.

Ebenezer Smith's Place.—Mr. Smith bought the farm when he was quite a young man (do not remember the person); the house was an old one, but they lived in it a number of years, then built a new one; it was called nice in those days. After his death Edwin Parker owned it, living there several years, then sold it to the present owner, Amasa Knowlton.

Ephraim Hapgood's Farm.—Ephraim Hapgood thought it would be a good plan to go to Maine and take up a large tract of land and settle there, as he had several boys. Accordingly, one summer, he went to see about it. The next summer he took two of his sons and went to Maine, to a place called now Norridgewock, and worked all summer, intending to take his family the next year.

When the time came for them to start for home Ephraim, grandfather of Mrs. Nash, one of the sons, said he would walk home instead of going by water, and by that means saved his life, for the vessel was shipwrecked and the father and son were both drowned.

Ephraim Hapgood gave up all idea of going to Maine after the death of his father and brother, bought the home-place, took care of his mother, living there his lifetime. After his decease his two youngest sons, John and Benjamin Franklin, bought the farm, keeping it together several years. Then Benjamin F. bought out his brother John and lived there until his death. He was killed at the crossing of the Fitchburg Railroad, near Andrew Hapgood. Nathaniel Hapgood was also killed at the same time. The farm was afterwards bought by Cyrus Hapgood. He kept

it a few years then sold it to a Mr. Prescott. The house was burned not a great while afterwards. The land is now owned by individuals—only a small house upon it, owned by Mr. Blanchard, for the accommodation of hired help.

Simon Blanchard's Place.—Abraham Hapgood, brother of Ephraim Hapgood, and son of the one that was drowned, bought the place and lived there during his life.

James Hapgood, his only son, bought the place, keeping it several years, afterwards sold it to Alvin Raymond. He kept it a few years, then sold it to Mr. Jonathan Fletcher. After his death Simon Blanchard, the present owner, bought the place; married for his first wife Elizabeth Fletcher, daughter of Mr. Jonathan Fletcher.

Mr. Hager's Place.—Elias Chaffin lived on this place a number of years. The next owner was Jonathan B. Davis. He kept it a good many years, then sold it to the present owner, Mr. George Hager.

Leland Place.—It was the home of Captain Stevens Hayward, the father of Stevens Hayward, Esq. Mr. Hayward living there during his life, then his son Stevens owned it many years, afterwards he sold it to Benjamin Lentell. He lived there several years and sold it to Mr. Leland.

A. A. Haynes' Place.—It was the home of Deacon Benjamin Hayward. He had three sons—Moses, Aaron and Luke. Moses was accidentally shot by his own son. His home then was the late Cyrus Hayward's place. Aaron Hayward after the death of his father settled on the homestead, but died when quite young.

Alden Fuller Place.—Nathaniel Faulkner in the olden time lived there; he owned the place; he had several sons. Nathaniel kept the home-place and lived there during his life. His daughter Sarah married Alden Fuller. He bought the home-place and lived there during his life.

Houghton Place.—Oliver Houghton bought that place, living in a very old house for a long time. There have been two houses built on that place, the low one built first. Levi Houghton succeeded his father and built the new house. Since his death George H. S. Houghton, a nephew, owns the farm and is living on it.

Mrs. Hapgood's Place was formerly owned by the Faulkners. A widow lived here who had three children. The son's name was Moses. There must have been two generations before it went into other hands. It has been owned by Brown and a Wilson. Daniel Wetherby bought it afterwards, then John Hapgood bought it.

Coffin Place.—Deacon John Hunt owned this farm for many years, for Mother Hapgood said (Molly Hunt, daughter of Deacon J. Hunt) when she was very small she remembered the 19th of April, and looked out of the window and saw James Hayward walking along as fast he could, with gun in his hand. He seemed to be in a great hurry. It was the morning of the day he was killed in Lexington. Jotham Hunt, son of Deacon J. Hunt, became owner of the place, lived there many years, then sold it to Porter Reed. Afterwards it was owned by George Coffin.

James Hayward's Place.—Samuel Hosmer, brother of Deacon Silas Hosmer, built that house, occupying it several years. Some other families lived there before Mr. Hayward bought it. There was a Mr. Hayward, the father of Jonas Hayward, who died when he was a young man. Samuel Hayward owned the farm that William Reed owned and lived there during his life. It was the place that Joseph Cole carried on several years and died there two or three years ago.

James W. Wheeler Place.—The old house that stood near that elm-tree was owned by Samuel Wheeler. His son Nathan succeeded him and still occupied the old house during his life. James W. Wheeler, his son, after a few years bought the farm and built a new house, owned by Octavius Knowlton.

Elisha Cutler Place.—Deacon John Wheeler, brother of Samuel Wheeler, owned this farm, living there during his life. Joel Whitcomb owned it awhile.

Simon Hunt was a brother of Deacon John Hunt, and his home was what was called the Bright Place, the next house beyond the late Cyrus Hayward's place as you go towards Stowe.

A. & O. W. Mead & Co.—The history of this firm has such relations to Acton that a brief account of its record is here given.

O. W. Mead was born in Boxboro' Oct. 19, 1824. Worked on his father's farm until he was twenty-one years of age. His education was limited to the district school until of age. He afterwards attended academy in Lunenburg three terms, and taught school in Lunenburg and Littleton, one term each.

At twenty-three years of age he went into the marketing business with his brother Adelbert, and drove a horse team to Boston weekly with all kinds of produce.

He moved to West Acton in 1840, and there continued his business with his brother successfully, transporting their freight over the Fitchburg Railroad to Boston. In 1867 his brother Adelbert, Varnum B. and himself leased store No. 35, on North Market St., and carried on the produce business under the name of A. & O. W. Mead & Co. Their business has been varied and extensive to the present time.

Their lumbering interests in New Hampshire and Maine have been large, in cattle and lands in Iowa, Minnesota and Territories considerable.

They built in West Acton the first refrigerator for storing fruit—in this country—which proved very remunerative for many years.

The first house has been supplanted by several larger and more costly buildings.

The firm has expended large sums of money in West Acton in buildings and otherwise, which has done much towards the adornment and general pros-

perity of the village, and have always taken a lively interest in the welfare of the town of their adoption.

O. W. Mead was an active director in the American Powder-Mill for twenty years, has been intrusted with the settlement of several estates, three years a director in the Florida Midland Railroad, been one of the directors of the Board of Commerce, is now a director of the First National Bank of Ayer, one of the trustees of the North Middlesex Savings Bank, also president and manager of one of the largest herds of cattle in the Territory of Wyoming.

The business of this firm extends into millions yearly.

Their father's name was Nathaniel; their grandfather Deacon Oliver Mead. Their mother was Lucy Taylor, daughter of Capt. Oliver Taylor.

Luke Blanchard—He was born in Boxboro' Jan. 17, 1826, and lived there until he was twenty-four years of age.

He was the son of Simon, and moved into Acton in 1852. He married Jerusha M. Vose April 8, 1858, and had the following children: Mary Florence, born Aug. 8, 1859, died in two years and four months; Anna Maria, born Oct. 7, 1862; Arthur F., born Jan. 21, 1864; Mary Alice, born Dec. 21, 1867, died Feb. 2, 1889.

He has been a prosperous business man, accumulating successfully through his own exertions. His business has been largely marketing and trading. His property is distributed in several towns, but his chief local interest has been for several years in West Acton.

He is grandson of Calvin Blanchard, who was at Bunker Hill, and helped build the breastworks preparatory to the fight, and was at the Concord fight April 19th.

He is the grandnephew of Luther Blanchard, who was the fifer at the Concord fight—in Capt. Davis' company—and a brother to Simon, grandson of Calvin.

HISTORICAL MAP OF ACTON.[1]—Old road from Capt. Davis' house to 1st Meeting-House:

Capt. Isaac Davis, 1775; Joseph Brown, 1813; Ward S. Haskell, Nathaniel G. Brown, 1825; Charles H. Wheeler.

Rev. John Swift, 1740; Dea. Josiah Noyes, 1780; David Barnard. Esq., 1800; Joash Keyes, Eliab Grimes, Jonathan W. Teele, Dea. W. W. Davis.

Captain Phineas Osgood, 1744; Edward Harrington, 1800; Thomas F. Lawrence, 1872; Rev. James T. Woodbury, Capt. Daniel Tuttle.

The old Parsonage:

Josiah Piper, 1735; Rev. Moses Adams, 1819; Rev. Marshall Shedd, 1831; Isaac Bullard.

The old School-House north of the Parsonage, 1798:

The Centre Village.—Edward Tuttle, Joseph W. Tuttle, Charles Tuttle, Dea. Joseph Brabrook.

First Store.—Dea. John and James Fletcher, his brother, Rev. James Fletcher, Memorial Library.

Peter Goodnow, M. D., Hon. Stevens Hayward, Mrs. Elizabeth Blood, Benjamin Wilde, Jr., Timothy Hartwell, Silas Jones.

Store.—Stephen Weston, John F. Davis.

James Jones, Widow Leighton, Dea. John Fletcher, Cyrus Dole, Henry M. Smith, John E. Cutter.

Samuel Chaffin, Jerusha Noyes, Elizabeth Brooks, T. Frederic Noyes.

Hotel—Lieut. Henry Durant, 1808; Silas Jones, 1822; Horace Tuttle, 1835; Daniel Tuttle, 1840; John E. Cutter.

Samuel Jones, Esq., Doctor Abram Young, Simon Davis, Widow Harriet Davis.

Store—Dea. John and James Fletcher; Shoe Manufactory, John Fletcher and Sons.

First Meeting-house, 1736; School-house, 1771.

Brooks Tavern, Daniel Brooks, 1762; Paul Brooks, James Fletcher, Jr., Nathaniel Stearns.

James Fletcher, 1794, Dea. John's father, Abel Proctor, Silas Conant.

Jones Turnpike.—Laid out in 1817.

Widow Hannah Leighton, Samuel Jones, Esq., James Conant.

Jonas Blodgett, Frank Hosmer.

Theodore Reed, Horace Tuttle, Dea. William D. Tuttle.

William Reed (3d), Joseph Reed.

The new road through the Centre. Laid out in 1806.

John Cragin.

Allen Richardson, 1826; Charles F. Richardson, Ai. Robbins.

The road over the Strawberry Hill, 1735. Bounds renewed 1803, and road straightened 1807, over the brook.

The road from Littleton line—Nashoba Corner, called Proctor's Road, 1746—leading to Cemetery, and crossing Harvard Turnpike at Daniel McCarthy's, 1735, and on to Joel Conant and so. east Acton.

Cotton Proctor, Peter Fletcher, Oliver Wetherbee, John Grimes.

Magog Hill.

Jonas Allen, 1762; Simon Tuttle, 1762; Francis Tuttle, Town of Acton.

Simon Tuttle, Jr., 1828.

Charles Handley, 1827.

School, 1787, at the crossing leading to Mr. Hammond's, burnt 1795.

Dr. Abraham Skinner, Charles Tuttle.

Rocky Guzzle.

Woodlawn Cemetery, 1736.

Daniel F. Barker, 1809; Dea. Samuel Hosmer, 1839.

Joseph Barker, 1762–1809; Lieut. Reuben Barker, Joseph W. Wheeler.

Abner Wheeler, Capt. Silas Jones, Daniel McCarthy.

Daniel Shepherd, 1735; John Cole, 1800; Alvin Raymond, Jedidiah Tuttle.

Joseph Cole, 1800; George B. Cole, William Hosmer.

The Stow and Carlisle road, 1735–1803.

Capt. Samuel Davis, 1735; John Adams, Jr., 1770; Ebenezer Barker, 1807; Jonathan Barker, 1847; Cyrus Barker.

S. E. School, 1771; Forge, 1766.

County road from Mill Corner to Assabet River and Faulkner Mills, 1776.

Joseph Dudley, 1793; Reuben Barker, William S. Jones.

Josiah Hayward, 1735; Simeon Hayward, 1792; Mrs. Mary Skinner Hayward's Mills.

Towards Faulkner's Mills.

Lieut. John Adams, 1750; Moses Fletcher, 1826; Peter Fletcher, Lemuel Dole, Frank Pratt.

Dea. Joseph Fletcher, 1735; Capt. Daniel Fletcher, 1776; Stephen Shepherd, Benjamin Wilde, 1797–1822; Asa Parker, 1825; Frank D Barker, 1885.

Reuben Hosmer, 1800; Joseph Wilde, 1825; William A. Wilde.

Charles Robbins.

Capt. John Hayward, 1775; John S. Fletcher, Daniel Fletcher.

Benjamin Robbins, 1820; John Fletcher, 1845.

[1] By Horace F. Tuttle.

County road leading from Faulkner's Mills to S. E. Acton Mills.

Ammiruhamma Faulkner, before 1735, Francis Faulkner, Francis Faulkner, Jr., Winthrop Faulkner, Col. Winthrop E. Faulkner.

Road to Maynard, 1847.

Road to Store from Mill Corner, 1736.

Joseph W. Tuttle, Capt. Aaron C. Handley.
Moses Hayward, Cyrus Hayward.
David Forbush, 1735; David Forbush, Jr., 1771; Ephraim Forbush, Abel Forbush, Isaiah Reed.

Road to Store from Mill Corner.

John S. Fletcher Cross road.

Cyrus Putnam, 1829.
Simon Hunt, 1731; Capt. Simon Hunt, Jr., 1775.
Josiah Bright.
Nathan Robbins, 1736; George Robbins, 1775; George Robbins, Jr., 1826.

Sumner Blood Cross road.

Tilly Robbins.
Tilly Robbins, Jr.

Road from Mill Corner and Stow to Concord School.

Jonathan Tower.
Ezra Wheeler, 1762; Lewis Wood, 1828; Mrs. C. D. Lothrop.
Samuel Handley, 1807; Joseph Brown, 1820; Elijah Brown.
Daniel Brooks, 1776; Dea. John Brooks, 1735; Jonas Brooks, Esq., 1776; Nathan Wright, Obed Symonds.
Titus Law, 1735; Joel Conant, 1823; John Conant, H. Hanson.
John and Stephen and Amos Laws, 1735; Abel Cole, 1890.
Asae Hosmer, Dea. Samuel Hosmer, Nathaniel Jones, Doctor Warner.

Road from the Laws to Silas Holden's, 1770.

Road from Stow and Concord Road to Harvard Turnpike, 1833.

Joel Hosmer, Jonathan Hosmer, Nat. Thurston Law.
Josiah Piper, 1825.
Joseph Piper, 1774; Joseph Piper, Jr., Silas Piper, Jonathan Piper, Abel Farrar.

Road from Harvard Turnpike to Moses Taylor, Esq.'s, site, 1797.

Road from Moses Taylor, Esq. to Centre, 1774.

Joseph Barker, 1762; Moses Richardson, 1800; Silas Taylor, 1822; Moses Taylor, Esq.
John Barker, 1736; Thad. Tuttle, 1797.

Road from Mill Corner to the Centre, way to meeting, 1735.

Store, Samuel Jones, 1735; Samuel Jones, Jr., Aaron Jones, 1776; Elnathan Jones.
Capt. Abel Jones, Abraham H. Jones.
Universalist Church.
Simon Hunt, School, 1771.
William Cutting, 1735; William Cutting, Jr., 1808; Luther B. Jones, 1826.

Cross road to the West road.

Dea. Jonathan Hosmer, 1735; Stephen Hosmer, 1765; Abner Hosmer, born 1754; Nathan D. Hosmer, 1800; Aaron Hosmer, Herman A. Gould.
Simon Hosmer, Jr., Reuben L. Reed, John Kelly.
Jonathan Hosmer, 1760; Simon Hosmer, Esq., 1800; Francis Tuttle, Esq., Edward O'Neill.

County road along the brook from Mill Corner to the Stow and Carlisle road, 1847.

Road from Universalist church, Mill Corner to beyond the Ford Pond brook crossing near Mt. Hope Cemetery—before 1735.

Jacob Woods, 1735; Oliver Jones, 1771; Abraham Conant, Esq., Winthrop F. Conant.
Simon Hunt's new house, 1735; John Hunt, 1765; Jotham Hunt, 1826; Joseph P. Read, George Coffin.
James Faulkner, Aaron Faulkner, 1800; Andrew Wilson, 1826; Daniel Wetherbee, John Hapgood.
Mount Hope Cemetery.

County road from Mt. Hope Cemetery to store in West Acton, 1766.

Universalist Church.
Baptist Church.
Store, School.

Farr's road to Meeting in 1735, coming from Stow to West Acton.

Stephen Farr, 1740; Oliver Houghton, Levi Houghton.
Thomas Farr's, 1735; Nathaniel Faulkner, 1764; Nathaniel Faulkner, Jr., Nathaniel S. Faulkner, Frank H. Whitcomb.
Capt. Samuel Hayward, 1735; James Hayward, born 1750; Capt. Stevens Hayward, Hon. Stevens Hayward, Orlando Leland.
Ezekiel Davis, Capt. Isaac Davis, born 1745; Elias Chaffin, Jonathan B. Davis, George Hagar.

Capt. Samuel Hayward's way to Meeting, 1735–1800.

Hezekiah Wheeler, 1735; Samuel Wheeler, 1775–1797; Nathan Wheeler, James W. Wheeler.
Joseph Wheeler, Dea. John Wheeler, Elisha H. Cutler.

Road laid out 1762—a short line.

William Reed, Joseph Reed.

Road from Store in West Acton to Littleton, 1760.

Bradbury Stone.
John Tuttle, 1800; Reuben Handley, Jacob Priest.
Timothy Brooks, William Reed, William Reed (2d), Isaac Reed.
David Brooks, 1735; Joseph Brooks, 1780; Silas Brooks, Ephraim Hapgood, 1810; Ephraim Hapgood, Jr., Andrew Hapgood.
Nathaniel Hapgood, 1800.
Nathaniel Wheeler, 1762; Roger Wheeler, Eben Smith, Edwin Parker.
Abraham Hapgood, 1775; James Hapgood, Simon Blanchard.
Cyrus Hapgood, Benjamin F. Hapgood, John Hapgood, Ephraim Hapgood, Jr., Ephraim Hapgood, 1760.

Nashoba road from West Acton.

Judge Gilbert, 1775; James Keyes, Ivory Keyes, 1845; Nahum Littlefield.

From Nashoba to the Gravel-pit road, 1753.

John Chaffin, 1762; John Chaffin, Jr., Antoine Bulette, 1829.
Robert Chaffin, 1762; Robert Chaffin, Jr., 1829; A. Risso.
Lieut. Thomas Noyes, 1753; Capt. Joseph Noyes, 1808; Thomas J. Noyes, 1829; Alonzo L. Tuttle.

Gravel-pit road—County, 1846.

John Chaffin's road to Meeting in 1753.

James Fletcher, 1791; Potter Conant, 1795; Paul Conant, Samuel P. Conant, 1808; Benjamin Robbins, Phineas Harrington, Simon Robbins.
Samuel Parlin, 1776; Davis Parlin, Jonathan Parlin, Thomas Hammond.

Off from the Harvard turnpike in coming from West Acton.

Samuel Hosmer, 1795; Dea. Silas Hosmer, 1812; Frank W. Knowlton.

The road leading from Stow to Concord before 1735.

Dea. Benjamin Hayward, Aaron Hayward, Lowell Wood, Albert A. Haynes.

Nagog Pond.

Captain Daniel White, J. K. Putney.
Dea. John White.
David Lamson, 1762, in from road.

Joseph Chamberlain, in from road.
Frederic Rouillard.
Solomon Dutton.
John Handley, David Handley.
Joseph Robbins, 1774; John Dinsmore Robbins, James Keyes, George R. Keyes.
Capt. John Handley, 1830; John Rouillard.
Eben Robbins, Abraham Handley, Henry Loker.
Thomas Blanchard.
Charles Robbins.
Joseph Chaffin, 1797; Jonathan Wheeler.
Amos Noyes, Luther Davis.
Reuben Wheeler.
Joel Oliver, Ephraim Oliver.
Mark White (2d), William Stearns, Robert P. Boss, Ephraim Davis.
David Davis, Calvin Hayward, Solomon Smith, Samuel Tuttle, 1800; Horace Hosmer.
William Billings, Henry Brooks.
Aaron Chaffin, Silas Conant.
School.
Edward Wetherbee, Jonathan Billings, James E. Billings, Otis H. Forbush.
James Billings, 1775; James Hapgood, Isaiah Perkins.
John Robbins, 1800; Elbridge Robbins.
Joseph Wooley, 1735.
Joseph Harris, 1735; Joseph Harris, Jr., 1735; Daniel Harris.
John Barker, Jr., 1735.
Edward Wetherbee, 1775; Edward Wetherbee, Jr.
Elbridge J. Robbins.
Grist mill.
Daniel Wetherbee.

Road leading from Edward Wetherbee's across the brook, south of the saw-mill, 1749.

Forge before 1735.
Capt. Joseph Robbins, 1775.

In from the road near the rivulet, south of Joseph Robbins.

Capt. Thomas Wheeler, 1668.
Nathan Robbins, before 1735.

Road from Daniel Wetherbee's to Silas Holden's place, on the Harvard Turnpike, 1865.

Samuel Wright, 1751; Samuel Wright, Jr., 1812; Silas Holden, 1823; Pope & Lyman.

New road over Strawberry Hill.

Solomon Burges, John Whitney.
Mark White, 1735; Samuel White, 1756; Simon Hapgood, Benjamin F. Hapgood.

Road to Concord, from Strawberry Hill, 1735.

Jonathan Cleaveland, 1735.
Reuben Wheeler, 1800; William Wheeler.
Addison Wheeler.
Col. Nathanial Edwards, 1750; John Edwards, Daniel McCarthy.
John Davis, 1735; Capt. Samuel Davis, 1763; Paul Dudley.

Branch from Littleton road.

Lieut. Jonathan Billings, 1735; Jonathan Billings, 1762; Paul Dudley, 1808; Calvin Harris.
Ephraim Billings, 1775; Darius Billings, Joseph Estabrook.
Israel Giles.

Old road to Concord, 1735.

Benjamin Brabrook, 1735; House built, 1751; Benjamin Brabrook, 1770; George Brabrook, Hammond Taylor, 1890.

Near Concord line, 1735.

Seth Brooks, 1797; Nathan Brooks, Nathan Brooks, Jr., Wilber G. Davis, 1887.

The old road to Littleton in 1735.

Abram B. Handley.
Capt. Daniel Davis, Ebenezer Davis, Ebenezer Davis, Jr., Amasa Davis, William Davis.
Ebenezer Davis, William B. Davis.

The road from Acton Centre to Carlisle, 1735–1803.

Amos Handley, 1800.
Jonas Davis, Abel Conant, Luther Conant, Luther Conant, Jr., Esq. George W. Tuttle, 1800.

Old road from Acton to Carlisle.

Joseph Chaffin, 1784; Jonathan Wheeler.
Thomas Thorp, 1775; Nathan Chaffin.
Thomas Wheeler, 1735; Nehemiah's Hill.
Jerry Hosmer, 1824.
James Harris, 1829.
Uriah Foster, Hugh Cash, Ebenezer Wood.
John Harris, 1769; John Harris, Jr., 1808; George H. Harris, 1889.
Moses Woods, 1800; Aaron Woods.
Cyrus Wheeler, 1844.
James Davis, 1800; Ebenezer Hayward.
Samuel Wheeler, 1735; Gershom Davis, 1740; John Hayward, Jr., Daniel Davis' Mill, 1775; Lieut. Phineas Wheeler, Francis Robbins.
Elijah Davis, 1776.
Jonathan Davis, 1800.

Old East Cemetery before 1735.

School, Dea. John Heald, 1735; Lieut. John Heald, 1762; Timothy Brown, 1800; John Nickles.

John Davis's Mill, 1735, on Charles Tuttle's brook.

Daniel White's Mill on the Nagog brook below Abel Robbin's house, south of Thomas Moore.

THE DAVIS MONUMENT—The citizens of Acton believing that the name of Captain Isaac Davis, the first officer who fell in the struggle for independence, and also the names of his two brave townsmen, Abner Hosmer and James Hayward—one of whom fell by his side on the famous 19th of April, 1775, at the old North Bridge in Concord, and the other in the pursuit at Lexington on the same day—were deserving of a better fame than history had usually awarded them, and a more commanding and enduring structure than ordinary slabs of slate to tell the story of their martyrdom and mark the spot where their dust reposes, passed the following vote at a large town-meeting holden on the 11th November A.D. 1850.

"*Voted*, That the town of Acton erect a monument over Captain Isaac Davis, Hosmer and Hayward, and that their remains be taken up and put in some suitable place on Acton Common, if the friends of said Davis, Hosmer and Hayward are willing, and that the Selectmen and the three ministers in the town be a Committee to lay out what they shall think proper or petition Congress and the State Legislature for aid in erecting said monument."

A petition for this object was presented to the Legislature early in the session by Rev. J. T. Woodbury.

The committee consisted of Ivory Keyes, Luther Conant, James Tuttle, selectmen; James T. Woodbury, Robert Stinson, Horace Richardson, ministers, in behalf of the town.

The joint committee of the Legislature or the Militia to whom this petition was referred, unanimously submitted a report in favor of the project. The matter was fully discussed, and after the eloquent address and appeal of Mr. Woodbury, the resolve was passed by a large majority.

Two thousand dollars were appropriated, to be joined by an appropriation of five hundred dollars by the

town of Acton, to be expended under the direction of the Governor, George S. Boutwell, and a joint committee of the town.

There was a difference of choice by the committee as to where on the Common the monument should stand. The decision was finally left with the Governor, who decided upon the present site, a spot not suggested by any one before, but which all agreed was just the place for it as soon as mentioned by the Governor.

Another question decided, was whether it should be made of rough or hewn granite. "Let it be of God's own granite," said Mr. Woodbury, "and let it be from the Acton quarry nearest to the site." Most of the granite was taken from the hill in the rear of Mr. Woodbury's residence, less than a mile from the Common to the north, and given by him for the purpose.

The model finally approved by the committee has been universally admired for its beauty, simplicity and impressiveness. It is seventy-five feet high; the top is four feet four inches square; a square shaft, reaching upward from a finely-proportioned arch on each side at its base. The base is fifteen feet wide, and extends eight feet into the earth, and is of good, split, heavy blocks of granite. Through the centre of the cap-stone projects upward a wooden flag-staff, twenty-five feet in length, from the top of which a flag is kept floating, at the expense of the town, on all public days of patriotic import.

In a panel on the side facing the main avenue the inscription reads as follows:

"The Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the town of Acton, co-operating to perpetuate the fame of their glorious deeds of patriotism, have erected this monument in honor of Capt. Isaac Davis and privates Abner Hosmer and James Hayward, citizen soldiers of Acton and Provincial Minute-men, who fell in Concord Fight, the 19th day of April, A.D. 1775.

"On the morning of that eventful day the Provincial officers held a council of war near the old North Bridge in Concord; and as they separated, Davis exclaimed, 'I haven't a man that is afraid to go!' and immediately marched his company from the left to the right of the line, and led in the first organized attack upon the troops of George III. in that memorable war, which, by the help of God, made the thirteen colonies independent of Great Britain and gave political being to the United States of America.

"Acton, April 19, 1851."

The old gravestones, which stood for seventy-five years to mark the resting-place of the three patriots in Woodlawn Cemetery, have been laid on the sides of the mound at the base of the monument. They are very ancient in appearance, and bear the following interesting inscriptions:

"Menenti Moro.

"Here lies the body of Mr. Abner Hosmer, who was killed at Concord April 19th 1775. in ye defence of ye just rights of his country, being in the twenty-first year of his age."

Hayward's is even more interesting, containing, in addition, this poetry:

"This monument may unborn ages tell
How brave young Hayward like a hero fell,
When fighting for his countries liberty
Was slain, and here his body now doth lye—
He and his foe were by each other slain,
His victim's blood with his ye earth did stain.

Upon ye field he was with victory crowned,
And yet must yield his breath upon that ground.
He expressed his hope in God before his death,
After his foe had yielded up his breath.
Oh, may his death a lasting witness lye
Against oppressor's bloody cruelty."

This contains the story of his death. After the defeat of the British he stopped at a pump to drink, when a British officer, who came out of the house, exclaimed, "You're a dead man!" Both aimed, fired, and both fell mortally wounded, the officer dying a few seconds before young Hayward. The powder-horn worn by Hayward was pierced with the ball, and is now preserved, having been silver-mounted by Edward Everett.

The third stone is that of Captain Davis, which is headed, "I say unto all, watch!" and then, after a record of his death, this is added: "Is there not an appointed time to man upon ye earth? Are not his days also like the days of an hireling? As the cloud vanisheth away, so he that goeth down to the grave shall come up no more. He shall return no more to his house; neither shall his place know him any more! Job 7: 1, 9, 10."

The dedication of this monument was a day to be remembered by every loyal citizen of the town; indeed, by every one present true to the flag of the Union. It occurred October 29, 1851. The monument was surmounted by the stars and stripes, and from each side of the apex was extended a line of streamers and flags. Across the principal streets were also lines of flags, which were tastefully grouped and arranged by Mr. Yale, of Boston.

The day was cloudy and lowering, but still favorable for the ceremonies—no rain falling until they were all concluded.

The attendance of the citizens of the surrounding towns was quite large. Five thousand persons were judged to be present, mostly the hardy and intelligent yeomanry of Old Middlesex, and their wives and daughters.

The ceremonies of the day consisted of a procession, an oration by His Excellency, Gov. Boutwell, a poem by Rev. J. Pierpont, of Medford, and a dinner, which was succeeded by speeches from several distinguished gentlemen, among whom were Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston, Hon. B. Thompson, of Charlestown, Col. Isaac H. Wright, of Lexington, and Hon. Charles Hudson, of Lexington. A thousand plates were set for the dinner, under a mammoth tent, erected by Mr. Yale, of Boston, a few rods to the north of the monument.

The procession was formed on the Green about

noon. The military escort, which made a fine appearance, was under command of Col. James Jones, of the First Artillery, with Major I. S. Keyes and Adjutant E. C. Wetherbee as staff. The following companies composed the battalion: The Concord Artillery, Capt. James B. Wood, accompanied by Flagg's Boston Brass Band; the Prescott Guards, of Pepperell, under command of Alden Lawrence, first lieutenant; the Sudbury Rifles, Captain Ephraim Morse.

Following the escort was the civic procession, under command of Col. W. E. Faulkner, as chief marshal, assisted by Ed. W. Harrington, A. L. Hutchinson, Simon Davis, Henderson Rowell, Henry Brooks, George G. Parker, A. J. Clough and H. L. Neal, mounted aids, and Messrs. L. Gilman, Marshall Parker, V. Lintell and Lowell Stearns, on foot to escort the ladies; the Governor and aides, consisting of Colonels Heard, Chapman, Williams and Needham; the President of the Massachusetts Senate, invited guests, the president, vice-presidents and committee of arrangements of the various towns, composed the second division. The third division embraced No. 1 Division of the Order of United Americans, and the "O'Kommakamesit" Fire Company, No. 2, of Marlboro'. The fourth and fifth divisions were composed of citizens from Lexington, Concord, Littleton, Boxboro', Sudbury, Westford, Stow and Acton. Several of these towns carried appropriate banners. That from Lexington was a large, white banner with a red fringe. On the front was the inscription, "Lexington, April 19, 1775. O, what a glorious day for America!" On the reverse—"Freedom's Offering!" and the names of Parker and other patriots who fell in the fight at Lexington.

From the Green the procession proceeded towards the Old Burying-ground, southeast part of the town, where the remains of the patriots Davis, Hosmer and Hayward were deposited, awaiting their removal to the monument.

The bones, which were disinterred some days before, were nearly entire, and were enclosed in an oblong, black walnut box, highly polished and studded with silver nails. The remains were enclosed in different compartments, each marked upon the cover by a silver plate bearing the name of the old patriots. The cheek-bone of Hosmer showed the trace of the ball which caused his death, entering just below the left eye and coming out at the back of the neck.

The box was placed in a hearse, and under the escort of the "Davis Guards," First Lieutenant Daniel Jones in command, met the procession at the junction of the two roads leading to town. Here both parties halted—the military escort in open order, and with arms presented awaited the approach of the sacred remains—the Lowell Band, which accompanied them, playing a beautiful dirge, composed by Kurick. Flagg's Brass Band, which accompanied the escort, then performed the dirge, "Peace, troubled;" after which the escort fell into position and the procession, including the remains, proceeded to the monument. Eight venerable citizens of Acton, all of them over seventy years of age, appeared as pall-bearers. They were: Joseph Harris, Dr. Charles Tuttle, each eighty-two years old; Nathan D. Hosmer (nephew of Abner), eighty; John Harris, Daniel Barker and James Keyes, each seventy-six years; Jonathan Barker, seventy-four; and Lemuel Hildreth, seventy. The hearse was driven by John Tenney.

Upon arriving at the monument the box containing the remains was placed upon a stand in the street, which was covered with a black velvet pall. The box was opened and an opportunity given to all who wished to look upon the remains. The box was then closed and deposited in the monument in the place designed for it. The procession was then again formed and proceeded to the tent, under which the remaining scenes of the day were to take place.

The tent was hung around with streamers festooned and in the centre was the beautiful flag which had recently been presented by the ladies of Acton to the "Davis Guards." The tent was reached about one o'clock. Rev. J. T. Woodbury, president of the day, called upon Rev. Mr. Frost, of Concord, to invoke a blessing on the table and the day. An original hymn composed by Rev. Henry Durant, of Byfield, a native of Acton, was sung to the tune of "Hamburg." The first and sixth of the seven stanzas are here given

"O God, we give the praise to Thee,
The honor of our nation's birth;
It was Thy power that made us free—
The power that guides the rolling earth.
As on this pile, beneath *those* skies,
The peaceful light of heaven shall play,
So the Heroic Past shall rise
And meet the glories of that day."

The oration, poem and speeches then followed, which were eloquent and stirring with patriotic sentiment and fully appreciated by the responsive crowds in attendance.

The closing words of Governor Boutwell.—"To-day the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the town of Acton dedicate this monument to the memory of the early martyrs of the Revolution and consecrate it to the principles of liberty and patriotism.

"Here its base shall rest and its apex point to the heavens through the coming centuries. Though it bears the names of humble men and commemorates services stern rather than brilliant, it shall be as immortal as American history.

"The ground on which it stands shall be made classical by the deeds which it commemorates, and may this monument exist only with the existence of the republic: and when God, in His wisdom, shall bring this government to nought, as all human governments must come to nought, may no stone remain to *point* the inquirer to fields of valor, or to remind him of deeds of glory.

"And finally may the republic resemble the sun in his daily circuit, so that none shall know whether its path were more glorious in the rising or in the setting."

Judge Hoar's sentiment (of Concord).—"The memory of Davis and Hosmer and their brave companions in arms: The men who *fell* at the Old North Bridge, of Concord, and the men who *avenged* their fall: the first who *received* the enemy's fire, and the first officer who *returned* it. One in purpose, one in patriotism: separated by the fortunes of that day—united forever in the gratitude and admiration of their countrymen."

Rev. Mr. Pierpont, the poet, gave this as his sentiment, alluding to the slight interruption by the noise of knives and forks near the close of his poem, and saying that, having pitted his tongue against a bullock's, and been most terribly worsted, a speech could not be expected of him.

"Let Poets learn at dinner to be brief,
Else will their tongues be beaten by the beef."

Daniel Webster's sentiment, forwarded from Marshfield.—"Isaac Davis: an early grave in the cause of liberty has secured to him the long and grateful remembrance of his country."

The Davis Monument was honored by a visit of the State Military Camp, of Concord, under the command of General Benjamin F. Butler, in the fall of 1870. The noon hour in camp was a scene of bustle in preparation for the afternoon march to Acton. While dinner was yet in a state of service at division quarters, the drums of the First Brigade were heard in the far distance to the right and the long line was marked by its dust, wending its way by a circuitous route to the review field. In half an hour the other brigades were on the march and at quarter of two o'clock five thousand men were in line. The infantry were on the right and centre, and the whole artillery and cavalry were massed on the right.

Promptly at two o'clock General Butler, mounted on a white horse, and with his full staff, took his place at the head of the division and rode out at the north corner on the Concord Road. He wore no plume. The marching column was about a mile and a quarter in length. The road from Concord to Acton was largely the same as the Acton troops took in the Revolution, the division marching in column of fours. At frequent intervals groups of men, women and children were gathered to witness the pageant.

The head of the column reached Acton at ten minutes after four o'clock. The selectmen, W. W. Davis, Elbridge J. Robbins, Jr., and Charles Robinson, with a committee of citizens and ladies, headed by John Fletcher, Jr., had made ample preparations to welcome the troops. Houses were decorated and barrels upon barrels of lemonade and apples had been got ready.

The monument was elegantly decorated and also the town hall adjacent. The streets were crowded with people in holiday attire. W. W. Davis, chairmain of the Board of Selectmen, addressed General Butler in an eloquent and earnest manner. The general responded: "In behalf of the soldiers of Massachusetts gathered here in your good old town, I thank you for your earnest welcome and for your offered hospitality. It seems most pleasant to us to find so beautiful a resting-place after our long and weary march. You have referred to the services of the militia in the late war, and you will allow me to say that the character and conduct of Co. E, of Acton, evidenced that the spirit of the Revolutionary sires has not died out of the good town of Acton.

"You have the honor of having erected the third monument of the War of the Revolution, and of having suffered among the first in that struggle. You have earned the right to say that the sons will, by deed and work, keep green the memories of this historic spot. You and they have made a noble record, and, as it has been in the past, so may it be in the future.

"I doubt not that the sight of this monument, and the thought that we stand on the ground made sacred by the ashes of heroes, will be of value to the Military of Massachusetts, in increasing in their bosoms the holier emotions of patriotism, and inspire them to be able defenders of the institution for which Davis, and Hosmer and Hayward fell.

"We rejoice that we are able to be here and thank you again for the welcome and the bounty with which you greet us. We propose to close our response by a salute of thirteen guns, which will be fired by one of our light batteries, as a further tribute of respect and affection for the men of Acton living and dead." The event was a lively one, and a feature of the week that will long be remembered by those who participated in it, and by those who witnessed it.

The War of 1812.—The War of 1812 was not popular in this part of the country, but in the beginning of the war several men were enlisted in the army. In 1814 the military company called the Davis Blues was ordered into service as a body and was despatched to Boston to assist in the defence of that place against a possible attack. Hon. John C. Park, of Boston, a native of Acton, and a grandson of Rev. Moses Adams, thus writes, describing the event:

"I well remember the commotion in Acton on the day when the Blues met to take up their march to Boston. We boys were wild with excitement, but when the large doors of the meeting-house were thrown open and it was understood that the company would have prayers offered for them, we were sobered at once. I thought the prayer was very earnest and appropriate, and was indignant when afterwards, among the gathered knots of men in front of the porch, I heard some criticising it as being too much tinctured with the good old minister's anti-war sentiments. In a few days the fifer returned and

gave glowing accounts of their enthusiastic reception and the march of the Blues through Boston. It seems that at every street-corner the men and the boys would cheer, and the drum and fife were expected to respond with a triple roll and salute. The poor fifer was so exhausted with his untiring efforts, to pipe shrill for the honor of his corps and the town, that he was taken with spitting of blood and had to return home. This I believe was the only blood shed during the campaign."

The enemy kept away from Boston, otherwise the "Davis Blues" might have patterned after the style of the Davis minute-men thirty-nine years before at Concord. John Fletcher, afterwards captain of the company, was then clerk and went to Boston as clerk. Silas Jones, the son of Aaron Jones, was the captain. His company was the first to report at headquarters (after receiving the orders) of any in the regiment. Three times since the existence of the nation a company from Acton has been summoned at the outbreak of war,—the Revolution, the War of 1812 and the War of the Rebellion—and in each case has been the first to appear on duty.

A list of Acton Davis Blues who went to South Boston in the War of 1812, whose names have been copied from the original-pay roll, in the handwriting of the clerk of the company, Deacon John Fletcher, now in possession of Deacon Samuel Hosmer:

Captain, Silas Jones, son of Aaron Jones; 1st Lieutenant, James Jones; 2d Lieutenant, Aaron Hayward; Ensign, Jonathan Hosmer, Jr.; Clerk, John Fletcher; Samuel Conant, John Hendley, Silas Piper, Jr., fifer; Paul Conant, bass drum; Abner Wheeler, small drum; Luke Hayward, James Fletcher, Jr. (brother to the clerk); Jonathan B. Davis, James Hayward, Josiah H. Adams, Joseph Barker (2d), Jonathan Billings, Jr., Ephraim Billings, Josiah Bright, Jr., James Conant, Joel Conant, John Conant, John Chaffin, Joseph T. Chamberlain, Ezekiel Chamberlain, Ebenezer Davis, Luther Davis, John S. Fletcher, Abel Forbush, Silas Hosmer, Moses Hayward (shot accidentally), Nathaniel Hapgood, John Harris, James Keyes, George Robbins, Joseph Robbins, George W. Robbins, John D. Robbins, William Reed (3d), Allen Richardson, Jonathan Wheeler, Samuel Whitney, Oliver Wetherbee, Nathan D. Hosmer.

SCHOOL-HOUSES.—There was a movement in 1740, soon after the town was organized, to obtain an appropriation for school purposes, but the movement failed. At a meeting in 1741 the town voted that a reading, writing and moving school be kept for six months.

This early action in favor of a school on wheels shows that the idea is not original with the present generation.

In 1743, at a special meeting in December, the town voted £18, old tenor, for a reading and writing school and to divide the town into three parts.

This division continued until 1751, when the districts were increased to six, in 1771 another was added for a few years.

From 1790–1800 there were five districts, then four for nearly thirty years, when the present division into six districts began. When there were only four districts the inhabitants of the southeast part of the town received their school money from the town and united with certain inhabitants of Sudbury and Concord, and had a school in a house which was just across the Sudbury line. This was called the School of the Three Friends. At this time the North and East Districts were one. Previous to the organization of the town there were buildings erected for school purposes at private expense, and the schools kept according to the circumstances then existing in different localities.

The first schoolmasters were mostly residents of the town. As late as 1771 there were four schoolhouses which were private property. The first appropriations for schools were very small—not more than £12.

But few studies were taught and the teachers but poorly paid. The schools were called reading and writing schools, and none but the simplest rudiments of knowledge were taught before the present century.

A master in the winter received but little more per week than a day-laborer, and the teacher of a "woman's school" but little more than a servant girl.

In 1760 an order was drawn to pay a master fifteen shillings for keeping school two weeks and a half, and another drawn for his board for half that sum.

An aged resident of the town said that when she was a girl the lady teacher had one dollar per week for her services and her mother received one dollar per week for boarding her. The grant for schools was greatly supplemented by donations and subscriptions by the citizens for private schools.

For several years a private school was supported in the autumn at the Centre of the town. Rev. Asa D. Smith, D.D., late president of Dartmouth College, was one of the teachers of that school.

The town records give the following items: "October 14, 1796, it was voted that there shall be five districts in this town, and the school-houses shall be built on the same places that was agreed upon by a former vote of the town, viz.: One of the said houses to be built near Mr. John Dexter's Paster bars on the road leading from the meeting house to Dr. Abraham Skinner's.

"One on the hill West of Jonathan Tower's house.

"One on the crotch of the road West of Samuel Wheeler's house (where Mr. Cyrus Wheeler's house now stands nearly).

"One where the school house near Samuel Tuttle's now stands (in the East District, near Horace Hosmer's present residence). The other house to be built where the school-house now stands near John Harris.

"January 21st, 1797. To see if the town will agree to build a school-house to accommodate the District where the school-house was consumed by fire.

"To see if the town will agree to form themselves into a certain number of school districts and provide each District with a school-house and divide the school money into so many equal parts."

In 1797 a town-meeting was called "to see if the town will reconsider all former votes respecting building school-houses, if any there be on record, and see if the town would build a school-house in the district that had the school-house burnt." (This house that was burnt stood at the turn of the road beyond Mr. Charles Tuttle's site leading to Mr. Thomas Hammond, in the south corner).

"Voted to reconsider all former votes respecting districts for seven years past. Voted that there be a committee of five men to fix a place for a school-house in the North District to which Lieutenant Noyes belongs, and that Jonas Brooks, John Edwards, Esq., Aaron Jones, George Robbins and Edward Wetherbee be the Committee.

"Then voted fifty pounds to build said house and that said committee build such house as they think Propper for said District and the best way they can."

In November, 1798, the committee appointed by the town reported they had "attended to the service and soaled four of the oald school-houses, viz.: one by Mr. John Adams, Jr., one by Oliver Jones, one by Hezekiah Wheeler's, and one near the meeting-house. The whole of which was soaled for Fifty-five dollars and approved notes given to the Town Treasurer for the same payable within nine months from the date."

The school-house located and built by this committee, of which Jonas Brooks was chairman, was the old red school-house which stood for the next forty years a few rods north of the parsonage, then newly built, on the same side of the road. The frame of this school-house is now the substantial part of Mr. Cyrus Hale's house. It stood on rising ground facing the east. It was well built, square, with a high desk in the centre of the west side and rows of double desks rising on the north and south sides, the highest row on a level with the windows, styled the back seats, where the oldest scholars sat. This was the model for the school-houses built at that time.

It answered the purpose of a grand amphitheatre for the development of the muscle and brain of Acton's near future.

Here the Tuttles, Taylors, Joneses, Fletchers, Hosmers, Conants, Stearnses, Richardsons, Davises, Parlins, Handleys, Browns gathered for their daily tilt with themselves, their mates and their masters.

They came in groups from all parts of the district, ranging out a mile and a half and numbering in some winter terms nearly a hundred, all grades in charge of one teacher. The elements which collided and harmonized in this arena during a single day, and day after day, was a miniature picture of Acton's liveliest town-meeting.

The story of this one-school-house would fill a volume, but we have no space for the romance here,—

"Beside yon straggling fence that skirts the way
With blossom'd furze, unprofitably gay,
There in his noisy mansion, skilled to rule,
The village master taught his little school.
A man severe he was and stern to view—
I knew him well, and every truant knew."

By-ways and Nooks of Acton.[1]—There is a deserted farm lying to the southeast of Nagog Pond which many years ago was the home of a family named Chamberlain. The house and other buildings are now gone, but their location may be determined by the remaining well and cellars.

This place suggests the stanza in one of Miss Chandler Moulton's poems:

"The cowslips spring in the meadow,
The roses bloom on the hill
And beside the brook in the pasture
The herds go feeding at will."

It exactly answers to all the particulars. If the stanza had been written especially for this place, it could not have come nearer to reality.

There is a profusion of cowslips in the meadow, an abundance of old-fashioned damask roses on the hill near the well and a pretty brook, and almost always there are cattle pastured there.

The house, if it was still standing, would add greatly to the quaintness of the place. It is a quiet nook, away from all traces of civilization. There is an abundance of wild fruits in their season, and a rare place for boating or fishing on Nagog Pond.

In a northerly direction from Strawberry Hill is where the Indians, once inhabitants of this and the neighboring towns, used to go to manufacture their arrow-heads. They would never tell the early settlers definitely where they went, but would indicate that direction. Some years ago a hunter's dog while digging for a rabbit or a fox, cut his paws badly. His master found he had dug into a great quantity of very small sharp-edged, flint-like rocks, which, without doubt, were the remains left by the Indians from making their arrow-heads.

Probably the first settlers of South Acton were Nathan Robbins and wife, who came from East Acton and located at a site now owned by Mr. James Tuttle on the road to Stow, called the Bright's House. They started from their home beyond the cemetery in East Acton. Mr. Robbins drove the team loaded with the household goods and the wife took charge of the baby and also the family pig. In her journey she came to the big brook, which the pig would not cross. He seemed to have some premonitions of his fate and that of his descendants, should he head for that part of the country, but the woman was as resolute as the pig. She landed her most precious freight across the stream first, and then returning, pigged it over all safe, and at last reached their new home. The story is that Mrs. Robbins and freight reached the spot first. At any rate, for some unexplained reason, the ladies in that part of the town have always been a little ahead.

The Old Chestnut-Tree.—If you have not seen that chestnut-tree don't miss the next chance. It is

[1] By Bertha H. Hosmer.

one of the original settlers of the town. Its birth record is not on town-books, but some think it is well on to two hundred years old. It was in a flourishing condition when Captain Davis and his company passed that way in 1775. It was a large tree when Simon Hapgood, father of Benjamin, was a child.

Thoreau and his sister came up from Concord to visit it before he died, and he made it twenty-two feet in circumference then. It is now more than that. The interior of the tree is hollow. The cavity is circular, sixty inches in diameter and twenty-five feet in height, through which one may look and see the sky beyond. An opening has recently been cut at the bottom and entrance can be easily made. There are worse places for a night's lodging. A good crop of chestnuts is yearly produced by its living branches. The town should get possession of this luscious tablet of the bygones and see that no ruthless axe take it too soon from the eyes of the present generation. If you wish to find it, go to the residence of Benjamin Hapgood, on Strawberry Hill, turn in from the road to the southeast from Mr. Hapgood's barn a few rods to a piece of woods, and you will easily find the venerable specimen.

Geologic Sketch of Acton.[1]—Acton, unlike some of the neighboring towns, owes the principal part of its natural scenery to the irregular surface of the rock strata which form its foundation. The contour, through the action of the various atmospheric agencies, had nearly reached its present form before the glacial period, and it was but slightly modified by the action of the ice during that period. Rising to its greatest elevation near the centre of the town, the slope to the northward received the greatest force produced by the motion of the ice toward the south, which resulted in grinding down and polishing the surface of the rock and in making the slope to the north more gentle, while the slope to the south was left steep and often ragged.

The rock is a micaceous gneiss, often merging into mica schist firmly stratified, with a strike north 60° east, and a very steep dip to the northwest. This rock is a member of that crystalline series which forms the oldest portions of the earth's crust. Above this solid rock is the loose material known generally as earth—that is, the accumulation of gravel, sand, clay, loam, etc., which was brought to its present position and deposited by the agency of the ice sheet. Portions of this material were accumulated under the ice in a comparative thin layer over nearly the entire surface of the country. In certain places, however, it was built up, by a process not yet understood, into lenticular masses, with their longer axes parallel to the motion of the ice or nearly north-south. This gave rise to a prominent feature in our topography, the class of hills known as drumlins, and of which the hill just west of West Acton Village, the two south of South Acton, and Strawberry Hill, toward the northeast part of the town, are typical examples. On the surface of the ice and throughout its mass was a large amount of earth and rock, which was scattered over the surface of the country as the ice disappeared. This being in loose form, and easily acted upon by the floods produced by the melting of the glacier, was washed over and separated into distinct areas of sand, gravel and clay. These washed-over portions naturally accumulated in the lower levels, giving rise to the sand and gravel plains which extend along the courses of Nashoba and Fort Pond Brooks, and to the southeast merge into the larger areas bordering the Assabet River. Another and very peculiar feature of the washed-over material is the kame. This was formed by the small boulders and pebbles accumulating in the channels of rivers running upon the ice, and which, upon the disappearance of the ice sheet, were deposited upon the surface of the country, forming long, narrow, winding ridges of coarse gravel. A very fine example of this occurs in Acton, extending from the extreme southeast corner of the town, near the powder-mills, with occasional gaps by the cemetery near the Centre, and thence nearly parallel to and just west of Nashoba Brook, nearly to Carlisle line.

The streams which flow through the town still follow generally the valleys formed by them before the advance of the ice sheet, but in a few cases their courses have been slightly changed by the accumulations deposited by the glacier. The larger ponds occupy pre-glacial valleys; but the smaller ponds, like Grassy Pond in the north and Sinking Pond in the southeast, simply occupy small depressions in the surrounding sand plains.

The Artist's View of Acton.[2]—The surface of Acton, like that of most Middlesex towns, is sufficiently broken and varied in its character to possess a fair share of picturesque localities. With the neighboring towns of Westford and Littleton, it forms an elevated range of hill country similar to that formed by Harvard and Bolton, only of lesser height. Within its boundaries and those of its neighbor towns are found some of the largest ponds of Middlesex. Although unlike Concord or Sunbury, which are flat and meadowy, and which have the benefit of a river to supply their most beautiful points, this town may be said to possess a landscape not inferior to them.

From a picturesque point of view, the near vicinity of running water is most favorable for producing interesting places. The variety of tree forms found in such localities, with the different crops on the cultivated lands adjoining, are enhanced by the winding course of the stream. Though without a river, this town has two mill streams which in a great degree replace one. Two sections of the town are crossed by

[1] By George Barton, a native of Acton, and geologic teacher in the School of Technology, Boston.

[2] By Arthur F. Davis, resident of the town.

large brooks. Both West and South Acton are traversed by Fort Pond Brook, and the frequent dams erected for mill purposes create a succession of charming ponds.

The finest stretch of this stream is perhaps that from South Acton Village to the road leading to Concord Junction at Hanson's. There it bends and twists its way through a fine succession of rocky and woody hollows, with here and there an interruption in the shape of a mill. In this section we are sure it is equal to any similar water-course in Middlesex in beauty. Through West Acton it creates by its wayward course many interesting places, but is not so picturesque as the locality just mentioned.

As one comes along the highway leading from East Acton to the Centre, he crosses a stream converted by a mill-dam just below into a long, shallow pond, which extends northward some distance. This is Nashoba Brook, and, although smaller than the other, is the most picturesque stream within the town.

Nashoba, from its source in Westford, comes down a long, winding valley into the meadows of East Acton. Where it enters Acton it is a quiet stream, flowing unnoticed through stretches of low land until it reaches the first mill, some two miles from its head-waters. At this place, where is a saw-mill, are found some rare bits, considered from a painter's point of view.

Three tributary brooks enter Nashoba within the territory of Acton. The first enters near the Carlisle boundary; the largest, Nagog Brook, the outlet to Nagog Pond (this name is not Magog, but Nagog. The old Indian name is a good one) joins it a mile or so below the first mill-dam. Just below this is a smaller rivulet, which drains the meadows north and west of the Centre. The territory which lies between the first and third mills embrace the finest and most picturesque spots on the stream.

The old Jonathan Wheeler place, which is in this neighborhood, is particularly notable as being one of the most beautiful localities in the town. Just below the third mill the brook is crossed by a bridge a few rods south of the old Revolutionary bridge (now gone), over which the minute-men marched to Concord *via* the Strawberry Hill road and the fields. Still farther down the stream is the long pond first mentioned, with its wide reach of intervale on either side and picturesque surroundings of the old mill and dam which creates it.

Both our Acton brooks are tributary to the Assabet River, and unite their waters with it just over the Concord line. Although, like other streams, ours are perhaps the most attractive in the spring and fall, yet no season will be found unattractive about them. Each has its peculiar charm, which, if noticed, can never fail to give pleasure to the observer. Each nook and corner in their vicinity will amply repay the effort made to visit them, and a spare hour spent about them is looked back upon with interest.

The pond region belonging to Acton is not extensive. There are only two small ponds—Grassy and Sinking Ponds—which are entirely within the town limits. Grass Pond is unique in having a singular sedgy growth about its margin, and is a pretty little sheet of water, famed for its lilies with pink-tinted leaves, which grow in great profusion.

Sinking Pond is a minute reproduction of Walden, as it used to be before the building of the railroad and the advent of the modern pic-nic ground. The water of this pond, which has no visible outlet or inlet, is very clear and pure. Scarcely any vegetable matter appears about its borders, and it is surrounded by a high ridge of scrubby sand-hills.

Nagog, of which Acton possesses the larger part, is the first lake in this section in point of size, its length being about two miles and its width one mile. Its waters are quite clear and deep, and are broken only by one small island near the southern end.

There are many fine groups of trees about this southern end, which is wild and woody. Here are the greatest number of choice spots in early spring days, when the young leaves of the birches first green the wood, and the brilliant oriole hangs her nest on delicate pensile limbs over the water.

The shore on this side is fringed by quantities of blueberry bushes and is rocky, without a beach. Back from these the hills rise up in broad bush-grown swells to the highest point of Acton—Nagog Hill, as it is called.

The most vital and peculiar feature of our Acton landscape is found in its apple orchards. These are the most interesting part of the natural scenery here. Other towns, doubtless, share with Acton in this respect, but in none of them, in Middlesex at least, does the apple-tree reach such a picturesque state. The farmers do not think, many of them, that the chance and irregular groups of wild apples springing up beside the road, side wall, or in corners in the pastures, are worth consideration. However, there is no more beautiful combination of color in the landscape than that offered by these trees in the time of their bloom.

Wild apples are proverbially famous for the delicacy and fragrance of their bloom, which is also of richer color than that of the cultivated varieties. Cultivated orchards, of course, are in greater number than these wild trees, and are rightly paramount in commercial importance. Although planted as they are in checker-board form for economy of space and ease of cultivation, nature early asserts her magnificent arrangement and leans the trees in different directions. There is nothing commonplace about the apple-tree wherever found. Its limbs are crooked and full of surprising twists, and its spray, though coarse, is full of characteristic kinks. With the possible exception of a few varieties, it never forms a regular cylindrical head, but with its growing years increases in the beauty of its irregular outline. The

orchards are, in short, most typical of our rocky, hilly country, and are its crowning beauty.

The magnificent blooming tree is a perpetual reproach to those who only consider it after its fruit is packed away in a cellar or in barrels ready for market. The aboundant growth of wood and orchard afford the birds sufficient protection and food to enable them to multiply without molestation in Acton. Consequently, our ornithological list embraces most of the species found in inland New England, with the exception of the sea birds, a few of which visit our ponds and brooks in the early spring or fall. The large family of wood warblers in particular thrive here; the catalogue often comprises upward of twelve species and, doubtless, a more practical observer might extend the list.

In the flora, too, Acton offers particularly rich opportunities. The varied character of the country affords protection to a surprisingly wide variety of plant growth. Among the trees we have nearly all found in Massachusetts. One, however, the true paper or canoe birch, is well-nigh extinct here, only a few scattered specimens remaining in town.

GAME IN ACTON.—The hills, woods, brooks and ponds of Acton have been noted from earliest dates for the frequent visits of the disciples of the gun and rod. The Indians for generations had the first chance on these grounds. We need not go to the books to be sure that they were in goodly numbers and in trim for luck among the fins, the furs and the feathers.

The apostle John, when he went on his missionary tours among the Indians, had to come to these parts, for he was sure to find an audience along the Nashoba waters and the "big brook." These Indians could sing. Eliot had good success in that line. Wilson relates that at their meeting "the Indians sung a Psalm, made Indian by Eliot in one of our ordinary English tunes melodiously." In 1689 there were twenty-four Indian preachers. In 1676 there were 567 praying Indians at Nashoba plantation.

James Spear, with his Indian choir, sung Psalms at one of Eliot's meetings May 14, 1654. There has always been something in the atmosphere or in the ground or in the spot in this vicinity congenial to music. We have heard fish and game stories among the veterans of our own day, and have heard them sing and whistle and blow their horns on their homeward beat; but those red men of the past, if they could speak, would easily silence these modern tongues.

The earliest records show that the brooks were once stocked with some varieties not now common.

Captain Daniel Tuttle's mother, Harriet Wetherbee, sister to Edward Wetherbee, Senior, used to go down to the brook, below the dam, and throw out shad and alewives in her day. They had at one time, on the Assabet, at Southeast Acton, a fish warden and fish weirs.

As early as 15th of February, 1739, there was an article in the town warrant "to know whether the town will insist on Mr. Faulkner's opening his dam 30 days in a year, as ye law directs, where alewives and other fish pass in great plenty."

There used to be a deer's man appointed by the town to look after the deer and decide upon questions relating to the matter, which shows the deer were here. There have always been self-appointed private wardens to look after the dears, but these were bona-fide *deer*.

Men who hunt and fish for sport are noted for their quiet, modest ways, and it is difficult to get any statement from them on their luck, but by hard pressing, a few items have been secured, which may be of interest to the public. Worse records even than these could be had, if the right men could be interviewed by the right man. They did not intend to have their names mentioned, and so are not responsible for the publishing of the inglorious tale of their life record:

Elnathan Jones: pickerel, 3000; perch, 3000; trout, 200; bass, 100; largest pickerel, 6½ lbs.; largest bass, 5 lbs. At one lucky trip the average weight of the perch, 1½ lbs., several weighing 2 lbs.; foxes, 30; gray squirrels, 200.

Hiram Hapgood in ten years: bass, 20; pickerel, 200; perch, 400; pouts, 100; crows, 1.

J. K. W. Wetherbee: bass, 10; pickerel, 1000; perch, 2000; pouts, 2500; gray squirrels, 500; raccoon, 1; hawk, five feet across from tip to tip.

Swift Fletcher: pickerel, 3000; the largest number at any one time, 167; pouts, 2500; bass, 100 (three weighing over 4 lbs., not one over 5 lbs.); foxes, 100; raccoons, 7; ducks, 30; gray squirrels, 600; sold 105 skins one year for a robe for Captain Whitcomb; partridges, 2000; rabbits, 1000; pigeons, 400; Otter, 1.

Fifty years ago pigeons were abundant in the woods, and during some seasons made it lively for the huntsmen, who would have great sport in shooting them upon the wing as they flew in flocks over certain localities.

The pigeon-stands were quite common, where, by nets and proper baiting, they could be caught in large numbers.

The stocking of Nagog Pond a few years since by the town with bass has introduced a new variety in the fishing sport.

On the 1st of July, when the permit is issued for trying the luck on these delightful waters, there is a decided fish smell in this vicinity. The most sober men in town—deacons, ministers, lawyers, justices of the peace, senators and representatives—doctors—the moderator himself—may be seen rigging their poles and reeling to and fro—with their lines, if perchance, they may strike the spot where they are sure of a prize.

Just watch the justice a moment. He is leaning over the boat. He hears the click of the reel as his line spins out through the ruffled waters. What are all his cases in court now? There is only one case on the docket just now, and that must have all the nerve and muscle. You may laugh at him and call him a fool, and off his base; but the question fairly holding the court is, *bass* or *no bass*.

THE 19th OF APRIL, 1861.—Again the historic day returns, rich with its patriotic memories. We hail its presence as we would that of an old and endeared friend come back to the family hearthstone. It recalls events which should never be forgotten while the government remains or its annals stand upon the imperishable record.

In the War of the Revolution, without the 19th of April, there might never have been the 17th of June, and without the 17th of June there might never have been the 4th of July, and without the 4th of July the stars and stripes would never have floated o'er land and sea to the joy of many generations. To the citizens of Acton and vicinity this day has been for over a hundred years, of all other days in the year, the most marked. Its yearly advent has been celebrated with new and old rehearsals of what occurred at the North Bridge at Concord, with the ringing of bells, the firing of salutes, the parade of military, orations, bonfires and general glorification. The old patriots who were at the bridge in 1775, when Captain Davis fell at the head of his command, have told it to their children and their children's children. The monument which stands upon the village green is but an embodiment, in solid native granite, of the sentiment which has thus been alive among these hills and valleys for over a hundred years.

When the telegram came to Captain Daniel Tuttle, on the evening of April 15th, to have his company report the next morning at Lowell, armed and equipped for war service, it found a response prompt and earnest from every man.

Though scattered in different towns, and not expecting the summons, the bells were rung in the night, messengers sent in all directions post-haste, equipments forwarded, carriages procured, overcoats provided—for it was a cold, cheerless April night—and at 7.30 o'clock on the morning of April 16th, Captain Tuttle was able to report to Col. Jones, of the Sixth Regiment, his whole command ready for duty.

Farms, shops, stores, homes, families, friends, plans, had been left behind in an instant, and they were on their way to destinies which none could foretell. They had played the soldier on the parade-ground in peaceful days, in holiday attire. It now meant business. The country was in a death-struggle all at once. Its very capitol was in danger of capture or destruction by rebel hands.

Captain Daniel Tuttle was born February 14, 1814, on the heights which overlook the village and town, one of the oldest of a large family of children. His father, Francis Tuttle, Esq., was for a long time an officer and influential citizen of the place. The captain was elected to command the Davis Guards in the years 1855, 1857, 1859, 1861. He was twice postmaster. He was forty-seven years old at the outbreak of the war, and exempt by age from military duty. He was a Breckenridge Democrat in the preceding canvass for the Presidency against Lincoln. He had at the time a large farm on his hands, a wife and numerous children—some of them young.

At the opening of a new season, and with all his cares so pressing, it seemed impossible for him to leave; yet when the summons came there was but one decision. When seated in his wagon, just as he was about to leave, he said to family, neighbors and townsmen, as a parting word, "God take care of you all."

In those dark, ominous moments of suspense, the appearance of the old Sixth Regiment in Boston, in the early morning after the evening's summons, and its steady march down Washington Street, with knapsacks, overcoats, flashing bayonets and beating drums, on their way to the seat of war, and the cheering and almost frenzied crowds which accompanied every step, was a scene which it is worth a life to witness. No one not present can know the enthusiasm of that occasion.

Their march down Broadway, New York, was a repetition of the same scene, only on a grander scale, and in a city whose citizens were not supposed to be so largely in sympathy with the soldier. The appearance of the old Sixth Massachusetts in their streets, made up of all parties, and with each man's life offered for sacrifice, united the divided city, and they became as one man in saying "The Union shall be preserved." The passage through Philadelphia was in the night, or there would have been another repetition of the same *boundless cheer* and God speed the right, from the surging crowds of that ever loyal city.

Baltimore was reached on the 19th of April. It was the North Bridge of division between the contending sections of the land. The city overflowed with bitterness, and cursing against the Union, and the men who came to defend her.

"On this morning," says the historian, "the streets were filled with a scowling, angry mob, as the cars, eleven in all, containing the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, rolled into town. The cars were drawn by horses across the city from one railroad to another. As they penetrated farther into the city the crowd became more dense, and the faces grew blacker with hate. Stones, brickbats and all kinds of missiles were thrown through the windows of the cars. At first the soldiers bore it patiently and without resistance, until all but two of the cars reached the station. These two, separated from the others, were surrounded by a yelling crowd, that opposed their passage. The officers consulted and concluded to disembark the men and march them in solid column to the station. The brave fellows went on through a shower of stones, bricks and scattering shots.

"At last, just before they reached the station, the colonel gave orders to fire. The soldiers discharged their guns among the crowd and several of the mob fell dead or wounded. The troops reached the station and took the cars. The scene that ensued was terrific. Taunts, clothed in the most offensive language, were

hurled at the troops by the panting crowd, who, breathless with running, pressed to the windows, presenting knives and revolvers and cursing up into the faces of the soldiers. Amid such a scene the Massachusetts regiment passed out of the city, having had four of their number killed and thirty-six wounded.

"On this very day, the 19th of April, eighty-six years before, the first blood shed in the war of the Revolution had stained the grass in front of Lexington meeting-house, and on the Concord plains.

"On the second anniversary, long to be remembered, the first blood in the Civil War flowed in the streets of Baltimore, shed from the veins of the descendants of these early patriots."

THE DAVIS GUARDS received at home, on their return, Aug. 10, 1861. The Davis Guards arrived at South Acton at about 8.30 o'clock, Saturday morning. A large crowd had collected to welcome them home. After cordial greetings a procession was formed and proceeded to the Centre in the following order: Col. W. E. Faulkner, chief marshal, assisted by Henry Wilder, James Wetherbee and John H. Sanborn; National Band of Worcester; Union Guards, Capt. A. C. Handley, 50 men; Liberty Guards, Capt. S. Willis, 40 men; Drum corps; Hayward Guards, Capt. Daniel Jones, 62 men; Lowell Brigade Band (this band barely escaped with their lives at Baltimore); Davis Guards, Capt. David Tuttle, 52 men; Concord Artillery, Capt. Prescott, 54 men; Detachment of Concord Artillery, with field-pieces, Capt. M. Hobson, 12 men; Chief Engineers of Concord Fire Department; Hook-and-Ladder Co., Charles Stowell, foreman, 10 men; Independent Engine Co., Jonas Melvin, foreman, 60 men.

A little out of the village a procession had been formed, under the direction of Samuel Hosmer, Esq., of the citizens of Acton and the adjoining towns, awaiting the arrival from South Acton.

Upon the arrival of the military they formed in the rear, and were thus escorted into town. Upon the arrival of the procession in town it gathered around the speaker's stand, when prayer was offered by the chaplain, Rev. Alpha Morton, after which Dr. John M. Miles, in behalf of the town, welcomed them in an eloquent address. This was responded to in behalf of Capt. Tuttle, by Dr. Harris Cowdrey.

Col. Faulkner made a brief address to the audience. About 12.30 o'clock the companies formed into line, and marching to the monument, three cheers were called for and heartily given for the American flag, and at the same time a new, beautiful banner was run up to the top of the monument by Willie Boss, from which point, as if by magic, it sprang into the air, the band playing the "Star Spangled Banner." Hon. Charles Hudson, of Lexington, then delivered a very able address.

After an intermission of an hour, sentiments were offered by the toast-master, O. W. Mead, Esq. Brief addresses were made by Rev. James Fletcher, of Danvers (a native of Acton), Hon. E. W. Bull, George Stevens, Esq., John White (a member of Davis Guards, who fought under the stars and stripes in Mexico, who is an Englishman, but when the order for marching came, volunteered to go with the Davis Guards), Hon. James M. Usher, of Medford, George M. Brooks, Esq., of Concord, Capt. Phelps, of Lexington, and Lieut. Bowers, of the Concord Rifles.

There were about three thousand people present. The route of the procession was handsomely decorated with flags and mottoes, as was also the new store of James Tuttle & Co., at South Acton. Over the armory, "Davis Guards not afraid to go;" in the town-house, "God defend the right;" on the monument, "Union, Davis, Hosmer, Hayward;" at Capt. Daniel Jones', "Welcome home;" at Lieut. J. Blodgett's, "Honor to the brave;" at Hon. John Fletcher, Jr.'s, "First to go;" at E. S. Buffum's, "Safe return;" over J. Fletcher & Sons' store, "Through Baltimore."

A detachment of the Concord Artillery fired a national salute on the arrival of the Guards at South Acton, also as the procession reached the centre of the town.

THE CIVIL WAR.[1]—The existence of a military company in Acton at the outbreak of the Rebellion was of great advantage to the town.

In 1850, on the seventy-fifth anniversary of Concord Fight, a union celebration took place at Concord, in which the inhabitants of Acton took part. A large company from Acton represented the minute-men of the Revolution, officered by Colonel Winthrop E. Faulkner, as captain, and Daniel Jones, the son of Captain Silas Jones, who commanded the Davis Blues in Boston in the War of 1812, and James Harris as lieutenants. They wore a flannel blouse and carried canteens with 1775 stenciled on them as uniform, and armed with guns of no particular standard, though some of them looked old enough to have been at the original Concord Fight; but the contents of some of the canteens, judging of its potency, was of a later period.

The marching of this company elicited warm encomiums from military men present, and the result was a reawakening of interest in military matters in Acton and the permanent organizing of Company E, Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, known as the Davis Guards, the following winter.

Colonel Faulkner was the first captain of this company, and its other commanding officers till the outbreak of the Rebellion are here given: Captain Daniel Jones, Rufus Holden, Captain Moses Taylor, Captain Daniel Tuttlle, Captain Aaron C. Handley, and again Captain Tuttle who was still at its head in 1861.

In obedience to General Order No. 4, issued by Governor Andrew, January 16, 1861, requiring the militia of the State to be forthwith put into a state of efficiency, this company practiced at drill every

[1] From an address by Luther Conant, Esq., before the Grand Army.

week during the winter and recruited its ranks to be ready to answer any call. On the 19th of January, at a meeting of the field officers and company commanders, at the American House in Lowell, it was unanimously voted to tender the services of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment to the Governor and Legislature when such services shall become desirable for purposes contemplated in General Order No. 4.

On the 23d of January the Legislature proffered to the President of the United States such aid in men and money as he he may require to maintain the authority of the National Government. This resolution was forwarded the same day to the President.

The result of this act of volunteering was that the Sixth Regiment was the first regiment called, and General Butler was the first to receive a commission as a general officer of volunteers.

Many have never been able to understand how a regiment from Massachusetts should have reached Washington in advance of nearer States.

The circumstances of the transmission of the order are given somewhat in detail. The proclamation of President Lincoln calling for 75,000 men, and convoking an extra session of Congress was dated April 15th, but did not reach Boston until the 16th and was not received at Albany until the 17th, receiving from the Governor of New York on the 19th the response by telegram to the President that the Seventh would start for Washington that evening.

On the 15th of April Governor Andrew received a telegram from Senator Henry Wilson announcing the call for troops.

The Governor at once issued his Special Order No. 14, commanding the colonels of the Third, Fourth, Sixth and Eighth Regiments forthwith to muster their commands in uniform on Boston Common, and sent it by special messengers. Colonel Jones, who was in Boston, received his order first, took it to Brigadier-General Butler for regular transmission and issued his orders the same day by telegraph to the Lowell and Lawrence companies of the Sixth and took the four o'clock train on the Fitchburg Railroad to carry the order to the companies in Acton and Groton to assemble in Huntington Hall in Lowell on the morning of the 16th at seven o'clock—uniformed and ready to proceed to Washington.

Colonel Jones, on his trip to Groton, met Captain A. C. Handley in the railroad station at South Acton, who immediately started with the order to Captain Tuttle.

Late in the afternoon of the 15th Captain Daniel Tuttle was chosen in town-meeting to an important office. On being requested by the moderator to be sworn as usual, he declined for the reason that he was liable to be sent out of the State with his company any day.

In a little more than an hour the summons came. Captain Tuttle started immediately for Lowell and messengers were sent at once to rally the absent men. Captain A. C. Handley went to Leominster to notify the Wilder Brothers and returned with them on time.

Other messengers were sent in different directions, and at two o'clock in the morning of the 16th the bells of the town-house and church were rung, calling the people of Acton to witness the departure of that military company which was the first in this or any other State to leave their homes in response to the President's call.

The company reached Lowell before the hour named, 7 A.M. on the morning of the 16th, and with the other companies of the regiment were dispatched to Boston during the day. Its departure to Washington was delayed somewhat by reason that it was late on the morning of the 16th that Governor Andrew decided to attach to the Sixth Regiment Companies L and R, from Stoneham and Boston.

The regiment left Boston about sunset on the evening of the 17th, and reached New York the next morning and Philadelphia the next afternoon. It left Philadelphia at one on the morning of the 19th, and, had there been no delay, would have passed through Baltimore early in the morning and probably without opposition; but the train carrying the Sixth was a very long one, and the passage of the Susquehanna (then made by ferry) consumed so much time and the slow rate of speed owing to the length of the train delayed its arrival at Baltimore until ten o'clock in the forenoon.

At that time each separate car was drawn through the streets of the city by strings of horses, and thus the different companies of the regiment became separated.

The first six companies, including Company E (Davis Guards), passed through without serious molestation, but the remaining five companies were attacked by the mob, through which they gallantly forced their way, though not without thirty-six of the men receiving gun shot wounds and the loss of four soldiers killed.

In the long procession of fallen patriots who were to pass forward and onward to eternity from the battle-fields of the Rebellion, these four Massachusetts soldiers led the way.

Leaving Baltimore about two o'clock the Sixth reached Washington—forty miles distant—late in the afternoon, and were received by General McPowell, of General Scott's staff, and were assigned quarters in the Senate chamber in the Capitol, where they remained about twelve days.

The regiment, aided by a part of the Eighth Regiment and a battery, the whole under the command of General Butler, then went back and re-opened the route through Baltimore, staying there some ten days, and were detailed to guard the junction of the main track of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at the Washington branch, at the Relay House, where they remained till the expiration of their service.

At this time detachments were sent to Baltimore—

one to arrest Marshal Ham and another to capture a noted rebel who was wanted at Fortress Monroe.

The regiment was mustered in at Washington April 22d, and discharged August 2d, being absent from home about 115 days. The term of service, though brief, is assured a high place in history. This regiment was the first to leave home and the first to be attacked. It received a vote of thanks from the first session of the Thirty-seventh Congress for the alacrity with which they responded to the call of the President, and for the bravery and patriotism which they displayed on the 19th of April in fighting their way through Baltimore on their march for the defence of the national Capitol.

In his order dismissing the regiment Governor Andrew said: "Its gallant conduct has reflected new lustre on the Commonwealth, and has given new historic interest to the 19th of April. It will be received by our people with warm hearts and generous hands." Of the fifty-two men who went out under Captain Tuttle, twenty-seven are now living.

Shortly after the return home of the Sixth Regiment, Colonel Jones commenced to recruit a regiment of three years' men, to be numbered the Sixth Massachusetts. It was not till the ranks were full and it was nearly ready to leave for the seat of war that Governor Andrew decided to retain the old Sixth as a militia regiment, to be called upon in cases of special urgency.

The new regiment was numbered the Twenty-Sixth, Most of the officers and many of the men of the old Sixth had enlisted for three years, and were enrolled in the Twenty-sixth. Captain Tuttle's health not permitting him to return to the war, William H. Chapman, lieutenant of Company E, old Sixth, became captain of Company E, Twenty-sixth Regiment, and twenty members of the old company enlisted in the new one. This regiment was mustered into the service of the United States October 18, 1861, and left the State November 21st, same year, taking passage on the steamship "Constitution" to Ship Island, on the coast of Louisiana, and remained at Ship Island about four months.

At that time the fleet under Commodores Farragut and Porter, bombarded Forts St. Philip and Jackson, on the Mississippi River, and the Twenty-sixth Regiment moved in rear of the forts in readiness to assault, but the surrender of the forts avoided the necessity of an attack, and saved many valuable lives.

After the surrender the regiment garrisoned the forts about four months, and then was ordered to New Orleans for provost duty. It remained there about a year, then started with General Banks on the expedition up the Red River as far as Opelousas; then ordered back to New Iberia, where about three-fourths of the company re-enlisted, and were given a furlough, commencing April 4, 1864, of one month, to visit their friends at home. Upon the expiration of the furlough the regiment was ordered to return to New Orleans, La., which journey was made on steamship "Cahawha" and arrived at its destination May 20th.

After occupying Carrollton and Morganza, it returned to New Orleans, and on July 11th embarked on steamer "Charles Thomas" for Bermuda Hundred, Va., which place was reached the 21st of July. On the 28th the regiment marched to Deep Bottom, Va., where considerable picket firing took place, but no casualties happened. Subsequently the regiment was ordered to Washington, D. C., and then marched through a portion of Maryland to the valley of the Shenandoah River, reaching Winchester on the morning of the battle of September 19, 1864. The battle commenced about 10 o'clock in the forenoon and lasted till 5 P.M, when the enemy retreated. The regiment, being in the lead, advanced too far without proper support, and found itself with the enemy not only in front, but on both flanks, and, being thus exposed to a severe cross-fire, suffered severely, Company E having seven men killed or mortally wounded. Of the four months' men who went into the battle, at its close only twenty-three were fit for duty. The battle of Fisher's Hill took place three days later.

On October 18th the three years' term of service of that portion of the regiment that did not enlist having expired, the regiment was consolidated into a battalion of five companies by Special Order No. 64, and those whose term of enlistment had expired were separated from their comrades who had re-enlisted. In the battle of the following day, let it be said to the credit of many of those discharged men, though under no obligation to do so, they gallantly again entered the ranks, fought all day and helped to change a temporary defeat into a glorious victory.

I am sorry to say that this voluntary act of patriotism cost some of these noble men their lives. Corporal Loker tells me that after the fight he helped to bury two men killed in the action whose term of service had expired before the battle.

On October 19th the rebel army surprised the Union troops at Cedar Creek, driving them back four miles in confusion. This was the scene of Sheridan's famous ride from "Winchester, twenty miles away," though, as a matter of fact, the Union troops had made a stand before his arrival. The remarks he made to his men greatly inspirited them, though it is not probable that these remarks will ever take a place in polite literature.

The results of the battle of Cedar Creek were the capture of nearly all of the rebel baggage-train and field artillery, and the complete dispersion of Early's forces. The battalion remained at Winchester during the winter, were ordered to Washington May 2d, and one month later were sent to Savannah, Ga., where they remained until August 26, 1865, when the battalion was mustered out of service; left Savannah September 12th, and reached Boston September 18th; were sent to Gallop's Island for final payment, and

reached Acton the evening of October 21, 1865, after an absence of four years and three days.

In the narrative of Company E, Twenty-sixth Regiment, I stated that Governor Andrew decided to retain the Sixth as a militia regiment to answer sudden calls. In response to such a call it left the State August 31, 1862, to serve for nine months under Colonel Albert S. Follansbee, of Lowell. Company E, of Acton, was officered as follows: Aaron C. Handley, captain; Aaron S. Fletcher and George W. Rand, lieutenants; Dr. Isaiah Hutchins, hospital steward for the regiment.

Captain Handley had commanded the Davis Guards some years before the war. His grandfather had served in the Revolutionary War and his father did military duty in the War of 1812.

The regiment was ordered to proceed to Suffolk, Virginia, near Fortress Monroe. It assisted in the construction of Forts Nansemond and McLellan. The regiment was detailed for guard duty in the forts, afterwards for scouting duty and destroying rebel railroads, among which were the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad and the Seaboard and Roanoke.

The regiment took part in several battles and skirmishes. Among these may be mentioned the Deserted House, Carrsville and Ludlow Lawrence's home. In these actions the Sixth had twenty-seven men killed and wounded. No casualties in Acton company, though that company lost three men by disease. The regiment was mustered out June 3, 1863.

The services of the old Sixth were required for the third and last time during the war, for a term of enlistment of one hundred days, commencing July 18, 1864.

Col. Follansbee again led the regiment, and Co. E, Davis Guards, of Acton, was under the following list of officers: Frank M. Whitcomb, who was orderly sergeant during the nine months' term of service in 1861 and 1863, was captain, with George W. Knight and Isaiah Hutchins as lieutenants. The regiment was ordered to proceed to Washington, D. C., and marched to Arlington Heights and performed fatigue duty in front of Fort Stevens for two or three weeks. This fatigue duty consisted in leveling the ground and felling trees to give greater range and efficiency to the great guns of the fort. After this time it was ordered to garrison Fort Delaware and to guard the rebel prisoners in the fort. After a useful but uneventful term of service it was mustered out, Oct. 27th, and returned home.

Of the one hundred men in Captain Whitcomb's company, twenty-nine were from Acton. No casualties or deaths occurred during this enlistment.

The official military record of the town of Acton reports as sent to the army during the War of the Rebellion 215 different men, including twenty commissioned officers. The adjutant-general's report for 1865 states that at the close of the war she had answered all calls required to fill her quota, and had a surplus of thirty men to her credit. The number of commissioned officers was exceptionally large. No Acton-born soldier, credited to her quota, deserted, or failed to receive an honorable discharge.

The recruiting committee of the town were the selectmen: James E. Billings, J. K. W. Wetherbee and Jonas K. Putney, with an assistant committee of three: Daniel Wetherbee, Capt. A. C. Handley and Varnum B. Mead.

Four brothers enlisted from one family, and the head of that family a widow, Mrs. Abram Handley. Though one of these brothers (Frank) died early in the war, and another (George) was discharged for disability, their combined terms of service were more than ten years.

Mr. Wheeler's three sons all enlisted. In six other cases, two brothers were in the ranks together, and in one both father and son, William and William B. Reed, were in the service at the same time.

Luke Smith was credited three times to the quota of the town, whose father, Solomon Smith, marched over the same road under Captain Isaac Davis to the old North Bridge that his son, Luke, followed in part under Captain Daniel Tuttle, eighty-four years later. Mr. Smith was the oldest soldier credited to Acton's quota, having at his last enlistment (for one hundred days) in 1864, reached the age of more than fifty years.

Thomas Kinsley, Jr., was the youngest recruit, being but fifteen years and two months old at the time of his enlistment.

Of the 216 men credited to Acton, eighteen died while in service, either killed in battle or victims of disease. This does not include natives or residents of Acton, who were credited to other towns, who died in service.

Memorial Library.—This memorial structure, just completed, stands upon the north side of the Main Street at the Centre, nearly opposite the Davis Monument. It has an ideal location, partially shaded by the elms and maples, which give it a classic repose even at the start.

Its approach is by an easy ascent from the east, south and west, over concrete walks. It is a few rods northeast of the Town House, with which it is connected by concrete and a fine lawn, a site known for over sixty years as the Fletcher Homestead. It is the most unique and costly building ever erected in town, and is destined to be the centre of culture for many generations to come.

The style of architecture is Romanesque. The external appearance and the internal arrangements and furnishings are in harmony with this idea, and can be properly judged only from that standpoint. The architects are H. W. Hartwell and William G. Richardson, of Boston. The building is composed of red brick and brownstone.

Its extreme length is sixty-six feet six inches and its depth thirty-two feet and ten inches from south to

north. The principal entrance opens upon the south and through a large, solid freestone arch, which has rich mouldings and carved spandrels, within which are to be placed memorial tablets to the soldiers in the War of the Rebellion, of which this town furnished a large number. On entering the building, a reading-room, called the Memorial Room, sixteen by twenty-five feet, is found at the left. It has heavy beamed ceiling, a large antique brick fire-place and decorated walls. Above the fire-place is a handsome brown-stone tablet, with this carved inscription:

"THIS BUILDING A GIFT TO HIS NATIVE TOWN BY WILLIAM ALLEN WILDE."

The room has rich oak tables, settees and chairs, all in the olden style. Opposite the reading-room, and at the right, is the book apartment, thirty-two feet six inches long, twenty-four feet six inches wide, twenty feet high. Along the sides of this are arranged book alcoves, two stories high, having light connecting galleries for the second tier, reached by stairs at the right and left of the desk occupied by the librarian. The desk is so located that the person in charge of it can command a view of the book-room and the reading-room also, this latter opening into the central reading space by a large open archway. Located at the north of this central hall is the room devoted to the library trustees, thirteen by fifteen feet, with a northern light, richly furnished. Opening out of this is a fire-proof vault, where articles of value and the archives of the town can be stored. In the opposite corner is a toilet-room, fitted up with all modern conveniences. All the spaces and rooms are brilliantly lighted from chandeliers, and heated by two large furnaces in the cellar, which is by itself quite an institution—cemented, drained and plastered. The water arrangements are quite a specialty, embracing a tank in the attic, which can be easily filled by a force-pump connecting with a well that belonged to the estate, seventy-five feet deep, the bottom of which is a solid ledge, containing an unfailing spring of the purest and coolest water.

The corporators of the library under the charter are Luther Conant, Adelbert Mead, Moses Taylor, Hiram J. Hapgood, Delette H. Hall and Daniel James Wetherbee. These are constituted trustees for life, with power to fill vacancies in case of death or resignation of any one of their number. Three additional trustees are to be chosen by the town, one for three years, one for two years and one for one year.

In the future, after the organization, the town is to elect by ballot each year one trustee of the three, elective for three years.

Mr. Wilde's letter presenting Memorial Library Building to the town of Acton:

"MALDEN, MASS., Feb. 27, 1890.

"*To the Selectmen of Acton:*

"GENTLEMEN,—For a long time past it has been my intention, if ever I was able to do so, to remember my native town by the gift of some memorial to the memory of those brave and patriotic men of Acton who so freely gave time, strength and health—and many of them their lives—in the War of the Rebellion, 1861–65.

"To carry out this plan in what seemed to me the most advantageous and permanent method possible, I have purchased the estate of Rev. James Fletcher, adjacent to the Town-House, and erected thereon a Memorial Library, placing upon its shelves some four thousand volumes, more or less, and I beg the privilege of presenting this property to the town as a free gift, only stipulating that it shall forever be kept as a Memorial Library, and free to all the citizens of the patriotic old town of Acton, which I shall always love and be proud of.

"If it shall please the town to accept this gift I shall be glad to pass all necessary papers for the transfer of the property to whom and at such time as the town shall direct.

"I am, gentlemen, yours truly,

"WILLIAM A. WILDE."

Upon reading this letter, by Mr. Howard B. White, chairman of the Board of Selectmen, to the citizens of Acton, in town-meeting assembled, March 3, 1890, Rev. James Fletcher presented the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by the town, to be forwarded to Mr. Wilde in response, and to be placed upon the town records:

"WHEREAS a charter of Incorporation has passed the Legislature and been signed by his Excellency Gov. J. Q. A. Brackett incorporating the Memorial Library, and Hon. William A. Wilde, a native of Acton—now a resident of Malden—has signified his readiness to deed to the town the Memorial Library Building just completed at his expense, and the land on which it stands, and all the appurtenances thereof, including books already selected, the Memorial Room and the town-vault for the archives of the town,—

"*Resolved* 1*st*, We, the inhabitants of the town of Acton, in town-meeting assembled, do accept the trust and authorize the Selectmen, in behalf of the town, to sign all papers and perform all acts necessary to complete the transfer of the property to the care of the trustees.

"*Resolved* 2*d*, In passing this vote we wish to express to Mr. Wilde—in behalf of the present inhabitants of the town; in behalf of all future generations who may be resident here, and participants in the benefits to be enjoyed; in behalf of the soldiers of the War of the Rebellion, whose memory and valor he has so tenderly cherished in the name and arrangement of the structure—our profound appreciation of his generous gift."

"We assure him of our hearty thanks for remembering the place of his birth by a memento so enduring and so befitting the past history and future needs of the town.

"We assure him or our cordial co-operation in doing what in us lies, to perpetuate the intentions and possibilities of the trust.

"We tender to him, his companion and his children our best wishes for their life, health and prosperity, and our prayer that the donation, in which they each have a personal share and honor, may contribute to their mutual and lasting enjoyment."

The selectmen and the whole Board of Trustees were authorized to make all necessary arrangements for the dedication of the building.

The trustees chosen by the town at the March meeting, 1890, are the following: William D. Tuttle for three years, James Fletcher for two years, Howard B. White for one year.

Mr. William Allen Wilde, the donor, was born in Acton, Mass., July 11, 1827. He is now resident in Malden, Mass., and does business as a publisher, his office being at 25 Bromfield Street, Boston. His father, Joseph Wilde, lived in Southeast Acton, married Sarah Conant, of Stow, sister to Abraham and Simeon Conant, of Acton. He died in Acton, in the eighty-second year of his age. Their children were: Mary, now living in Moultonboro', N. H.; Silvia, deceased; Sarah, living with Mary; John, who was drowned;

Joseph, living in Natick, with seven children and prospering in business; Willliam A.; and George, living in Somerville.

Benjamin[4], the father of Joseph Wild[5], died when fifty-six years old, of yellow fever. He married Silvia Thayer, of Boston. She died two days after her husband and was buried in Acton. Her daughter, Silvia, died of yellow fever two days after her mother and was buried in Acton.

William Wild[3], the father of Benjamin[4], lived in Randolph, Mass., and died when eighty-seven years old.

William[2], the father of William[3], lived in Braintree, Mass., and died in his eighty-seventh year.

William Wild[1], the father of William[2], landed from England in 1632, and lived in Randolph, Mass., which was then a part of Braintree.

William A. Wilde[6], the son of Joseph Wild[5], married, first, Loise A. Mace, of Pepperell, Mass., without issue. Married, second, Lydia Jane Bride, of Berlin, Mass. *Children:* Jennie, born September 7, 1854, deceased at sixteen years of age; Carrie, born October 12, 1856, deceased at seven years of age; William Eugene, born in Acton September 12, 1858, married, in 1885, Effie Jean Dresser, of Portland, Me. Married, third, Celestia Dona Hoyt, of Wentworth, N. H. *Children:* Alice Elizabeth, born June 12, 1869; Allen Hoyt, born April 29, 1874.

Mr. Wilde was educated at Groton and Pepperell Academies. He has taught school twelve years, been superintendent of the schools of the city of Malden; five years chairman of the Water Board when large and expensive water-works were being constructed.

He represented Malden two years in the Legislature, and was chairman of the House Committee of Education. He has been trustee of the Malden Library eight years, and is now one of the Prison Commissioners of the State of Massachusetts.

Our Honored Dead (Tablet List).

BY JULIAN TUTTLE.

Luke W. Bowers; he enlisted in Aug., 1862, Co. E, 33d Mass. Reg.; died of wounds May 1, 1864, at Resaca, Georgia.

Albert Conant, enlisted Dec., 1861, in Co. F, 30th Mass. Reg.; he died at sea Jan., 1864, on the voyage home.

Elbridge Conant, enlisted Aug. 18, 1862, in Co. E, 6th Mass. Reg.; died Feb., 1863, at Suffolk, Va.

Eugene L. Hall, enlisted Feb., 1864, in Co. E, 26th Mass. Reg.; killed Sept., 1864, at Winchester, Va.

Frank Handley, enlisted Sept., 1861, in Co. E, 26th Mass. Reg.; died July, 1862, at Fort St. Philip, near New Orleans, La.

Augustus W. Hosmer, enlisted Sept., 1861, in 26th Mass. Reg.; band; died Nov., 1861, at Acton, Mass.

Eli Huggins, enlisted Sept., 1861, in Co. A, 26th Mass. Reg.; died Oct., 1863. at New Orleans, La.

Samuel C. Hanscom, enlisted Dec., 1862, in Co. A, 2d Mass. Cavalry; killed July, 1864, at Aldie, Va.

James P. Hanscom, enlisted May, 1861, in Co. E, 1st Minnesota Reg.; died Nov., 1862, at Portsmouth Grove, R. I.

John A. Howard, enlisted Aug., 1862, in Co. E, 26th Mass. Reg.; died Dec., 1863, at New Orleans, La.

John S. Harris, enlisted June, 1861, in Co. F, 11th Mass. Reg.; killed May, 1863, at Chancellorsville, Va.

Francis Kinsley, enlisted Sept., 1861, in Co. E, 26th Mass. Reg.; died April, 1864, at Acton, Mass.

Thomas Kinsley, Jr., enlisted Feb., 1864, in Co. E, 26th Mass. Reg.; died Nov., 1864, at Washington, D. C.

George Warren Knight, enlisted Oct., 1862, in Co. E, 53d Mass. Reg.; died April, 1863, at New Orleans, La.

Henry W. Lazell, enlisted Sept., 1861, in Co. E, 26th Mass. Reg.; died Aug, 1863, at New Orleans, La.

James R. Lentell, enlisted Sept., 1861, in Co. E, 26th Mass. Reg.; died Nov., 1862, at New Orleans, La.

William H. Loker, enlisted in Sept., 1861, in Co. E, 26th Mass. Reg.; died April, 1863, at Acton, Mass.

Marivan Miner, enlisted Aug., 1862, in Co. I, 26th Mass. Reg.; died Feb., 1863, at New Orleans, La.

Matthew McKinney, enlisted Aug., 1863, in Co. E, 26th Mass. Reg.; died Sept., 1863, at Berwick City, La.

William B. Reed, enlisted Aug., 1862, in Co. E, 26th Mass. Reg.; died Jan., 1864, at Franklin, La.

Warren R. Wheeler, enlisted Sept., 1861, in Co. E, 26th Mass. Reg.; died July, 1862, at Fort St. Philip, near New Orleans, La.

James M. Wright, enlisted Nov., 1861, in Co. B, 32d Mass. Reg.; died Sept., 1862, at Philadelphia, Penn.

John H. P. White, enlisted Sept., 1863, in Co. E, 26th Mass. Reg.; died July, 1863, at New Orleans, La.

Samuel E. Wilson, enlisted in 1864, in Co. K, 7th California Reg.; died Feb., 1866, at Fort Yuma, Cal.

Daniel A. Lovering, enlisted Aug., 1862, in Co. H, 13th Mass. Reg.; killed June, 1864, at Cold Harbor, Va.

Luke Robbins, enlisted in Boston, Mass., June, 1864, as a seaman for two years; served on board the "Ohio" and "Seminole;" was killed on the "Seminole" at Galveston, Texas, May, 1865.

Frank J. Barker, enlisted in Co. C, 118th Ill. Reg., Aug., 1862; died at Milliken's Bend, La., April, 1863, aged 19.

Eben Barker, enlisted in Co. F, 50th Ill. Reg., Aug., 1861; died at Quincy, Ill., Jan., 1862, aged 22.

Cyrus E. Barker, enlisted July, 1861, in Co. H, 13th Mass. Reg.; discharged Jan., 1863, for disability; afterwards enlisted in Co. C, 59th Mass. Reg. He was at the battle at Weldon Railroad; was taken prisoner, and after seven months was exchanged; died at Annapolis, Md., April, 1865, aged 22.

The names of Acton men who served in the War of the Rebellion, and who survived that war:

Colonel, William H. Chapman; Captains, Aaron C. Handley, Daniel Tuttle, Frank H. Whitcomb; Lieutenants, Silas P. Blodgett, Henry Brown, Aaron S. Fletcher, Elias E. Haynes, Isaiah Hutchins, George Willard Knights, James Moulton, George W. Rand, William F. Wood; Privates, Frank W. Ames, George T. Ames, George E. Barker, John F. Blood, Charles H. Blood, George F. Blood, William H. Boss, Henry L. Bray, Daniel R. Briggs, Charles A. Brooks, Samuel R. Burroughs, Hiram Butten, Patrick Callahan, George Fay Campbell, Waldo Chaplin, William Chaplin, Jr., William D. Clark, Robert C. Conant, Simon T. Conant, J. Sherman Conant, John Conway, George B. Cran, John B. Cran, Waldo G. Dunn, Oscar Dwelley, Abel Farrar, Jr., Daniel H. Farrar, Winthrop H. Faulkner, James W. Fiske, John W. Fitzpatrick, Charles W. Fletcher, Aaron J. Fletcher, Ephraim B. Forbush, Channey U. Fuller, Meldon S. Giles, Henry Gilson, Nathan Goss, William B. Gray, William H. Gray, Delette H. Hall, George Handley, Charles Handley, William S. Handley, Abram Handley, Charles A. Hanscom, Marshall Hapgood, Henry Hapgood, Francis E. Harris, Forestus D. K. Hoar, J. Sherman Hoar, Walter O. Holden, Gilman S. Hosmer, Judson A. Huggins, Eri Huggins, Jr., Sylvanus Hunt, Loring M. Jackson, Mortimer Johnson, George A. Jones, Edwin A. Jones, Charles Jones, George Jones, Richard Kinsley, Jonathan W. Loker, Emory D. Lothrop, Lewis J. Masten, William Morrill, Charles Morse, Charles H. Moulton, Albert Moulton, Augustus P. Newton, George B. Parker, Henry D. Parlin, George E. Peck, George N. Pierce, George M. Pike, Michael Powers, Oscar E. Preston, John Putnam, William Reed, Levi H. Robbins, Joseph N. Robbins, Elbridge J. Robbins, Luke J. Robbins, Varnum F. Robbins, Albert Rouillard, George Rouillard, George W. Sawyer, Andrew J. Sawyer, George H. Simpson, Benjamin Skinner, Dennis Shehan, Luke Smith, George D. Smith, Silas M. Stetson, Emory A. Symonds, Edwin B. Taft, Edwin Tarbell, Daniel G. Taylor, Warren L. Teel, Daniel L. Veasey, Robert Wayne, John Wayne, James Wayne, Hiram W. Wetherbee, Addison B. Wheeler, Lincoln E. Wheeler, Everett Wheeler, William F. B. Whitney, Samuel E. Wilson, James H. Wood, Eben F. Wood, Charles H. Young.

THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.—This church and society was launched upon its mission amid great religious commotion. The times were full of sharp and heated controversy upon doctrinal points. The lines were rigidly drawn, and neutrals were at a discount.

The worship was first in a chapel, built for the purpose, now occupied by Mr. Julian Tuttle. This was the scene of many earnest gatherings. It was where Mr. Woodbury began his most effective preaching, and it being a time when all this section of country was marked by great religious awakenings, the events are easily recalled by those still living, cotemporaneous with those early dates.

The church was organized by a council March 13, 1832, and a house of worship fifty by forty-four feet, built the next year. Many of the important members of the old church united with the new in its first formation. Rev. James Trask Woodbury was ordained and installed March 13, 1832. After preaching twenty years, he was dismissed at his own request June 23, 1852, and was afterwards settled in Milford, Massachusetts, where he died January 15, 1861, aged fifty-eight years.

Rev. Benjamin Dodge, of Wilton, Maine, was his successor. He was installed October 28, 1852, and dismissed April 17, 1855.

Until September, 1855, the church was supplied by Rev. Messrs. Alvord and Francis Horton.

Rev. Charles Rockwell then commenced his labors as a stated supply. On his leaving in July, 1856, Rev. Martin Moore, of Boston, and others, supplied the pulpit until January, 1857, when Rev. Joseph Garland was hired two years.

From January, 1859, to May of the same year the pulpit was supplied by various clergymen.

Rev. Alpha Morton was then engaged for four years successively, resigning May 1, 1863, to accept an engagement with the church at West Auburn, Maine.

Rev. George Coleman was ordained and installed November 12, 1863, and was dismissed in May, 1869.

The Rev. Franklin P. Wood was ordained July 24, 1871, and installed as pastor October 10, 1872, and dismissed December 17, 1874.

During Rev. Mr. Woodbury's pastorate two houses of worship were erected.

The following is a description of the present house as found in the church records in Mr. Woodbury's handwriting:

"1847, January 1st. The new meeting house erected on the spot where stood the former one was duly dedicated to Almighty God, Son and Holy Ghost, Dec. 16, 1846, Wednesday at one o'clock P.M. House 75 feet by 50, with a basement story of stone with 82 pews; Cost about $6000, exclusive of the fresco painting of the interior and the cushions, carpets, lamps, clock, communion table and chairs, Bible and hymn books, which all cost $700, and were all absolute gifts to the church and the house, not to be put upon the pews.

"The building Committee were: Dr. J. M. Miles, Samuel Hosmer (2d), Simon Tuttle, John P. Buttrick, Col. Winthrop E. Faulkner, and they did their duty faithfully and are entitled to the lasting gratitude of the church."

More than six hundred different persons have been members of this church.

Some repairs and alterations were made in the early part of 1867, and a fine organ introduced at a cost of $1320. The deacons and officers of this church, have been as follows: Deacons Silas Hosmer and Phineas Wheeler, died in 1838, aged sixty-five, chosen at the organization; Deacon Hosmer died in 1872, eighty years old; Deacon Stevens Hayward, chosen April 3, 1835, died in 1868, aged eighty-one; Deacon John Fletcher, chosen December 7, 1838, died in 1879, aged eighty-nine; Deacon Abraham Conant, chosen February 3, 1843, died in 1861, aged seventy-seven; Deacon John White, chosen February 3, 1843, died in 1860, aged seventy-five; and Deacon Samuel Hosmer, Albert Hayward, William W. Davis, and Joel F. Hayward, chosen January 1, 1864.

March, 1885, William Davis Tuttle chosen. He has been superintendent of the Sabbath School, also Deacon Davis.

Rev. George M. Stearns is the present pastor, installed September 23, 1887.

Deacon Silas Hosmer was clerk of the church from its organization to his death.

Rev. James T. Woodbury was born in Francestown, New Hampshire, May 9, 1803, and died at Milford, Massachusetts, January 16, 1861, aged fifty-eight. He married Miss Augusta Porter, of Medford, daughter of Jonathan Porter. His father, Honorable Peter Woodbury, was a pioneer merchant, and for many years a practical farmer in the upper division of old Hillsborough County. His father was distinguished through his whole life for his strong, plain, common sense, great energy of character, as well as for his uncompromising integrity. He was for a great many years a member of one or the other branches of the New Hampshire Legislature, commencing almost with the first session after the adoption of the Constitution by that State and being at the time of his death a member of the Senate. His father and his mother, whose maiden-name was also Woodbury, were of different distantly related families of Beverly, of this State, and they could both trace their origin to the ancient town of Woodbury, in Devonshire, England. His mother was a woman of rare ability. James T. Woodbury was a younger brother of Honorable Levi Woodbury, an eminent jurist and popular and able public officer, for years a judge of the United States Supreme Court. There were twelve children. James T. was graduated at Harvard University in 1823. He began a course of legal studies under the direction of his distinguished brother at Portsmouth, New Hampshire; was admitted to the bar in his native state in 1826. He at once opened an office for practice as a lawyer in Bath, Grafton County, New Hampshire. No young man for many years had come to the bar with fairer prospects. With a thorough education, with talents of the highest order, with an unblemished character, with great natural physical and in-

tellectual powers, married to an amiable and highly accomplished wife, beloved by a large circle of friends, all looked that he should rival the fame of his elder brother, who had even then reached the highest honors within the gift of his native State. But in the midst of his apparent worldly prosperity his ambition was suddenly checked and his whole course of life was suddenly changed. Under the preaching of the Rev. Mr. Sutherland, a Scotch clergyman of Bath, familiarly known as Father Sutherland, he became a sincere convert to the religious creed in which he had been educated by his pious and excellent mother. After a long struggle with himself, and against the advice and remonstrances of many friends, he relinquished his profession as a lawyer, and all his hopes and dreams of future greatness and worldly glory, and devoted himself to a course of theological studies. As soon as this course was completed he was ordained over the Evangelical Church in Acton, where he remained from 1832 to 1852, when he became a pastor of the church in Milford, and remained a pastor till the time of his death.

No person could stand for twenty years in any community, holding the relations which were held by Mr. Woodbury in Acton, without making a deep impression upon the public mind. He had a personal presence, traits of character, mental peculiarities and forces, which took him out of the ordinary line of influence, so that when he left town, not the parish simply, but the whole community and neighboring towns felt the change.

By a large majority this change was lamented and is to this day, even by some who were his opponents while here.

As a preacher Mr. Woodbury was especially noted. Why so noted? It was not because of his rare theological training. In this he was confessedly deficient, and at times even boasted of the fact that he had not been to Andover, or any of the other celebrated schools of the day. It was not because he had a natural theological acumen, which would supplement the deficiency of school discipline. His most ardent admirers admitted this, and some were glad of it. It was not because of his labored preparations for the Sabbath effort. Few have carried into the pulpit preparations apparently so meagre. His discourses were seldom written, and when partially so, were for some cause the least effective. He had simply the lawyer's brief, a small bit of paper, which none but himself could decipher, and he with difficulty at times.

But he had a large, commanding person—a characteristic of the Woodbury family. He had a clear-ringing, variable voice, which he could modulate to any circumstances, grave or comic, to any audience-room, large or small. He had a quick, susceptible nature which flooded his face with tears, sometimes of tender sympathy and sorrow, of sudden humor or contagious passion. He would cry when others had no thought of it. It was all the same to him. He had a rare gift of descriptive narrative. Not often did he finish a discourse, however impressive, without telling some anecdotes which, told in his blunt, quaint style, would raise a smile through the house and cause one to look to his neighbor as if to say, "That is just like him and nobody else." He had a fondness for nature in all her varied forms, human nature not excepted, which, bubbling up like water from a living spring, gave a freshness to his words and sentiments and bearing before an audience.

There was a frankness and boldness and what some would call a rashness in uttering his convictions which provoked approval and opposition, and he did not seem to care which. People gave him credit for meaning what he said, even if they did not agree with him.

His emotional conception of every subject which he treated, whether in the pulpit or on the platform, gave him a power which he wielded with wonderful effect on great occasions.

The monument which stands upon our village green never would have graced the spot nor extended the patriotic fame of the town but for his memorable address to the Legislature.

His only enkindled emotions transferred into the membership of the House thrilled them for a moment into a patriotic ecstasy.

They could hear again the rattle of the musketry at the North Bridge, and the shriek of Captain Davis as he fell at the head of the advancing column.

The 19th of April was back with all its paraphernalia of stir and fire and blood.

In this gush of excitement it was easy for them to vote *yea* when they had thought and purposed to vote *nay* on the appropriation.

As a reformer Mr. Woodbury's gifts were conspicuous on the platform. His humor and pathos and passion and wit, his bluntness, quaintness and oddities, his independent honesty and high purpose gave him at one time a foremost rank as an anti-slavery and temperance advocate.

In all the region around about and in many distant places his efforts when in happiest moods will be remembered as sparkling with telling points and a burning oratory.

The whole town revived under his manly strokes. The houses and farms and shops and roads and schools, which had languished under the blight of intemperance now took on a new lease of prosperity.

Many a man headed for the drunkard's grave reversed his steps, thanks to Mr. Woodbury's eloquent appeal. Peace be to his ashes!

His oft-repeated wish to be buried in Acton, with the dear people to whom he had ministered in the buoyancy and strength of his best years, has been gratified. He sleeps in Woodlawn Cemetery, by the granite shaft which he erected in memory of his beloved son, James Trask, Jr., by the side of his Augusta, as he was wont so fondly always to call her;

the companion, stay and grace of his entire married life.

Extracts from an ordination charge by Mr. Woodbury to a young pastor:

"My Son, I have begotten you in the Gospel, so I call you my son.

"My Son. 1st. Get your sermons from the Bible, the closet and the fields.

"2d. Be brief. You are a short man and the people will not expect long sermons from you, my Son. Unless you deem yourself a very eloquent man. Be brief! be brief!

"3d. If it rains, *let it rain!* The rain may do good. If you try to stop it, it may rain so much the harder. My Son, *let it rain!*

"4th. Throw physic to the dogs! They may not like, but they might as well have it as you. You don't need it. Air, exercise, good food and plenty of it, are better than physic. Let the dogs have it.

"5th. Trust in God and keep your powder dry. If your powder is wet it will not be of any use. Trust in God, but you must have dry powder or your shooting will not hit the mark. My son, God bless you and your people. AMEN."

Reminiscences.—One hot summer morning in July, quite early in the day, there was heard a loud shouting from a carriage which had stopped in the street opposite: "I say! I *say!!* I *say!!!*

Hurrying to the door, Mr. Woodbury, of Acton, some thirty miles distant, was recognized sitting in the carriage alone, stripped all but his pants and shirt. He was not expected. His first salutation was, "I say! *have you any milk?*" other questions followed, but the first thing to be settled was *milk;* he was thirsty.

Why Mr. Woodbury liked to live outside the village. "Because," he said, "he could shout as loud as he pleased without disturbing his neighbors."

Why he wore a broad-brimmed hat, loose-fitting coat and pants of blue color, carried a blue umbrella, instead of black, had boots with sole leather projecting a half-inch beyond the upper leather, drove his oxen through the village in a farmer's frock, with pants in his boots. Because he had a mind to.

Why he liked the Acton choir. Because it was a large choir and made up of ladies as well as gentlemen, and *Augusta* stood for years a prominent and graceful singer among them. He got tired of this all gander music when in college.

Deacon John Fletcher was born in Acton July 21, 1790, and died July 16, 1879, in his ninetieth year. He was the son of James, the son of Timothy, the son of Timothy, the son of Samuel, the son of Francis, the son of Robert, who came from England to Concord, Mass., in 1630, when thirty-eight years of age. He was at the time of his death the oldest person in Acton. He was nine years of age when George Washington died, and remembered distinctly the sensation which that event made throughout the country. In his boyhood all the territory west of the Hudson was a wilderness.

He married Clarissa Jones, the youngest of eleven children, all but one of whom lived to mature life, whose father was Aaron Jones. She died in her seventy-sixth year (February 8th), after being married over fifty years, the mother of seven children. He united with the church, together with his wife, November 3, 1833, and was for many years one of its deacons.

In his early life he was captain of the Davis Blues, and was familiarly called Captain Fletcher. He was clerk of the company when it went to Boston in the War of 1812. He held the office of special commissioner for Middlesex County for several years. He was for a long period of years the veteran boot and shoe manufacturer of this region, and in company with his sons, John and Edwin, carried on the business up to the time of his decease. He was conscientious in his dealings with his patrons, stamped his name upon his work, and made it good, if at any time there was a failure. He was largely interested in the general appearance of the Common, in the planting of the noble elms which now give dignity and beauty to the village, and but for his exertions and those of Francis Tuttle, Esq., they would have perished in the severe drought of 1840, after they were set out. He was interested in the erection of the public buildings of the Centre.

After his former shoe-factory and the old church, which was used as a town hall, were burnt, he encouraged the town to rebuild on the old site a new and commodious structure, offering to rebuild a shoe-factory which should be an ornament to the place, which he did as promised.

As early as 1815 he began an industry in the town, which, till within a few years, was of great advantage to the material interests. He early espoused the temperance cause, and became an earnest advocate of the principles of anti-slavery. His ardent support of the temperance cause cost the loss of a valuable orchard in 1843—destroyed by the girdling of his trees—and the same was repeated upon him a few years afterwards. When he became convinced that a certain course was right he gave himself to it heart and hand, with but little regard to the consequences to himself. In 1828 he, with his brother James, built the homestead, which till recently remained on the site now occupied by the Memorial Library.

Simon Hapgood died in Acton December 21st, aged eighty-six years and ten months. He was one of the original founders of the Congregational Society, was for nearly forty years an exemplary member of the church, and for many years a teacher in the Sabbath-school; was one of the earliest advocates of temperance and emancipation, and was always identified with that which is for the best good of the community and the world at large.

Deacon W. W. Davis was born in Harvard March, 1824; came to Acton April, 1861. He married Martha Taylor, of Boston, April 7, 1853. She died December 8, 1868. Children: William and Ada. He has taught school eighteen terms. In 1861 he represented the towns of Boxboro', Littleton, Carlisle and Acton in the State Legislature, being what was called the War Session. August 3, 1882, he married Abby

R. Worthiley, of Andover. He has been selectman of Acton, two years; School Committee superintendent, three years; Sabbath-school superintendent, fifteen years; deacon of the Congregational Church since 1862. In politics the deacon has been uniformly a Republican. He has been a hard-working man, greatly improving his farm and lifting from himself burdens which at the beginning he had to assume.

Hon. John Fletcher was the son of Deacon John Fletcher; born in 1827. He was of the firm of John Fletcher & Sons till his father's death, in 1879. Since then he has been in the firm of S. T. Fletcher & Co., with his son, Silas Taylor, at 77 Clinton Street, Boston. The business is that of butter and eggs commission store. Though retiring in his habits, he has taken an active interest in public affairs, in parish, town and country. He has been chorister twenty years; representative to General Court in 1862; in the State Senate two years (1870–71); a director in the Lowell and Nashua Railroad; president of the Schubert Choral Union since its organization; superintendent of the cemeteries; on the Executive Committee of the village improvement, and prominent in his activities for the home support of the Civil War. He married Martha Taylor, daughter of Silas Taylor.

Universalists.—The following extracts from an able sermon preached by Rev. I. C. Knowlton, D.D., at the dedication of the new meeting-house at South Acton (1878) are given. In a recent note from Dr. Knowlton he adds, "I send you the missing links in your sketch of our folks in Acton. I spent much time and labor in preparing the sermon from which you copy; I cannot go over the ground again. I think its statements are all correct."

The first Universalist sermons were preached in Acton by Rev. Hosea Ballard as early as 1814 or 1815.

January 19, 1816, the first Universalist Society of Acton was organized, consisting of eleven members.

In 1821 and 1822 Rev. Dr. Benjamin Whittemore preached one-half the Sabbaths in Acton in halls, school-houses and private residences.

January 27, 1821, the First Universalist Society of Acton was legally incorporated. It consisted of fifty paying members, two years after of sixty-one and eventually of over eighty paying members.

December 17, 1833, a church of thirty-nine members was formed as the result of the labors of Rev. Joseph Wright, who, that year, became pastor of this society.

October 4, 1834, the Boston Association of Universalists met at Acton. During the next six years the religious services were in the First Parish Church and well attended.

June 29, 1836, Rev. Isaac Brown became the resident minister of the society and continued in this relation three years.

July 4, 1837, Rev. Isaac Brown was formally installed as pastor of this church with appropriate services.

In 1842 an attempt was made to resuscitate the First Parish by uniting all the elements not affiliating with the Evangelical Church. At about this time there was a Methodist Church organized and there was Methodist preaching for a few years.

About 1850 our interest there, at Acton Centre, peacefully expired.

From 1850–58 there was no regular Universalist preaching in Acton. In 1858 halls were provided in South and West Acton, and Rev. J. M. Usher preached in these two places for a period of six years. The parishes in South Acton and West Acton, although entirely separate, were started at the same time and have always worked together in perfect harmony. The same pastors have officiated in each place. Rev. J. M. Usher, an energetic and well-read man, was really the founder of both.

After the retirement of Mr. Usher, in 1864, Rev. Edwin Davis became pastor of both these societies and continued until April, 1872; Rev. W. W. Harward, three years; Rev. N. P. Smith, one year. Rev. I. C. Knowlton, D.D., assumed his charge in October, 1875, fifteen years, and is still occupying the pulpits, with acceptance, in his seventy-first year.

In 1868 the West Acton Society built, furnished and paid for a very pretty and pleasant meeting-house, which it has used and greatly enjoyed ever since.

In 1861 the South Acton Society moved into Exchange Hall, a large and handsome auditorium, where it worshiped for seventeen years.

In the spring of 1876 a church of more than thirty members was organized at West Acton. Present number of members, about sixty in all.

On February 21, 1878, a handsome and completely furnished church edifice was dedicated, with appropriate services, at South Acton.

Each parish, at the date of this writing, though depleted by the removal of many of its young people to city centres, is enjoying a fair state of prosperity. Each meeting-house is pleasant and convenient, kept in good repair and occupied every Sunday.

The Baptists.—The Baptist Church is located at West Acton. It was organized July 10, 1846, with a membership of twenty-three persons. The present membership is over one hundred; the average congregations 200. The Sabbath-school has always been a flourishing adjunct of the church, now numbering one hundred and fifty. They have an attractive meeting-house, located centrally in the village, with all the modern contrivances to promote the interest and profit of the worshipers. They have a large and instructive library connected with the society, adapted to give general culture as well as religious instruction. The following is a list of the pastors and the length of their pastorates: Rev. Horace Richardson, seven years; Rev. W. H. Watson, seven years; Rev. Jacob Tuck (2d), three years; Rev. W. K. Davis, five years; Rev. J. C. Boomer, four years; Rev. J. R. Haskins.

Rev. C. L. Rhoades came to the West Acton Baptist Church, as its pastor, from the Lexington Church. He was a man of great enthusiasm, and during his pastorate of four and one-half years his hands were filled with work. He resigned in January, 1888, to go to the Fourth Street Church, of South Boston.

Rev. Frank A. Heath came direct from Hamilton Theological Seminary and was ordained June 7, 1888. He is now in the midst of his work, with able and liberal assistants in active co-operation, and with high hopes of a success in the future exceeding any record of the past. Their first meeting-house, dedicated July 19, 1847, was burned July 2, 1853; their second meeting-house was dedicated September 19, 1854.

Daniel Wetherbee, Esq. (East Acton).—Few men have held a more prominent position in Central Middlesex. From his youth he was acknowledged as a leader. His early education commenced and was continued in the old tavern situated on the "Great Road" from Fitchburg to Boston, of which he became proprietor in later years. Wetherbee's Tavern was known from the Canada line to our metropolis, and was a temporary Mecca of drovers and drivers of baggage-wagons for more than half a century preceding the advent of railroads.

The small stream running through his ancestral domains he at once improved and enlarged, till Wetherbee's Mills comprised one of the most important points in the illustrated map of the county. Of public life he had his full share. He was town clerk, assessor and selectman for many years, and five years a representative to the Legislature. He was largely instrumental in establishing the State Prison at Concord Junction. He became one of the originators of the Lowell and Framingham Railroad, and a permanent director. He married Clarissa Jones, daughter of Abel Jones. He died July 6, 1883, aged sixty-eight years, leaving a widow and seven children.

The American Powder-Mills.—These mills, incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts, having their business office in Boston, are located in the corner of four towns—Acton, Sudbury, Maynard and Concord. They cover an area of 401 acres. The capital is $300,000. The annual production is in the range of $240,000.

These mills were started by Nathan Pratt, in 1835, and they were run by him till 1864; then the property was sold to the American Powder Company, and that company was formed by the union of Massachusetts Powder-Mills, located at Barre, Mass., and incorporated under the name of the American Powder Company, 1864.

They did a very successful business, and went out of business in 1883, and were succeeded by the American Powder-Mills. About sixty men are employed at the present time. They are doing a large and successful business.

The patriotic emergencies of Acton have always had at hand a bountiful supply of the very choicest quality of powder, and at reasonable rates.

South Acton.—Fifty years ago the principal business at South Acton was done at the Faulkner Saw and Grist-Mill.

The houses within a quarter of a mile of the depot were those of the tavern, for many years the residence of Aaron Jones; the house of Abel Jones, his son, across the road opposite, on the hill, and that of Col. Faulkner.

Besides these there was a small school-house, a few barns, cooper-shops, stables and out-buildings. Now there are over a hundred pleasant residences, a number of mills, stores and factories, a fine church, assembly hall, chapel, a commodious school-house, large store structures, railroad facilities for traffic and travel, and a village noted for its comfort and neighborly and social culture.

Tuttle, Jones & Wetherbee.—On the rise of ground facing the Fitchburg Railway track stands the central structure of the vicinity—the hub of trade for years of this section of country. This firm is composed of these gentlemen, in the order of their connection with it: James Tuttle, Varnum Tuttle, sons of Francis Tuttle, Esq.; Elnathan Jones, a grandson of Aaron Jones, and J. K. W. Wetherbee, each marrying sisters of James and Varnum. No other than these have ever been in the partnership. The present name was adopted February 8, 1867, when Mr. Wetherbee was admitted. Mr. Jones joined about 1852, and between these dates it was James Tuttle & Co. From 1843 to 1852 it was J. & V. Tuttle. James Tuttle began trade on his own account in 1839. A year or so here and three at Acton Centre, and he was ready to start with his brother at the South Village, which had just been reached by a railroad from Boston. Then the lower part of the building now occupied by jeweler Baldwin was constructed, a single story, with its basement, for the beginning of these operations. The house of Mr. James Tuttle is to the rear of this enlarged structure. These young men of twenty-five and twenty-one started with good pluck and with a will to succeed, but with little idea of the possibilities of their future. The railroad terminus was then at West Acton. All things seemed at the time to favor that village. Long after they started no little trade went past them to the prosperous concern of Burbeck & Tenney. That was then called Horse-power Village, and this nothing but Mill-corner, where merged a half-dozen roads from Boxboro', Acton Centre, Westford, Sudbury and Stow. That was a stage, this only a saw and grist-mill centre.

In a few years they won the good start which is half the battle.

In those early days they did a business of $25,000 per year. This gradually grew until it reached a quarter of a million, with appliances to match the growth. In 1850 they moved to their new store on

the site of the present grocery. This building consisted of basement, a full story above and an attic floor. Shed, carriage-house and barn stretched from it back along the Concord pike.

James Tuttle has always been a shrewd and jolly helmsman, and when he set his craft on these waters he was bound to steer straight to the destined port. This store was burned January 20, 1866. Within a year the restored building was ready for a new launch, and it has floated safely on its way ever since.

The large dry-goods store on the hill was built in 1860. It is 70 by 38, and 60 feet high, with a central tower on front.

Exchange Hall, up three flights from the ground at front, has been devoted to public uses from the outset. The Universalists worshiped there until the new church was occupied in February, 1878. Every sort of gathering and entertainment has been held within its walls. Its dances, socials, concerts, lectures, campaign meetings, caucuses and conventions have made it well and widely known.

The prosperity of the firm rests upon its equity, Yankee sagacity and thrift. The gentlemen connected with it, many and various, stand high in the regard of their fellow-townsmen. The senior, Mr. James Tuttle, has been selectman, assessor, overseer of the poor, chairman of committee for building school-house, church and other public buildings. Mr. Jones has been prominent in town affairs. Mr. Varnum Tuttle has been a stanch pillar of the chapel-enterprise. Mr. Wetherbee has been for fifteen years postmaster at Acton, town treasurer for years, which office he still holds; selectman for many years, and trustee and executor of many private estates.

J. W. Tuttle & Sons.—Mr. Joseph Warren Tuttle, brother to Francis Tuttle, Esq., was the senior member of this house, and lived in one of the finest mansions at South Acton. The business is a wholesale commission-merchant's for the sale of all kinds of country produce; office, No. 16 and 18 Clinton Street, Boston. An honorable and successful career of forty-five years has given the house a high standing in the great thoroughfares of trade. The business was founded in 1843 by J. W. Tuttle.

In 1848 Mr. George W. Tuttle was admitted to partnership, in 1874 Charles Jones, in 1875 Charles H. Tuttle, and 1883 Herbert A. Tuttle.

J. A. Bowen.—The shoddy enterprise at South Acton, now in charge of Mr. Bowen, is one of importance. The privilege and land were first obtained of Abel Jones for a woolen-mill during the war, by S. S. Richardson, by whom the first dam was erected. The amount of the shoddy and extract productions for a year is now estimated in the vicinity of $100,000 per year. The business has been profitable and employs over thirty hands. Mr. Bowen, the proprietor, is a gentleman of quiet habits, of enfeebled health, yet an intelligent, reputable and liberal citizen of the village, whose enterprise in the successful management of the interest, and whose generous contributions in the way of public improvement are appreciated by the community.

Charles Augustus Harrington.—He was born in Shrewsbury, Worcester County, Mass., December 22, 1814, where he lived the first thirty years. He married, May 31, 1866, Mary J. Faulkner, daughter of Colonel Winthrop E. Faulkner. He came from Wisconsin to Acton in 1867, and has resided in town most of the time since. Though interested in public affairs he has never sought or held official positions of responsibility except to act as assessor for Acton four years. He is an earnest Republican in politics and liberal in his support of enterprises for the benefit of the community. He has been largely instrumental in giving to South Acton its new impetus towards a prosperity exceeding all previous records. He built his own elegant mansion which overlooks towards the west, the Faulkner house and the water scenery of the "Big Brook," and the fine mansion recently built on the western and northern slopes of the village; the retreating low-lands of the New England settlement are also seen in the distance, with clusters of comely dwelling-houses.

The thirty daily incoming and departing trains which pass on the Fitchburg Railroad help the effectiveness of this panorama of beauty as seen from the windows of Mr. Harrington's home. He has rebuilt and enlarged the Faulkner Mills, put in an ice-house, store-house, barn and an elevator for the flour and grain business at an expense of $17,000. He rebuilt the piano-stool factory which was burnt November 9, 1886, putting in steam at an expense of $10,000. The estimated productions of this factory, run by Mr. Chadwick, annually are $75,000, which are shipped to all States east of the Mississippi and to Canada.

At the grain and flour-mills, now in charge of F. J. Hastings & Hezzleton, a very heavy business is now carried on. No place in this region has a more complete stock for feed, fertilizing, garden seeds, farming tools; flour comes in and goes out by the car-load. It is the heaviest grain business between Waltham and Fitchburg; estimated annual amount, $150,000.

The Acton Light Infantry was organized in 1805 and then consisted of forty-one members, including officers. The following gentlemen previous to 1830 commanded this company: Paul Brooks, Simon Hosmer, Abijah Hayward, Silas Jones, James Jones, Aaron Hayward, Jonathan Hosmer, John Fletcher, John Handley, Jr., Simon Davis, Abel Furbush, George W. Tuttle and Thomas Brown.

The following is the list of town clerks: Thomas Wheeler, 1735–36; Simont Hunt 1737–43; Jonathan Hosmer, 1744–55; John Davis, Jr., 1756–57; Jonathan Hosmer, 1758–61; Francis Faulkner, 1762–96; Aaron Jones, 1797; John Edwards, 1798–99; David Barnard, 1800–07; John Robbins, 1808–17; Joseph Noyes, 1818; John Robbins, 1819–20; Joseph Noyes,

1821; Abraham Conant, 1822; Francis Tuttle, 1823–27; Silas Jones, 1828; Stevens Hayward, 1829; Francis Tuttle, 1830.

Deacon Ephraim Robbins and Asa Parlin, Esq., were of Carlisle when it was a district of Acton.

Captain Daniel Fletcher was chosen a delegate to the convention in Boston, 22d September, 1768; Francis Faulkner and Ephraim Hapgood to the Provincial Congress in Concord, October, 1774; Josiah Hayward to Cambridge, February, 1775, and again in May; Francis Faulkner to the convention in Cambridge, for forming the Constitution, September, 1779; Captain Joseph Robbins to the convention in Concord, to regulate the prices of articles of produce, etc., October, 1779; Simon Tuttle and Thomas Noyes to Concord 23d of May, 1786; and Asa Parlin to the convention in Boston in 1788, to ratify the Constitution of the United States.

Representatives.—Nathan Brooks, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1840; Phineas Harrington, 1841–42; Ivory Keyes, 1843, 1846; Daniel Wetherbee, 1844, 1845, 1848, 1853, 1857; Rev. James T. Woodbury, 1850–51; Moses Hayward, 1852; Joseph Noyes, 1854; Aaron C. Handley, 1855, 1863; William D. Tuttle, 1856; John Fletcher, 1861; Luther Conant, 1866, 1886; George W. Gates, 1870; George C. Wright, 1873; Moses Taylor, 1881; Charles Wesley Parker, 1884; Aaron C. Handley, 1889; Daniel Fletcher, 1768; Josiah Hayward, 1774–75; Mark White, 1776; Simon Hunt, 1780; Francis Faulkner, 1782, 1785; Thomas Noyes, 1787, 1789; Ephraim Robbins, 1790; Jonas Brooks, 1791, 1802; Asa Parlin, 1803; Jonas Brooks, 1804; Samuel Jones, 1805–06; Jonas Brooks, 1807–11; Stevens Hayward, 1812; Joseph Noyes, 1813–18; Joseph Noyes, 1821; Francis Tuttle, 1823–27; Steven Hayward, 1828–29; Francis Tuttle, 1830–31.

Forty-four years during the ninety-five since incorporation the town was not represented in the General Court.

Senators.—Stevens Hayward, 1844, 1845; Winthrop E. Faulkner, 1853, 1854; John Fletcher, 1870, 1871.

Town Clerks.—Francis Tuttle, Esq., 1830–32, 1834, 1835; Silas Jones, 1832–33; J. W. Tuttle, 1836, 1838; Daniel Wetherbee, 1839–54; William D. Tuttle, 1855.

Graduates of College.—*Nathan Davis*, son of Samuel Davis, born November 30, 1737; graduated at Harvard College 1759; ordained minister at Dracut 20th November, 1765; dismissed in 1785; removed to Boston and was appointed chaplain at Fort Independence, and a review officer; died March 4, 1803, aged 65.

John Swift, born November 18, 1741; graduated in 1762; settled as a physician in Acton; died in 1775.

Asa Piper, son of Josiah Piper; graduated in 1778, and was ordained at Wakefield, New Hampshire, 1785; was a retired pastor in that place after leaving his pastoral charge.

Solomon Adams, son of Lieutenant John Adams; born March 18, 1761; graduated in 1788; ordained pastor at Middleton, October 23, 1793; died September, 1813, aged 53.

Daniel Brooks, graduated in 1794; settled as a trader in Westmoreland, where he held the office of justice of the peace; died at Springfield, Vermont.

Thomas Noyes, son of Thomas Noyes, born February 5, 1769; graduated in 1795; ordained pastor of Second Church in Needham, July 10, 1799; dismissed in 1833, after a faithful discharge of his official duties thirty-four years. To his clerical brethren he set an example of diligence, punctuality and perseverance. As a preacher he was respectable, grave and sincere, practical rather than doctrinal. He brought beaten oil into the sanctuary. He was a descendant of the Puritans and a consistent Congregationalist.

Luther Wright, born April 19, 1770; graduated in 1796; ordained pastor of the First Parish in Medway, June 13, 1798; dismissed September, 1815; installed at Barrington, Rhode Island, January 29, 1817; dismissed July 5, 1821; he resided at Holliston afterwards.

Moses Adams, son of Rev. Moses Adams; born November 28, 1777; graduated in 1797; settled as a physician in Ellsworth, Maine, and was sheriff of the county of Lincoln.

William Emerson Faulkner, son of Francis Faulkner, Esq.; born October 23, 1776; graduated 1797; read law with his brother-in-law, the Hon. Jabez Upham, of Brookfield, with whom he formed a partnership in business; he died October 1, 1804, aged 28, and left a most worthy character.

Josiah Adams, son of the Rev. Moses Adams; born November 3, 1781; graduated in 1801; read law with Thomas Heald, Esq.; was admitted to the bar, June, 1807, and settled in Framingham. He delivered the Centennial address in 1835.

Luther Faulkner, son of Francis Faulkner; born May 7, 1779; graduated in 1802; was a merchant in Boston.

Jonathan Edwards Scott, a native of Nova Scotia; a resident in Acton before he entered college; graduated in 1802; commanded a vessel at sea.

Joseph Adams, son of Rev. Moses Adams; born September 25, 1783; graduated in 1803; settled as an attorney in West Cambridge; died June 10, 1814.

John Ruggles Cutting, son of William Cutting; graduated at Dartmouth College, 1802; ordained at Waldoborough, Maine, August, 1807; dismissed March, 1812, and was afterwards a teacher of youth.

Henry Durant graduated at Yale College, 1828; was a tutor in Yale; all these, excepting the two first and the last, were prepared for college under Rev. Mr. Adams.

Rev. James Fletcher.—He was born in Acton, September 5, 1823, and was the son of Deacon John and Clarissa Jones Fletcher. He fitted for college at

Leicester Academy, Massachusetts, and New Ipswich Academy, New Hampshire. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1843, at Andover Theological Seminary in 1846, and was a resident licentiate a year; pastor of the Maple Street Congregational Church, Danvers, fifteen years; principal of the Holten High School, Danvers, five years; of Lawrence Academy, Groton, six years; of Burr and Burton Seminary, Manchester, Vt., three years. He has taught forty-nine terms in all; been committeeman eighteen years and superintendent of schools six years. He married in Andover, Mass., October 10, 1849, Lydia Middleton, daughter of Rev. Henry Woodward, missionary to Ceylon, granddaughter of Prof. Bezaleel Woodward, of Dartmouth College, and adopted daughter of Hon. Samuel Fletcher, late of Concord, New Hampshire.

George G. Parker.—He was born in Acton, June 19, 1826. He was the oldest son of Asa Parker and Ann Margaret (McCaristone) Parker. He fitted for college at Lawrence Academy, Groton, and Appleton Academy, New Ipswich, N. H. He taught school in Acton and elsewhere. He graduated from Union College, New York, in 1852; studied law at the Albany Law School, New York, and was admitted to the bar of that State.

In 1856 he settled in Milford, Mass., and was admitted to the Worcester Co. bar, where he has since practiced. For many years he has been chairman of the Board of School Committee of Milford, senior warden of the Trinity Episcopal Church, Milford. In politics he was a Republican, but joined the Greeley party in 1872, was a member of the Cincinnati Convention of that year, and represented the Democratic party in the Legislature in 1876. December 26, 1854, he married the eldest daughter of Rev. James T. Woodbury, Augusta. Their child, Margaret Augusta, died at Milford in 1861.

William M. Parker, M.D.—He was born in Acton, June 15, 1828, son of Asa Parker and Ann Margaret (McCaristone) Parker. He acquired a thorough academical education, and entered the Berkshire Medical Institution at Pittsfield, and graduated in 1853. He practiced in Shutesbury about five years. He there served as a member of the School Committee. From 1856 to 1860 he was surgeon of the Tenth Regiment of Massachusetts militia. In 1858 he removed to Milford, and there followed his profession till his death, March 1, 1883. He was a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society and of the Massachusetts Medico-Legal Society, and at the time of his decease was State Medical Examiner in Worcester County. He was married June 25, 1872, to Miss Emma T. Day, whose death preceded his own by about six months. He left his only child, Lillian Blanche, to Mr. and Mrs. George G. Parker, by whom she was adopted. The Milford historian, Mr. Ballou, speaks of his social standing as being in accord with the doctor's eminence as a physician and citizen.

Hon. Henry L. Parker.—He was born in Acton. He was the son of Asa Parker and Ann Margaret (McCaristone) Parker. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1856. He was admitted to the bar of Worcester County in 1859, and commenced the practice of law at Hopkinton, Mass., and was trial justice for about three years; removed to Worcester in 1865, where he has been in practice since.

In 1886 and 1887 he was representative to the General Court from Worcester. In 1886 he was a member of Committee on Probate and on Drainage. In 1887 he was chairman of Committee on Probate. In 1889 and 1890 he was Senator from the First Worcester Senatorial District. In 1889 he was member of Judiciary Committee and chairman of Public Service. In 1890 he was appointed chairman of the following Committees: Judiciary, Rules, Election Laws and Special Elections. In Worcester was six years a member of the School Board. For the past two years he has been president of the Worcester County Horticultural Society and senior warden of St. Mark's Episcopal Church, also member of the Board of Associated Charities.

Rev. Ephraim Hapgood, son of John and Clara Hapgood, graduated at Brown University in 1874, pursued theological studies at Newton Theological Seminary; was settled in Seward City, Nebraska.

Rev. Josiah W. Brown graduated at Dartmouth and Andover Theological Seminary.

Edward F. Sherman.—Born at Southeast Acton, graduated at Dartmouth College in 1843, and practiced law in Lowell. The mills at Southeast Acton called the Sherman Mills.

Luther Jones, M.D.—He was the son of Silas Jones, and graduated at Dartmouth College in 1841.

Eben H. Davis.—He was born in Acton, 1840. He was the son of Eben Davis. He graduated at Kimball Union Academy in 1857, and at Dartmouth College in 1861. He took a course at the Harvard Law School, and then entered upon his life-work, that of teaching. He was principal of the Belmont High School, and was then elected, in 1869, superintendent of the schools in Nashua, N. H., where he remained a year and a half, when he resigned and became the superintendent of the schools in Woburn, which position he held for thirteen years, and has been superintendent of the schools in Chelsea six years. He has made a specialty of primary methods in teaching; has written for educational magazines, both in the South and in the Northeast, has lectured in several States at Institutes, and is now editing a series of readers, in behalf of the Lippincott Publishers.

Julian A. Mead, M.D.—He was born in Acton; the son of Oliver W. Mead. He was fitted for college at Exeter, N. H; graduated at Harvard College and Harvard Medical School: studied over two years in the medical schools and colleges of Europe, and is now in active practice in Watertown, Mass.

George Herman Tuttle, son of George Tuttle; pre-

pared for college at Concord High School; graduated at Harvard, 1887; has been one year at the Medical University of Pennsylvania; one year at Harvard Medical School.

Frederick Brooks Noyes, son of T. Frederick Noyes, has graduated from Andover Theological Seminary, and nearly completed his course at Harvard University.

PHYSICIANS.—*Dr. John Swift*, son of the minister, was the first physician.

Dr. Abraham Skinner was from Woodstock, Conn., and commenced practice in Acton in 1781, where he died, April 16, 1810, aged 53. He married Sarah, daughter of Francis Faulkner, Esq., 1788.

Dr. Peter Goodnow was from Bolton; commenced practice in Acton 12th October, 1812; left February 18, 1827, and was afterwards a merchant in Boston.

Dr. Bela Gardner resided here from 1823 to 1828; removed to Vermont.

Dr. Harris Cowdry, born at South Reading; graduated at the Berkshire Medical Institution, 1824; commenced practice in October, 1826.

Paul C. Kittridge, from Littleton, commenced practice in Acton August 30, 1830.

Harris Cowdry, M.D., was born at South Reading (now Wakefield), Mass., September 23, 1803. He studied with Dr. Hunt, of that place, and graduated at the Berkshire Medical School, Pittsfield, Mass.

At eighteen he applied himself to the vocation of a nurse, and in this work he acquired a taste for the medical profession. He entered upon this pursuit with the greatest enthusiasm. He grappled bravely with the obstacles that met him at the outset of his profession, and soon took a front rank.

In choosing a field for practice, several places were in mind. The fruits which abounded in Acton, even at that early date, attracted his notice, and here he determined to locate. Possibly, other attractions may have helped his decision, for, in due time, he found a helpful companion in Miss Abigail Davis, daughter of Eben Davis, a native of Acton. Here he practiced his profession for nearly half a century—nearly the average life of two generations.

The country in Acton and the adjacent towns is but sparsely populated, and his rides were long and fatiguing.

As a physician he was faithful and conscientious to all—both rich and poor. With the latter he was attentive and sympathizing, and in his charges lenient. The case of each patient he made an especial study. He was continually gathering up improved methods of practice from medical works and from the experience of friends, not allowing his mind to run in ruts.

As a general practitioner he excelled. Others in the profession may have been his superiors in some special branches, but for the varied work to which he was called, few have been his equals. As he entered the sick-room he brought a cheerful countenance and a happy style of conversation, inspiring confidence, both in the patient and attendants. He was fond of children, and apt in discovering and treating their ailments.

He was an early member of the Evangelical Church of Acton, and its firm supporter to the end. He was a reformer, zealous in the cause of temperance and anti-slavery.

He was interested in education; a superintendent of the schools sixteen years, and chairman of the School Committee at the time of his death. He was fond of music, and, however pressing his professional cares, seldom was he missed from the village choir, seldom even from the rehearsal.

He was an ardent patriot. As a specimen of the man at the outbreak of the Rebellion, his letter to Captain Daniel Tuttle, dated May 1, 1861, is here given:

"You can't tell what an anxious night we spent after the telegraph had flashed it up to South Acton that the Sixth Regiment had been attacked in Baltimore. We are proud of you, and, more than that, we are glad the friends of freedom the world over know of your noble bearing.

"We know if the South don't back down, and there comes a fight, the Davis Guards will do their duty bravely and well.

"If prayers and tears can help you, be assured you have them all. You never saw such a town-meeting as we had last Saturday. We are ready to do anything for the soldiers."

He was one of those few men who never grow old. He was in his seventy-third year during that last winter campaign. His locks were silvery, but his step was elastic, his eyes flashed with the fire of early manhood, and he dashed through the streets, on his way to the sick, whether the call came by day or night, in sunshine or storm.

He died, as he wished, with the harness on. That Centennial Day at old Concord, April 19, 1875, was too much for him. The severity of that raw, chilly day gave him a fatal attack of influenza, from which he died, after a short but painful sickness, May 6th.

More died from the exposures of that day than from the original 19th, a hundred years before, and Dr. Cowdry was one of these patriotic martyrs.

He had two children: Arthur H. Cowdry, a successful physician in Stoneham, Mass.; Mrs. Helen Little, widow of Charles Little, M.D., whose active professional life began in Acton in 1866, and his marriage to Dr. Cowdry's only daughter soon after, and his death at the age of thirty-three, after a promising but brief professional career.

Charles Little, M.D.—Dr. Little was born in Boscawen, N. H.; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1860, and received his medical degree in the same institution in 1863; died November 16, 1869, thirty-two years old. During the same autumn he entered the navy as assistant surgeon, where he remained until

the close of the war. Unwilling to enter upon a private practice without a more thorough preparation for his work, he passed the winter of 1865–66 at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and at the hospital in New York. He commenced his active professional life at Acton in the spring of 1866, and soon after married the only daughter of Dr. Harris Cowdry, of Acton.

Dr. Little was a good classical scholar, and had an excellent knowledge of the minutiæ of his profession. His practical career, though short, was long enough to give him a place in the confidence of the people, and betoken a useful and successful career. He was modest in his manners, but outspoken for the right. In the home circle he was best appreciated. He was a genial husband, brother and friend. His end was peaceful and like a summer's cloud.

John M. Miles, M.D.—He was born in Temple, N. H. His father was a minister in Temple for several years, where he died. He married a daughter of Josiah Taylor, of Temple. He was educated at a medical college. He practiced in Boxboro' and Littleton and settled in Acton in 1843, and practiced here until his death, March 22, 1865, aged sixty-three years and five months.

Isaiah Hutchins, M.D.—He was born in Westford, Middlesex County, Mass., September 23, 1829; lived on his father's farm in Groton till eighteen years of age. His education was in the public schools and Lawrence Academy at Groton. He entered the office of Dr. Walter Burnham, of Lowell, as a student in the study of medicine, and graduated from the Worcester Medical College in 1852, and the same year began the practice of medicine at West Acton, and for most of the time since has continued in it at the same place.

He was in the Union army during the nine months' campaign, acting assistant surgeon most of the time in the same regiment, Sixth Massachusetts, during 100 days' campaign as second lieutenant Company E. He married a daughter of Alden Fuller, West Acton.

Charles Barton Sanders, M.D., born in Lowell, Mass., February 19, 1844. He received his early education in the common school at Berwick, Me., and at Berwick Academy, South Berwick, Me. Enlisted as private August 11, 1862, in Rollingsford, N. H., and served with the Thirteenth New Hampshire Volunteers (being promoted to corporal) until March 1, 1864, when he was discharged by orders of the War Department to receive commission as first lieutenant in the United States colored troops, and was assigned to the Thirtieth Regiment; was through the Wilderness campaign and was taken prisoner July 30, 1864, at the battle of "Crater," front of Petersburg, and was confined in a rebel prison at Columbia, S. C., seven months. Mustered out of service December 10, 1865, having served as adjutant of regiment from 1st of June, 1865. Received medical education at Harvard and Bowdoin June 1, 1869. His early years of practice were in Lowell. In July, 1875, he located at Acton Centre. September 4, 1878, he married Elizabeth Taylor, daughter of Moses Taylor, Esq.

LAWYERS.—*Samuel Jones, Esq.*, resided here as an attorney in 1805–06, but left the town and died in the South.

Ferdinand Adolphus Wyman, Esq.—He was born in Waltham, Mass., December 28, 1850. He is a practicing lawyer, resident in Hyde Park, which place he represents for the second term in the Massachusetts Legislature. He was educated in the schools of West Acton. He was assignee of T. Shaw & Brothers, the extensive leather manufacturers, and as assignee or trustee has settled other large estates. He was admitted to the Suffolk bar in 1886. He is a member of the House Committee on Railroads.

A. A. Wyman, Esq.—Mr. Wyman's full name is Alphonso Adelbert Wyman; he was born in West Acton January 29, 1862. He was educated in the common schools of Acton and Lawrence Academy, Groton; he entered Phillips Exeter Academy, 1875; graduated at the head of his class of thirty in 1879. He was president of the Golden Brand, a literary society founded in 1817. He was managing editor of the *Exonian*, a school paper, and he was class historian by unanimous choice of his class. In 1879 he entered Harvard College, from which he graduated with honors in 1883. He was one of twenty-five in a class of 200 elected to the Phi Beta Kappa, holding the highest rank in scholarship. In December, 1883, he began the study of law in the office of Henry W. Paine and William Varen Vaughan, 20 Washington Street, Boston, and was admitted to the Suffolk bar in June, 1885, since which time he has been engaged in the practice of his profession in Boston and West Acton. On July 28, 1886, he was married to Laura Aldrich, and his residence has been in West Acton.

Francis C. Nash, Esq., a native of Maine, graduated at Tufts College, 1863; admitted to practice in Maine in 1866, and was in active practice in the Maine courts for several years. He opened an office in Boston (54 Devonshire Street) in 1880, residing at West Acton, at the homestead of Mr. John Hapgood, whose daughter Clara he married. He has been on Board of School Committee as chairman and superintendent of schools in Acton, and held other positions of trust.

Mrs. Clara Hapgood Nash, daughter of John and Clara Hapgood, was admitted to practice before the Supreme Judicial Court of Maine, October, 1872. She was the first lady admitted to the practice of the court, in which she was for several years in copartnership with her husband. She was, before her law practice, a teacher in public schools, was for a time an assistant principal of the Danvers High School.

Charles B. Stone, Esq.—He was admitted to the Suffolk bar February, 1890.

From Shattuck's History of Concord.—A post-office was established in 1828, and Silas Jones, Esq., was postmaster.

Appropriations:

Object	1750.	1760.	1770.	1780.	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.
Minister	£50	£52	£70	£3562	80	353	353	630
Schools	13	12	24	2000	49	333	450	450
Roads	26	70	60	800	120	400	500	600
Incidental	20	12	80	1000	100	500	10,000	1400

In 1826 the aggregate time of keeping schools was 28 months, attended by 412 pupils, (227 males, 185 females); 139 under 7 years, 160 from 7–14 and 113 from 14 upwards.

In 1825 there were 2 carding-machines, 2 fulling-mills and 4 saw-mills; valuation, $862,928.

Barrels were the staple production of the town, 20,000 estimated as the annual production.

The population in 1764 was 611; in 1790, including Carlisle, 853; in 1800, 901; in 1810, 885; in 1820, 1047; in 1830, 1128.

In 1821 there were 140 dwelling-houses, 230 other buildings, 513 acres of tillage land on which were raised 705 bushels of rye, 932 of oats, 5833 of corn, 75 of barley, 140 of beans; 1527 acres of mowing land, producing 956 tons of hay; 2026 acres of pasturing, keeping 939 cows, 196 oxen; 2055 acres of wood, 3633 acres of unimproved, and 1311 unimprovable; 240 used as roads and 500 covered with water.

It then had 3 grist-mills.

Miscellanies.—The dark day, so called, was May 19, 1780. Joseph Chaffin died in 1836, eighty-four years of age. Solomon Smith, the father of Luke, died July 25, 1837, aged eighty-four. One hundred and thirty-two dwelling-houses in South Acton in a range of a mile from the centre of the village; 109 in West Acton; 60 in the centre. Seventy thousand barrels of apples are shipped from West Acton per year. Between eight and nine thousand barrels are raised within a mile of Acton Centre and of the choicest quality and variety.

Quarry Works in North Acton.—This enterprise has opened under the management of David C. Harris and John Sullivan, with encouraging prospects. They already do an extensive business, sending their granite as far west as Nebraska, and as far south as Pennsylvania. The granite has a peculiar merit in its tint, fineness of grain and durability, and gives a growing satisfaction to those who have tried it.

It most resembles what is known as the Concord, N. H., granite, though in some respects it is thought to be superior to that.

The granite has been known for quite a number of years.

A part of the monument at Lexington came from this quarry, and was drawn by oxen.

The Great Blow—It came Sept. 23, 1815. From "Our First Century," by R. M. Devens, in the article relating to the gale, is the following statement:

"In the little town of Acton the damage amounted to forty thousand dollars.

"This gale was severe at the Centre, blowing down several of the horse sheds around the meeting-house. It came from east and went to the west. It was especially severe among the forests on Myers hill opposite the residence of Charles Robbins, in the east part of the town. It is remembered by several now living, and they have never forgotten the scene of falling forests."

The area of Acton is 12,795 acres. Its valuation in 1886, $1,286,089. Its population by the last State Census in 1885 was 1785; dwelling-houses, 413. The number of children between the ages of 5 and 15 in 1889 was 267. In 1885 there were 190 farms, the product of which was $209,533. The product of the dairies, $77,065. Hay, straw and fodder, $50,132. Vegetables, $19,417; 29,756 fruit trees, 1467 neat cattle, 240 horses. Aggregate of goods in 1885, $332,345. Valuation in 1888, $1,310,947. School property, $22,600. Two thousand volumes in the West Acton libraries; 4000 volumes in William A. Wilde's Memorial Library. The general healthfulness of the climate is well established by the records of the past. Fatal epidemics have been rare. Seldom have the years been marked with prevailing sickness.

The average longevity for the last 26 years including those dying in infancy, has been 44 years and 6 months. This may be taken as an approximate average for the entire history of the town. Longevity has always been a feature of the locality.

During these 26 years the average number of deaths in town has been 30; the total, 789. Those reaching 60 years, 289; those reaching 70 years, 211; those reaching 80 years, 98; those reaching 90 years, 14. The highest age reported is that of Mrs. Mehitable Piper, 101 years and 2 months, March 25, 1872. She was the wife of Silas Piper.

From Shattuck's "History" we learn that during the twenty years subsequent to 1800 there were published 208 intentions of marriages, and there occurred 161 marriages, 344 births, 302 deaths, of whom 72 died under one year old, 32 were 80 and upwards, 8 were 90 and upwards and one lived 99½. The average number annually was 15, about one in 70 of the whole population. The mean average age was 35.

Longevity.—The causes explaining this longevity are not obscure. They may be found in the frugal habits of the people; in the tonic air of the hills; in the pure water of the springs; in the excellent drainage of the low lands, by means of running brooks and larger streams; in the variety of the soil, fertile enough to encourage a diligent culture; in the landscapes ever present and ever shifting to accommodate the moods of the resting or laborious hours; in the vicinage of the ocean, near enough to enjoy its cooling baths in the heat of summer, and distant enough to escape the extreme chill of the more vigorous months.



Henry Skinner

DEATHS OF THE OLDEST PERSONS.

Benjamin Brabrook, April 27, 1744; James Brabrook, died at Nova Scotia, Fort Lawrence, May 8, 1756; Samuel Brabrook, died at Romsford Island, July 14, 1756; Francis Baker, 1815; Isaac Davis, Sr., 1740; John Davis, died in Littleton, Oct. 6, 1753; Ebenezer Davis, died March 5, 1755; John Edwards, died Sept. 25, 1760; Nathaniel Edwards, April 6th, about 1800, 80 years old; Dea. Joseph Fletcher, Sept. 1, 1746; Ammi Faulkner, Aug. 4, 1756, 64 years; Jonathan Hosmer, Jr., Oct. 1, 1777; Ephraim Hapgood and Nathaniel, lost in a vessel at sea coming home from Maine, Nov. 1, 1780; Samuel Jones, Nov. 29, 1796; Phineas Osgood, on Daniel Tuttle place, Dec. 27, 1752; Samuel Prescott, July 25, 1758; George Robbins, July 24, 1747; Nathan Robbins, June 7, 1764; Thomas Smith, May 10, 1758; David Stimson, Sept. 25, 1746; Daniel Shepherd, Sept. 15, 1785; William Thomas, Sept. 26, 1796; Joseph Wheeler, June 27, 1756; Ensign Mark White, Oct. 5, 1758; Abraham Wood, Feb. 26, 1759; Jacob Wood, March 7, 1759; Hezekiah Wheeler, May 5, 1759, supposed to be grandfather to Josiah D. Wheeler; Joseph Wooley, June 24, 1787; 1823, James Billings, on Perkins' place, 74 years; 1824, John White, 54; David Forbush, May 19, 1803, 85; Titus Law, Feb. 16, 1801, 84; Dorothy Robbins, widow of Nathan, July 9, 1802, 93; Joseph Piper, Dec. 19, 1802, 85; Sarah, widow of Samuel Jones, Dec. 29, 1802, 86; Simeon Hayward, June 5, 1803, 48; Lieut. John Adams, Oct. 30, 1803, 87; Stephen Law, Nov. 7, 1784, 77; Francis Faulkner, Esq., 77, Aug. 5, 1805; Widow Sarah Cutting, Dec. 25, 1805, 97; Lucy Hunt, wife of Dea. Simon, March 31, 1808, 71, ; Esther Piper, widow of Joseph Piper, April 27, 1810, 85; Catharine Davis, widow of Simon, Jan. 3, 1810, 81; Dr. Abraham Skinner, April 17, 1810, 54; Lieutenant John Heald, Oct., 1810, 90; Thomas Wheeler, Nov. 17, 1810, 65; Ephraim Hosmer, Nov. 17, 1811, 89; Rebecca Faulkner, widow of Francis, Esq., 76, April 3, 1812; Deacon Joseph Brabrook, April 28, 1812, 73; 1813, Phillip Robbins, Feb. 6, 73; 1813 Samuel Wright, March 2, 87; 1813, Captain Joseph Brown, Aug. 9, 61; 1813, Roger Wheeler, Dec. 30, 77; 1814, Lieut. Simon Tuttle, April 21, 80; 1814, Lieut. Henry Durant, May 6, 40; 1814, Capt. Zedekiah Smith, in the Army, May 13, 45; 1814, Silas Brooks, Aug. 11, 68; 1814, John Harris, Nov. 26, 80; 1815, David Davis, Sept. 16, 72; 1816, John Hunt, April 4, 78; 1816, John Shepherd, May 27, 64; 1800, Capt. Joseph Robbins, March 31; 1816, Capt. Daniel Davis, Dec. 7, 67; 1817, Samuel Wheeler, April 5, 82; 1817, Capt. Stevens Hayward, Oct. 6, 56; 1817, John Handley, Dec. 12, 81; 1819, Benjamin Wild, in Boston, Aug. 2, 56; 1819, Thomas Law, March 20, 78; 1819, Abraham Hapgood, April 6, 66; 1820, Ezekiel Davis, Feb., 68; 1820, Dea. Simon Hunt, April 28, 86; 1820, Oliver Jones, Aug. 11, 82; 1820, Daniel Brooks, Aug. 25, 82; 1821, Joseph Barker, April 12, 99; 1821, Nathaniel Faulkner, July 2, 85; 1821, John Robbins, Dec. 31st, 60; 1821, Dea. John Wheeler, 56; 1822, Josiah Bright, 63; 1822, Jonathan Hosmer, July 10, 87; 1822, Smith Foster, 67; James Marsh, 71; 1822, Lieut. Thomas Noyes, Nov. 19, 82; 1824, Joseph Brooks, 74; 1824, David Barnard, 64; 1824, Samuel Hayward, 82; 1824, Jonathan Billings, died in Concord, 85; 1824, John Wheeler, 64; 1825, Stephen Chaffin, 65; 1825, Jonas Brooks, 78; 1825, Joel Willis, 44; 1826, Samuel Temple, 74; 1827, Benjamin Brabrook, 85; 1827, Israel Robbins, 82; 1827, Samuel Parlin, 80; 1827, Quartis the colored man, 61; 1827, William Reed, 85; 1828, Ephraim Forbush, 72; 1828, Nathan Wheeler, 57; 1828, Robert Chaffin, 76; 1829, Nathan Brooks, 56; 1829, John Lamson, 89; 1829, John Hunt, 61; 1829, Theodore Wheeler, 52; 1830, Joel Hosmer, 60; 1830, Reuben Davis, 76; 1831, Seth Brooks, 91; 1831, Calvin Houghton, 78; 1831, Joseph Barker, 87; 1831, John Reed, 73; 1831, James Fletcher, 43; 1832, Elias Chaffin, 77; 1832, Jonathan Davis, 80; 1832, Elijah Davis, 82; 1832, John Hayward, 69; 1833, Thomas F. Lawrence, 52; 1833, Daniel Holden, 60; 1833, Abel Conant, 87; 1834, William Cutting, 80; 1834, Ephraim Billings, 83; 1834, Aaron Hayward, 48; 1834, John Faulkner, 73; 1835, Capt. Seth Brooks, 91; 1835, Moses Fletcher, 50; 1835, Lemuel Dole, 54; 1836, John D. Robbins, 58; 1836, Jonathan Fletcher, 64; 1836, Aaron Jones, 82; 1836, Joseph Chaffin, 84; 1836, John Robbins, Esq., 74; 1836, Daniel Taylor, 65; 1836, Luther Wright; 1837, Moses Woods, 87; 1837, Solomon Smith, 84; 1837, Amos Noyes, 72; 1838, Deacon Phineas Wheeler, 65; 1838, Ebenezer Barker, 73; 1838, Silas Piper; 1838, Benjamin Hayward; 1839, Nathaniel Faulkner, 73; 1839, David Barnard, 45; 1839, Peter Fletcher; 1839, Jonathan Powers; 1840, Capt. John Handley, 54; 1840, Simon Hosmer; 1840, Daniel F. Barker; 1840, John Oliver; 1841, Jonathan Billings, the clock maker, 64; 1841, Reuben Wheeler; 1841, Joseph B. Chamberlain; 1841, Daniel White; 1841, Ephraim Brooks; 1841, Peter Haynes; 1841, Hannah Leighton, 92; 1842, Jonas Wood; 1842, Abel Proctor, 87; 1842, John Wheeler; 1843, Paul Conant; 1844, Luther Robbins, 41; 1844, Samuel Handley; 1844, William Stearns; 1845, Moses Faulkner; 1846, Ammi F. Adams, 79; 1846, Charles Handley, 87; 1846, William Reed, 68; 1847, Danforth Law, 44; 1847, Amos Handley, 75; 1847, John Chaffin, 68; 1848, Samuel Hosmer, 86, Revolutionary soldier; 1828, Amos Law, 51; 1848, John S. Fletcher, 67; 1848, Ebenezer Robbins, 60; 1848, Jonathan Wheeler, 61; 1849, Ephraim Hapgood, 67; 1849, Allen Richardson, 63; 1849, Nathaniel Stearns, 61; 1849, Joseph Barker, 74; 1849, Thomas Thorp, 94; 1850, Joseph Brown, 44: 1851, Nathaniel G. Brown, 70; 1851, Nathan Wright, 60; 1851, Ebenezer Davis, 74; 1852, Tilly Robbins, 79; 1852, Silas Holden, 58; 1853, Daniel Wetherbee, father of Phineas, 66; 1853, Daniel Barker, 79; 1854, Nathan D. Hosmer, 83; 1854, Joseph Harris, father of Daniel, 85; 1854, Henry Woods, 79; 1855, Ebenezer Barker, 53; 1855, Jonathan Barker, 78; 1855, Asa Parker, 63; 1855, Luther B. Jones, 67; 1856, Dr. Charles Tuttle, 87; 1856, Abijah Oliver, 86; 1856, Ebenezer Smith, 81; 1856, John Handley, father of David M., 93; 1856, Solomon Smith, 61; 1858, Reuben Barker, 72; 1859, Paltiah Brooks, 77; 1859, Eli Faulkner, 79; 1859, Silas Piper, 67; 1860, Francis Piper, son of Josiah, 80; 1860, Dea. John White, 75; 1861, Silas Jones, 74; 1861, Edward Wetherbee, 79; 1861, Jedidiah Tuttle, 67; 1861, Abraham Conant, 77; 1862, Cyrus Wheeler, 59; 1862, Joel Oliver, 84; 1863, John Harris, 88; 1863, Joseph Brabrook, 83; 1863, Reuben Wheeler, Josiah D.'s father, 81; 1863, Joel Conant, 75; 1863, Abel Robbins, 71; 1864, Simon Tuttle, 71; 1864, James Keyes, 89; 1864, William Reed, father of Moses' father, 83; 1865, Dr. John M. Miles, 63; 1865, George W. Robbins, son of Philip, 84; 1865, Charles Robbins, 79; 1866, Luther Conant, 80; 1867, Ivory Keyes, 62; 1868, Hon. Stevens Hayward, 81; 1868, Jonathan B. Davis, 78; 1868, Luther Davis, 81; 1869, Dr. Peter Goodnow, died in Boston, 80; 1870, Cyrus Putnam, 72; 1870, Amos Handley, 70; 1872, Mehitable Barker Piper, 101-2-1, March 25; 1872, Abel Jones, 88; 1872, Dea. Silas Hosmer, 80; 1872, Jonathan Hosmer, 86; 1872, Simeon Knights; 1873, James Harris, 68; 1873, Abel Farrar, 76; 1873, Elnathan Jones, 78; 1863, William Reed, 69; 1874, Silas Taylor, 80; 1874, Nathaniel Hapgood, 89; 1874, George Robbins, 90; 1874, Simon Hapgood, 86; 1875, Alden Fuller, 77; 1875, Dr. Harris Cowdry, 72; 1876, Ithamar Parker 78; 1876, Amos Cutter, 88; 1876, Oliver W. Drew, M.D., 78; 1876, Mrs. Eliza, wife of Elnathan Jones, 79; 1876, Samuel T. Adams, 79; 1876, Mrs. Susan Abel Forbush, 76; 1877, Francis Tuttle, Esq., 86; 1877, Rufus Tenney, 82; 1877, Dennis Putnam, 82; 1878, Mrs. Harriet Tuttle, widow of Francis Tuttle, Esq., 82; 1878, Nathan Chaffin, 77; 1878, Thomas Taylor, 72; 1878, Silas F. Bowker, 83; 1878, Miss Submit Wheeler, 75; 1879, Daniel Jones, 66; 1879, Dea. John Fletcher, 89; 1879, Mrs. Sarah B. Stearns, 85; 1879, Jeremiah Hosmer, son of Amos and Susan, 85; 1879, Mrs. Harriet Davis, 82; 1879, Levi Chamberlain, 72; 1879, Ruth Dole, 96; 1879, Mrs. Myra T. Miles, 74; 1880, Ebenezer Wood, 87; 1880, Jonathan Wheeler, 89; 1880, Peter Tenney, 81; 1880, Col. Winthrop E. Faulkner, 74; 1880, Mrs. Ruth Hager, 91; 1880, Mrs. Lucy Noyes, 66; 1880, Mrs. Betsey Chaffin, 87; 1880, William Davis, 89; 1881, Nathan Brooks, 81; 1881, Mrs. Ruth C., wife of Joseph P. Reed, 73; 1881, Abel Forbush, 84; 1881, Mrs. Betsey H. Adams, 86; 1881, Aaron Fletcher, 80; 1881, Joseph P. Reed, 73; 1881, Jonathan A. Piper, 73; 1881, James W. Wheeler, 69; 1882, Joseph Wheeler, 85; Jonas Blodgett, 71; 1883, Tilly Robbins, 81; Daniel Wetherbee, 68; 1884, Simon Hosmer, 84; 1887, Robert Chaffin; 1888, David M. Handley, 86; Cyrus Barker, 85.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

HENRY SKINNER.

We are fortunate in being able to secure this memento of the past, in the portrait of Mrs. Skinner's husband. It is an excellent presentation of the man as he appeared in early manhood. He was a genial, cultured gentleman; fond of reading, though not a graduate of college; moving in the choicest circles of society; quiet in his style, but buoyant and active.

He went to Brookfield, when a youth, to act as clerk in a store. The storekeeper told him never to find fault with the butter which the customers brought

for barter, but simply, upon examining its quality, to tell them how much he would give them.

His father, Dr. Abraham Skinner, died in 1810, when Henry was obliged to return to Acton, and, in company with his brother, Francis Skinner, for awhile had charge of the farm. The homestead and farm were afterwards owned by Charles Tuttle.

Dr. Skinner built the house on this site in 1794, which, in its day, like that of Mrs. Skinner, built about the same time, ranked among the most elegant in town.

The wife of Dr. Abraham Skinner was a Miss Coit, from Marlboro'. He had a large medical practice for years. Dr. Skinner's father was noted as a violinist. He could play on the violin and jump through a window and not break the time or the tune.

Francis Skinner, the brother of Henry, was a noted merchant in Boston, and became quite wealthy in trade, and was generous in his treatment of his brother's widow.

Mrs. Skinner tells this anecdote of her husband, after locating in business in Andover: "A friend of Mr. Skinner, Mr. Kidder, said to him, one day, 'Now, Skinner, you ought to be married; and I wish to make you this proposition: If you will get married within a year you shall have my house, rent free, for a year; *but* if you don't get married within a year, you shall give me one of your best carpets for my new house.' Upon this," Mrs. Skinner said, "he came right over to Acton and got married. He could not afford to lose the rent of that house a year, any way," said Mrs. Skinner, smilingly.

Mr. Skinner was noted, while a trader in Andover, for his earnest temperance principles. He was in full sympathy with Dr. Edwards, of Andover, who was, at that time, stirring the whole community with his appeals for a reform.

Among his papers is this quaint agreement, signed by Mr. Skinner, showing his style of work in this line:

"*This is to Certify*, That Henry Skinner agrees to give Rogers Blood cloth to make a good coat, providing he does not drink any rum, gin or brandy, wine or any kind of intoxicating spirits, for twelve months from this day (Andover, July 20, 1828), and Blood is to forfeit ten dollars if he does not abide by this agreement. Signed in presence of John Berby, who promises to make the cloth into a coat for Mr. Blood if he obtained it in the aforesaid way."

The autograph appended to the portrait of Mr. Skinner, here presented, was cut from this agreement.

Mr. Skinner dying before the fulfilment of this obligation, there is this additional statement:

"ANDOVER, April 10, 1830.

"*Received* of Josiah H. Adams, administrator, six dollars, in full the within obligation by me. ROGERS BLOOD."

Mr. Skinner was active in exertions to repress the liquor traffic in Andover, urging the rumseller to stop, and in some cases securing pledges to that effect. His early death was a great public calamity as well as a private grief.

JOSEPH BRABROOK.

He was the father of George, Alfred, Sarah and Benjamin. His fine engraving, presented to the public in this history of Acton, is that of a man who had some notable features of character worthy of special remembrance. He was an honest man. So all the records prove; so all the reminiscences of the man reported by his most familiar contemporaries affirm. He was honest in large trusts; his honesty went down also into the minutiæ of life equally sure. If he had made the mistake of a cent in trade with the storekeeper anywhere in town, his first steps were directed back to the man with whom the mistake had been made, and his conscience was uneasy till full satisfaction had been given. The witnesses who rise up in judgment on the man all agree. Says one: "If there ever was an honest man in the town of Acton, Joseph Brabrook was that man."

His integrity was impressed upon the memories of his fellow-townsmen as vividly as the clear outlines of the beautiful eminence on which has stood for nearly a century and half the Brabrook homestead. Thanks to his son George, we have a permanent reminder of all the good qualities of his father and family and ancestry associated with that structure in the life-like engraving of the artist. It is a fitting tribute of a loyal son to a worthy father. The noble elm to the left in the landscape is of the same age with Alfred, another son. This cluster of elms around the Brabrook house, like the other notable elms in town, are typical illustrations of the nobility of the men who planted them and lived and died under their shade.

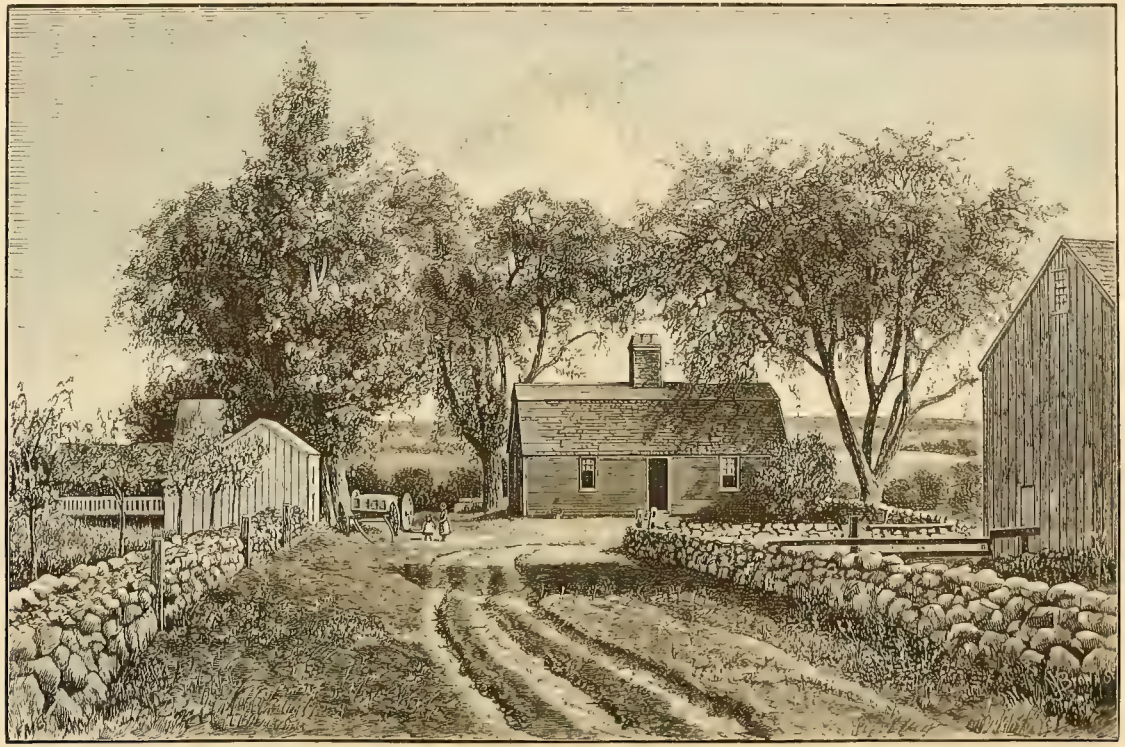
The house itself, though built in 1751, was put together from cellar to ridgepole with Brabrook thoroughness, and it stands to-day unrocked by the roughest winds that sweep over the heights.

Mr. Brabrook was a cooper and made barrels in the winter, and the Brabrook stamp was enough to carry them forthwith into and out of the market. He raised hogs, and there were no cleaner or better hogs in town. He did not let them revel in their trough after dinner, but invented an arrangement for lifting it at once out of their reach till the next meal was ready. He raised peaches, and they were of the best quality and had the real Brabrook flavor. The canker worms at one time made their raid upon his peach orchard. He met them at their first outset, and said, "Those worms are not to eat my peach orchard," and off went the branches. A new and better growth soon repaid for the trimming.

He was a man of moderate size; not large, nor tall, not demonstrative, not loud spoken on the streets or elsewhere, but efficient in bringing about sure results. He lost no time at the loitering places of the village. If he took his oxen to the blacksmith's to be shod and Blodgett said, "Please wait a few minutes, and I will attend to your case shortly, Mr. Brabrook," he at once started them on their homeward beat, saying, "I will come again," and he would do it, a second



Joseph Brabrook



THE BIRTHPLACE AND HOMESTEAD OF JOSEPH BRABROOK,

EAST ACTON, MASSACHUSETTS.



Bradley Stone

and a third time if necessary. He was a peaceable, careful, reverent man. He kept up his habit of asking a blessing at the table in his latest life, even when his voice could scarcely be heard by him who sat nearest at the table. Silas Conant, Sr., heard one of his last utterances. It was this: "O God, we thank thee for this food that is set before us; we thank thee kindly for Christ's sake."

He was devoted to his family. He had an efficient, worthy companion in his wife, whose energy and wisdom aided him essentially in accomplishing the grand issue of his life-work.

His quiet, faithful ministries in her last painful and prolonged sufferings are remembered, and have endeared his name to a large circle of appreciating neighbors. His children rise up at the remembrance of his life on the Hill and call him blessed. He died February 15, 1863, aged eighty-three years and six months. His wife, Sally, died December 17, 1847, aged sixty-five years and six months.

Two Brabrook's brothers were here as early as 1669.

Thomas married Abigail Temple, daughter of Richard Temple, in 1669, and died in 1692. Joseph, from whom those bearing the name descended, married Sarah Graves, in 1672, and had one, Joseph, who married Sarah Temple, and died in 1719. He was father to Benjamin and grandfather to Deacon Joseph.

Second, John, who died a soldier at Lancaster, in 1705. Several daughters.

James, died at Fort Lawrence, in Nova Scotia, in 1756.

Benjamin Brabrook, the father of Deacon Joseph Brabrook, was second lieutenant of Company 5, Third Regiment of Militia, March 7, 1780. John Heald, first lieutenant; Simon Hunt, captain. He died January 14, 1827, aged eighty-five.

Joseph Brabrook was chosen deacon September 29, 1775, and died April 28, 1812, aged seventy-three, holding the office thirty-seven years. Anna Brabrook, widow of Deacon Joseph, died March 2, 1816, aged seventy-five.

Joseph Brabrook, the son of Benjamin and Dorcas, was born March 24, 1738. Benjamin, son of Benjamin, was born July 12, 1741. Benjamin Brabrook, son of Benjamin, was married June 6, 1773.

Joseph Adams Brabrook, son of Joseph, Jr., and Sally, was born November 18, 1806. Benjamin F. Brabrook, son of Joseph, Jr. and Sally, was born September 15, 1809. Sarah Appleton Brabrook, daughter of Joseph and Sally, born November 29, 1826. George, son of Joseph, and Sally, born November 9, 1828. Alfred.

Benjamin was a Baptist minister, and preached with efficiency, but died young.

BRADLEY STONE.

He was born Sept. 4, 1801, in Chesterfield, N. H. His father's name was Joel and his grandfather's Peter. He came to West Acton when a young man, and established himself as a blacksmith and soon exhibited an originality and versatility of talent which inspired great hopes of his future success.

Sept. 29, 1828, he married Clarissa Hosmer, daughter of Nathan and sister of Mrs. John Hapgood, recently deceased. She was born March 11, 1804. She has been a bold, patient, cheerful helper and companion all his days. She lived with him uncomplainingly in the little school-house at the cross-roads till he built the brick house on the corner, where they lived ten years. She was efficient in housekeeping, cooking at one time for thirty men when the railroad was in process of construction. She looked after the sick of the village during the long period of its growth, still caring for the same after her strength failed.

They have journeyed happily together for more than sixty years, and are now stepping down the declivities with sprightliness, hand in hand, ready for the Master's call. They must be the oldest couple in town, the husband in the eighty-ninth and the wife in the eighty-sixth year.

The names of their children are here given: George Henry, born in Concord, June 1, 1829, died June 24, 1856; Mary Ann H., born in Acton, May 2, 1831; Edwin, born Dec. 31, 1834, died April 27, 1886; Nathan Hosmer, born Oct. 4, 1838, died March 1, 1874; Clara E. Stone, born Aug. 27, 1842; Charles Bradley Stone, born July 17, 1848.

From the very construction of his mind he has been an enthusiast in every line of work or improvement which he has undertaken. He has watched with zest signs of progress in the village of his adoption. He built the first store, and when the merchandise came too tardily from the metropolis, he projected the Fitchburg Railroad. His genius and pluck, combined in sharp rivalship with that of Col. Faulkner at the South, insured the success of the enterprise.

His first thought was a new route and road-bed to the city, but this finally yielded to a railroad charter from the Legislature, which was carried by the combined forces of the projectors. Then the question was—which village shall have the depot? This was at first decided in favor of the South, then the decision reversed in favor of the West, then the compromise by which both secured the advantage. The West was, however, for quite a period, the distributing centre for the country beyond in all directions, far and near.

The fire still kindles with its old lustre in the eye of Mr. Stone as he tells the story of this railroad contest, in which he was so conspicuous a figure.

He has been, from the beginning, a warm advocate of the temperance cause, of the schools and of the gov-

ernment. His first vote, Democratic, was cast for General Jackson as President, but during the Fugitive Slave Bill excitement he became a Republican, on which side he has voted most of his public life. He watches with an old man's eagerness the recent developments of growth in his vicinity, and is sure of a future for the village and the town as a whole which will rival all the past.

GEORGE CLEAVELAND WRIGHT.

He was born Jan. 7th, 1823, in Bedford, Mass. His father, Joel Wright, lived in Boxboro'. His mother, Dolly H. Reed, was born in Littleton, Mass., and afterwards taught school in Boxboro'. George lived in Boxboro' from the age of fifteen to nineteen years, when he learned the shoemaker's trade, at which he worked for nine years, the first two years in the employ of Deacon John Fletcher, of Acton, and the rest of the time in business for himself at West Acton.

December 31, 1846, he married Susan H. Davis, daughter of Jonathan B. Davis, granddaughter of Simon Hosmer and grandniece of Captain Isaac Davis, who was killed at Concord fight.

Four of their children lived to grow up, born as follows: Estella M. Wright, December 20, 1849; George S. Wright, July 13, 1857; Effie R. Wright, June 13, 1860; T. Bertha Wright, June 5, 1866.

At the age of thirty-one, after being in the milk business in Charlestown and Boston two years, he engaged in the coffee and spice business as a member of the firm of Hayward & Co., which, after twenty-five years of successful business, united with Dwinell & Co., and soon afterwards with Mason & Co., making the firm of Dwinell, Hayward & Co., the largest coffee and spice-house in New England. Though always an equal partner in every respect, he has never asked to have his name attached to the firm-name.

For the past thirty years he has been the coffee buyer of the firm, and his frequent trips to the New York markets have made him personally known to most of the prominent coffee men of this country.

As a coffee buyer he has few equals and no superiors. With the courage of his convictions, backed by a most thorough knowledge of the statistical position of the article in question, he has shown his right to the foremost position in his department of the business; notably so in the rise of 1886–87, when the Brazilian coffees advanced in one year more than 250 per cent. in value.

From small beginnings the firm of Dwinell, Hayward & Co. has seen a healthy and legitimate growth, and to-day distributes the products of its extensive factory, located at the corner of Batterymarch and Hamilton Streets, Boston, in almost every State and Territory this side the Rocky Mountains.

Mr. Wright is strictly a self-made man. Without rich or influential friends to help, he has won for himself a position in the business world that any man might envy and few attain, and he bids fair, at the age of sixty-seven, to enjoy for many years the competency that he so well deserves.

Early in his successful career, 1861, he secured for himself a worthy home on the brow of the hill overlooking the village of West Acton, and which commands a glorious view of the surrounding country. Here his children grew up and here he still resides.

He has been prominently identified with the Universalist Parish in West Acton, and was one of three to contribute a large sum toward the erection of its present meeting-house.

In all village and town improvements Mr. Wright has always shown a lively interest and a generous help.

Lyceum and temperance, school and library, have found in him a firm friend and a most liberal patron.

In the Legislature of 1874 he represented the towns of Acton, Wayland and Sudbury as a Republican, with credit to himself and with satisfaction to his constituents.

Though a Republican in politics, Mr. Wright has never hesitated to work and vote for *principles*, not party—for men, not *machines*.

MOSES TAYLOR.

He was born in Acton April 16, 1822. He was the son of Silas Taylor and Sophia Hapgood, who were married April 11, 1820. She was the daughter of Ephraim and Molly Hapgood and was born February 13, 1792, and died March 10, 1869. Silas Taylor came from Boxboro' to Acton, and bought of Moses Richardson the estate situated where Moses Taylor now lives. The house then standing was unpainted, with a roof running down in the rear. There was a well-sweep and an oaken bucket in front. The chimney was made of flat stone, laid in clay and twelve feet square. It stood on that site for over a hundred years. The new house was built by Mr. Silas Taylor. The old site was known as the Barker place, Joseph Barker, (2d) originally.

Mr. Silas Taylor, the father of Moses, was a man of rare sense and wit, of great physical power and endurance, a laborious and saving man, and accumulated for those times great possessions. He was a soldier of the war of 1812, and served at Sackett's Harbor on Lake Erie, receiving a pension for the same in his later life. He was kind to the poor, and in his quiet way befriended many in embarrassed circumstances. He was favored in the companionship for forty-nine years of a woman of rare modesty, judgment and grace.

The grandfather of Moses Taylor was Silas Taylor, a resident of Stow, formerly of Watertown. He commanded a company from Stow in the battle of Bennington, Vermont, August 16, 1777, and was present at the capture of Burgoyne. He was for many years a justice of the peace in Stow, and town clerk, and did most of the marrying and other town business.



Geo. C. Wright

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Moses Taylor



Simon Blanchard

The sword which he carried at Bennington, as also the sword carried to South Boston by Captain Silas Jones in 1812 war, have recently been presented to the Memorial Library of Acton, by Moses Taylor.

He was educated in the common schools of Acton, and in addition attended the academy at Ashby two terms. He had the offer of a liberal education by his father, but chose rather the homestead farm, whose acres he still cultivates to the full measure of his strength and beyond measure.

June 18, 1846, he was married, by Rev. James T. Woodbury, to Mary Elizabeth Stearns, daughter of Nathaniel Stearns, of Acton, formerly of Waltham. She was born in Littleton November 5, 1825. Her mother was Sophia Hammond, the daughter of Mary Bigelow, of Weston—of the old Bigelow stock.

Mr. Taylor, though a busy, hard-working man upon the farm, has ever taken a deep personal interest in public affairs, having earnest convictions upon all subjects which engaged his attention. In politics he has been a Whig and Republican. In 1882 he was elected by his district of towns including Acton, Concord, Littleton, Stow and Boxboro', as a Republican, to the Legislature. He has been justice of peace thirty years in succession, beginning in 1840.

He has been an ardent friend of the military, having held commission in the Davis Guards as fourth, third, second, first lieutenant and captain, which he resigned 1857. Otherwise he would have been in position to command at the outbreak of the Rebellion. He was deputy marshal to enroll soldiers during the Rebellion. He took the United States census of Littleton, Stow, Boxboro', and Acton in 1870.

He built or remodeled the following houses at the Centre. Dr. Sanders', the parsonage, Mrs. Rouillard's, Reuben Reed, Lyman Taylor's, the two new structures at the east of the Common, formerly the Fletcher homestead, where the library now stands.

When the project of building the library was pending in the mind of Mr. Wilde, rather than have the project fail, Mr. Taylor came forward with his thousand dollars and cleared the grounds for the structure. He has been parish collector at times, and on the Parish Committee for over forty years, and a member of the choir, with his wife and children, most of the time. He is the oldest member of the Board of Trustees of the Memorial Library, having been selected by Mr. Wilde as a member for life in the charter of incorporation.

Mr. Silas Taylor, the father of Moses, died January 28, 1874, aged eighty years and seven months. Sophia Taylor, sister of Moses, born March 8, 1821; died August 5, 1839, aged eighteen years, four months and twenty-seven days. Martha Taylor, sister of Moses and wife of Hon. John Fletcher, born March 8, 1829, and died August 14, 1882, aged fifty-three years and five months. Silas Taylor, Jr., brother of Moses, born April 2, 1825, and died March 18, 1844, aged eighteen years and sixteen days.

Children of Moses and Elizabeth: Silas Hammond Taylor, born March 25, 1847, married Mary Thompson, of Oxford, Nova Scotia. Children of Hammond and Mary: Mary Elizabeth Taylor, Moses Taylor, Martha Taylor, Marion Celeste.

Moses Emery Taylor married Clara Tuttle, daughter of Edward Tuttle. Children of Emery and Clara: Carrie Elizabeth, Wilmot Emery, Simon Davis.

Lyman Cutler Taylor married Addie Tuttle, daughter of Capt. Daniel Tuttle. Children of Lyman and Addie: Grace Evelyn, Eula Sophia.

Lizzie Sophia Taylor married Charles B. Sanders, M.D. Children of Lizzie and Dr. Sanders: Ralph Barton, Richard Stearns, Helen Elizabeth.

Mary Etta Taylor married Charles Pickens. Children of Mary Etta and Charles Peckens; Carl Pickens, Effie Eloise Pickens. Mrs. Pickens married, after the decease of Mr. Pickens, Edward Wetherbee Conant, son of Winthrop F. Conant.

Simon Davis Taylor, son of Moses and Mary Elizabeth, born November 2, 1855; died. Arthur William Taylor, born November 13, 1863. Charles Carlton, son of Moses and Mary Elizabeth, born October 4, 1868.

SIMON BLANCHARD.

He was born in Boxboro' January 29, 1808. He was the son of Simon, who was the son of Calvin, who was the son of Simon. He married, April 23, 1849, Elizabeth Dix Fletcher, daughter of Jonathan Fletcher. She died July 28, 1874. The children by this marriage are here given: William, born April 3, 1840, died February 15, 1877; Ellen Ann, born September 13, 1851, married January 1, 1873, Calvin M. Holbrook; Elizabeth Fletcher, born October 31, 1856, married Amasa Knowlton; Mr. Blanchard, April 15, 1877, married his second wife, Susan Wheeler, daughter of Abner Wheeler.

Mr. Blanchard lives on one of the choicest landscapes of the northwest corner of the town, towards Littleton, in a comfortable two-story farm house. It is in a neighborhood of well-cultured farms and orchards. He has occupied the same site for fifty-one years. His steady, industrious habits have made their impress upon the homestead and all the surroundings. If he has not held commissions and moved in circles of public notoriety and struck the pavements with his dashing steeds he has maintained his integrity, deserved titles which he might have had for the asking and reached a venerable age, receiving the confidence and regard of the community among whom he has lived in peace these many years.

Mr. Blanchard has been a Whig and Republican in politics, a Baptist in his religious faith and a man of order, sobriety and good sense in all his public and private relations. His countenance beams with intelligence and good fellowship and is itself a benediction which we are happy to have where it can be of service to the public.

CHAPTER XVI.

ASHBY.

DESCRIPTIVE.

BY ITHAMAR B. SAWTELLE.

ASHBY is situated in the extreme northwest corner of the county, bordering upon New Hampshire, and is bounded on the north by Mason and New Ipswich, on the east by Townsend and Lunenburg, on the south by Fitchburg, and on the west by Ashburnham. The central village is forty-seven miles northwesterly from Boston, thirty-one miles nearly north from Worcester and four hundred and twenty-six miles northeasterly from the city of Washington, in latitude 42° 40′ north and longitude 4° 16′ (very nearly) east from Washington. The area of the town is about twelve thousand and three hundred acres, containing only a small portion either of ledges, ponds or plains. The surface is hilly and diversified. The outlines of the landscape are majestic and grand. Many of the elevations are bold and rough, while others are gracefully rounded and some of the elevated swells of land are fertile to the summit. The soil is that common to the hill towns in this vicinity—comparatively stubborn and rocky, yet mostly arable and productive. The subsoil is of the nature of clay, which holds the moisture, and springs of the purest water are abundant.

The town is well watered. All its streams flow easterly either into the Souhegan, the Squannicook or the Nashua Rivers. The stream running through the northwest corner of the town, and draining the northeast part of Ashburnham through Ward Pond and Watatic Pond and thence onward through New Ipswich, is really the south branch of the Souhegan River.

WILLARD'S STREAM, made up at first from the drainage of Nemoset and Russell Hills in Ashburnham, passes out of that town and soon falls into the Ashby reservoir and thence on northeasterly through the entire breadth of the town; it joins the Squannicook in Ash Swamp, in Townsend.

TRAP FALLS BROOK, having its origin in the southern slope of the hills in New Ipswich, takes a southeastern direction through the town, and after receiving the waters of several small brooks and leaving the meadows easterly from the town's Common it hurries on, rattling and foaming over the rocks till it leaps into the whirling and hissing water of Willard's Stream.

LOCKE BROOK comes from the hills in the northeast part of the town, running southeasterly. For a considerable distance before leaving Ashby it flows through deep gorges, entering Townsend at the head of the Ash Swamp, and onward, joining Willard's Stream only a short distance from its confluence with the Squannicook. Near the southern border of the town a nameless brook, flowing through "Wright's Ponds," takes a southeastern course till it comes near to the corner of the town, where it falls into Pearl Hill Brook, which then makes a detour to the left, running nearly north, leaving Ashby and thence onward through Townsend till it joins the Squannicook in Ash Swamp.

WATATIC MOUNTAIN (sometimes in old records spelled Watahook and Wettetook or Wateticks) is situated in the northeast corner of Ashburnham, and in the northwest corner of Ashby, the town line passing over its northeast slope cutting off about one-third of it and leaving its summit in Ashburnham. It has an altitnde of 1847 feet above the level of the sea, and according to a map of Ashby delineated and published in 1831, it is 829 feet higher than the Unitarian Church. It must have been a conspicuous landmark for the Indian in his warlike expeditions, and a resort for the white man for the purposes of observation in traveling from the seaboard to the Connecticut River.

On its summit is a pile of stones which has been collected in obedience to an Indian legend, that every one who visited the summit must add a stone or become unlucky for life. From this standpoint, near at hand, the bold outlines of the hills, with their intervening ponds and villages, keep the observer spellbound; while in the distance the fast-moving railroad trains, the shimmering lakes and rivers, many church spires and prominent buildings are brought to view.

NEMOSIT HILL (called in the town records *Prospect Hill*, and known as *Blood Hill*) is situated in the west part of the town, part of it being in Ashburnham. The view from its summit nearly equals that from the Watatic. A large part of this hill is rough and rocky, but there are nice soils and excellent farm buildings crowning its southeastern slope. The last snow-drifts of spring linger, diminish and then fade away from its eastern crest.

JEWELL HILL, in the southwest part of the town, viewed from the school-house yard, near the reservoir dam, surrounded with nice grazing lands, with its rough and precipitous outlines sharply drawn against the sky, contrasts beautifully with the water seen at its base.

JONES HILL, a little west of the centre of the town, is wild and rocky on its south side, but on the north is easy of ascent. It has a cave or "Indian house," as it is often called, which is an object of some curiosity.

PINE HILL and BATTERY HILL range along the eastern border of the town, overlooking the valley around the Squannicook River.

The arborial productions of Ashby are not particularly different from those of the adjoining towns. In the banks of the cuts made in grading the roads may be seen pine stumps, which, considering their great size, must have supported gigantic trees. Tradition

says that the south part of the town was covered with an exceeding heavy growth of pine when the settlers began to break the wilderness. Various kinds of deciduous trees, including the oak, maple and birch, have usurped the places of these monarchs of the forest. Many acres are covered with a young growth of thrifty trees, among which the sapling pine grows rapidly, promising an abundant supply of building timber for the oncoming generations.

The wild animals that roamed over these hills, and occasionally caught the eye of the settler, were those common in this latitude. In 1789 the town voted to pay a bounty on wolves; but a town of more than six hundred inhabitants would not at that time have many animals of this species. Deer were protected by officers chosen for that purpose. The fox remains with us, causing the poulterer some trouble, but affording the sportsman great excitement in the chase through the first snow-fall of winter. Our brooks attract the angler for the trout, while other disciples of Isaac Walton occasionally take good-sized strings of perch and pickerel from the reservoir. The roads in the early history of the town were merely "bridle-paths," running through the woods and over the hills, winding around and making the traveled distance between two places much greater than what it is now. Traveling on horseback was the custom. Besides, there were so many roads contemplated, that it was impossible for the settlers to make even bridle-paths of many of them.

Roads.—Between 1734 and 1745 the Townsend proprietors deeded a large number of tracts of land situated in Ashby. In every one of these conveyances may be found this reservation: "There is also an allowance for a road whenever the town shall think it necessary."

The old Northfield road, running from the middle of Lunenburg westerly through the south part of Ashby and on through Ashburnham and Winchendon, had Northfield for its terminus. This road was made in 1733, and is the oldest road in town. At present different parts of it are used as a public highway. Northfield was a frontier town for a long time, and had suffered greatly during the Indian wars, many of its citizens being killed. In 1690 the settlement was broken up by the Indians, but again commenced in 1713, at which time the town was incorporated. The sympathies of the people of Concord, Groton, Lancaster and Lunenburg were so excited in behalf of their friends at Northfield, that they made this road that they might more easily assist them in their skirmishes with the Indians.

A road, alluded to in the Townsend records as early as 1742, but of which there is no record of its being laid out, was called the "Ashuelot Road," which entered Ashby at the same place where the old road is now traveled, and followed the same a short distance and then turned to the left and went over Trap Falls Brook, and then turning to the right, winding over and around the hills to the northwest, till it passed out of the corner of Ashby and over the north side of Watatic Hill. Daniel Adams and Ephraim Jones, of Concord, cut a bridle-path and marked the trees for this road from Willard's Stream to Keene, N. H., and petitioned the General Court to pay them for doing the work, which the Court refused to do. These are the earliest roads in the town known to the writer. Ashby has been very fortunate in its choice of town clerks. Every entry in the entire six volumes of records has been made in a neat and scholarly manner. It may, with propriety, be remarked that more pages in these first four volumes are given to the subject of roads than any other single matter, which shows that the voters had learned that the distance around a hill was about the same as over it, and that roads made to accommodate a few must intersect at just the right place with those more traveled highways which converged to their house of worship.

Old Settlers.—It is not known beyond a doubt who were the first settlers in town. Samuel Stone and James Locke, who lived on Battery Hill, were the first settlers in the Townsend part of Ashby.

Samuel Stone built and lived in the house now owned by Francis S. Wheeler. James Locke's house stood in the garden just north of where the old, aristocratic, unpainted Locke mansion is now situated on the westerly side of the road to New Ipswich, nearly a mile northerly from the house of Samuel Stone. The fear and dread of Indian incursions hindered the settlement of pioneers in this vicinity till about 1750. Persons who located at considerable distance from several neighbors built block-houses or "garrison houses," as they were called, for their protection. These houses were made of pine logs of convenient length hewed on two sides and set close together in the ground. The roof consisted of timbers laid across the top of the body of the structure, upon which dried bark, either of birch or hemlock, was laid in courses, overlapping each other to protect from the rain, with port-holes on each side. There were three houses of this kind on the land now in Ashby, between 1739 and 1750. One was situated near the Locke place, above described; another was built northwesterly from the central village and another on the rise of ground in the corner made by the road northwesterly, and nearly opposite to the brick house now owned and occupied by Paul Gates.

John Fitch owned and occupied the last-named garrison, which he made in 1739, when he and his wife and two children moved there from Bradford, and from which, on the 5th day of July, 1748, he and his family were taken by the Indians, and carried to Canada. Between the years 1740 and 1748 the Indians kept the inhabitants in the frontier towns in a state of constant alarm. England was waging war with France, and her colonies suffered dreadfully from the incursions of the savages, who were instigated by

the French in Canada. The French government paid a large bounty for English scalps, and a larger one for English prisoners. Indian scouts were frequently seen in and around Lunenburg, and fears were daily aroused from a conciousness of insecurity. The savages had lurked around this locality, taking their observations from the summit of Rollstone Hill, for some time before making their attack on Mr. Fitch's garrison. The inhabitants in Lunenburg and vicinity, apprehensive of an attack, assisted Mr. Fitch in fortifying his house, and early in the year 1748 four soldiers were stationed within the garrison. Mr. Fitch had traded considerably with the Indians, and his frontier position was well known to them. They were resolved upon his capture, knowing that he was a man of much force of character and that his friends would contribute liberally for his release from captivity. Accordingly a party of them, not far from seventy in number, on the morning of the day above mentioned, stealthily approached his abode during the absence of two of his soldiers, and suddenly fell upon him and his two remaining companions, who were a short distance from the garrison. One of the soldiers named Zaccheus Blodgett was instantly killed. Mr. Fitch and the other soldier named Jennings, escaped within the house, where they exchanged shots with the foe for an hour and a half, when Jennings received a fatal wound in the neck from a shot through a port-hole. The wife of Mr. Fitch loaded the guns while her husband continued his efforts to drive away the assailants. At length the Indians distinctly told him that if he persisted in continuing the fight he and his family should perish in the burning of his cabin, but if he would surrender they promised to spare the lives of all in the house. He then surrendered, and his house and pens for his animals, with the fences, were immediately burned by the Indians, and Mr. Fitch with his wife and five children were started on their dismal journey towards Montreal. The wife of Mr. Fitch carried an infant in her arms about five months old, the ages of the other children varying from four to thirteen years. The news of this capture did not reach Lunenburg until about daylight the next morning, when the alarm (three muskets heavily loaded, discharged with a certain interval between each report) was immediately fired. Soldiers arrived in an incredibly short period from Groton, Lancaster and even from Westford. They quickly put themselves under command of Major Hartwell and started in pursuit. The Indians proceeded along the south side of Watatic Mountain, and made their first stop at the meeting-house in Ashburnham. The inhabitants of that place had given up and abandoned their settlement only a short time previous. Somewhere in the township of Ashburnham the soldiers in pursuit discovered a paper fastened to a tree containing a few lines written by Mr. Fitch imploring his friends not to attempt his rescue, as the Indians had promised to spare all their lives if unmolested, but threatened instant death to himself and family if his friends attempted to deprive them of their capture. The pursuing party then returned. After enduring the severest hardships in their long journey through the wilderness in captivity, the family were ransomed by their friends in Bradford. They returned by way of New York, Providence and Boston. The wife of Mr. Fitch, after enduring bravely her captivity, was taken sick while returning and died in Providence, December 24, 1748, almost six months after the date of capture.

Some of the incidents connected with their journey to Canada are worthy of record. When the prisoners left the smoking ruins of the garrison one of the Indians, among other things plundered, took a heavy draft chain and carried it on his shoulders to Canada, and then sold it for a quart of rum. Catherine, aged thirteen, and John, eleven years, walked along with their parents. The two boys, under six years of age, were each strapped to the back of an Indian and carried along. The younger one, then four years old, suffered much; his legs became dwarfed and much deformed on account of the tightness of the deer-skin thong which bound him to the back of the savage. Susanna, the infant prisoner, endured the trials of captivity with less unhappiness than any one of the family. She married Joshua Chase, of Shirley, in June, 1770, and surviving her husband, she died in Shirley July 10, 1827. After the return of Mr. Fitch with some of his children to Lunenburg (now Ashby), he again made himself a home at or near the same place where the garrison was burned. In 1772 he moved to Rindge, N. H., where he owned several lots of land, and after living there several years he moved back to Ashby. He lost his property in his old age, his mind being somewhat impaired, and he became an object of charity. In 1793 the town record has the following: "*Voted*, that the selectmen provide for Mr. Fitch in the best manner they can at their discretion." From that time until his death the town supported him.

He was born in Billerica in 1708, died at Ashby April 5, 1795. In January, 1749, soon after his return home, he sent the following petition to His Majesty's Governor and Council and House of Representatives:

"To the Honorable Spencer Phips, Governor-in-chief of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, for the time being; to the Honorable, His Majesty's Council and House of Representatives in General Court assembled:

"John Fitch humbly shows that in the year A.D. 1739 he purchased about one hundred and twenty acres of land, about seven miles and a half above Lunenburg meeting-house, and about three miles and a half above any of the inhabitants, on the road leading from Lunenburg to Northfield, and there by industry built him a house, and improved so much land as to raise provision for his growing family and some to spare, whereby he entertained travellers, and being a carpenter, was furnished with some tools necessary for that business, and being distant from neighbors, was obliged to keep the chief of his tools and live within himself, and had husbandry utensils and household stuff, and that upon the war breaking out, although he had no near neighbors to join with him in a garrison, yet divers of the inhabitants of Lunenburg,

knowing the great security that a garrison at his place might be, urged him to build one; and many of the inhabitants assisted and helped him in it, after which the several officers appointed over the soldiers and scouts ordered a quota to that garrison, and it was a place of resort and refreshment to town scouts and for large scouts from Northfield, Townsend, Ashuelot and other places. And your petitioner received and entertained them, and in the year A.D. 1748 the scouts from Lunenburg and Townsend were ordered to meet there once every week, and he had four soldiers allowed to keep said garrison, and on the 5th day of July in the same year, by reason of bodily infirmity, there were but two soldiers with him, although others with the scouts were to come that day. On that day before noon, and before the scouts came, the Indian enemy appeared and shot down one soldier upon being discovered, and immediately drove him and the other soldier into the garrison, and, after besieging the same about one hour and a half, they killed the other soldier through the port-hole in the flanker; and then your petitioner was left alone with his wife and five children, soon after which he surrendered and became a prisoner with his said family, and the enemy took and carried away such things as they pleased, and burnt the house and garrison with the rest, and then we entered into a melancholy captivity, with one small child on the mother's breast, and two more became sucking children in the way for want of provisions, which, with other hardships, brought my dear wife into a bad state of health and languishment, and in our return, being by New York, Rhode Island and Providence, there in December last she departed this life, and when I, with my five children, arrived at this province, we were objects of charity for food and raiment, which some charitable people bestowed upon us. Yet your petitioner's family are dispersed by reason of poverty, and must so remain unless some charitable help may some way or other be bestowed, for your petitioner is utterly unable to put himself again into suitable circumstances, and to bring home his dispersed and melancholy family, having his substance burnt as aforesaid and fences also; and your petitioner begs leave to inform you that he is utterly unable to build, furnish and fence and maintain his dispersed family, two children being a continual charge since our captivity, one being under the doctor's care ever since. Your petitioner also lost his only gun, worth thirty pounds, and an ox at the same time, and his stock of cattle are chiefly gone, having no hay last year, and is under very pitiable circumstances, and begs relief in some way or other, as this Honorable Court shall think best, as in duty bound shall ever pray."

This petition bears the following endorsement:

"In the House of Representatives, April 9, 1750. Received and ordered that there be allowed out of the Public Treasury to the petitioner eight pounds, in consideration of his sufferings within mentioned, and to enable him to resettle himself and family on his plantation. Sent up for concurrence. THOMAS HUBBARD, Speaker *pro tem.*

"In council April 9, 1750. Read and concurred.

SAMUEL HOLBROOK, Dept. Sect."

"Consented to, S. PHIPS."

The following petitions show that the Indians were in considerable force, and that some of them did not leave with the captives after the burning of Fitch's little garrison:

"To His Excellency, William Shirley, Esq., Governor, with the Honorable Council of the Province of Massachusetts Bay assembled: The petition of the inhabitants of Lunenburg and Leominster humbly showeth that, *Whereas* the Indian enemy have very lately been among us in considerable numbers and with unusual boldness, and have destroyed one of our garrisons, killing and captivating the inhabitants, and as we have no more than ten soldiers allowed by the government for our protection (who are all in Lunenburg), and though in Leominster we have a small scout of your inhabitants, the circumstances are so weak and exposed that the commanding officers can hardly think it prudent to send them into the woods; so that we are forced to look upon ourselves in a very hazardous, as well as distressed, case to such a degree that we cannot many of us labor on our farms or abide in our houses with tolerable safety, but ourselves and families must be in danger of suffering much, either by penury or the direct insults of a cruel and barbarous nation, or both of them. It is, therefore, may it please your Excellency and Honors, our humble and earnest prayer that you would grant us for our protection such a number of soldiers as in your great wisdom and fatherly compassion you shall deem requisite for the preservation of our estates, our liberties and our lives. Such kindness and tender care in your Excellency and Honors we shall ever with sincere gratitude remember, and your petitioners shall ever pray."

This petition was signed by fifty-eight of the citizens of Lunenburg and Leominster, and is dated July 8, 1748, three days after the surrender of Mr. Fitch.

Remonstrance of the Commissioned Officers and Selectmen of Lunenburg.

"The humble remonstrance of the commissioned officers and the Select Men of Lunenburg sheweth that on the fifth day of this instant, July, the enemy beset and destroyed one of the outmost garrisons of the town aforesaid, killed two soldiers and captured a family, consisting of a man, his wife and five children, and that on the seventh day of the month they discovered themselves in a bold, insulting manner three miles further into the town than the garrison which they had destroyed, when they chased and shot at one of the inhabitants who narrowly escaped their hands, since which we have had undoubted signs of their being among us. Several of the garrisons built by order of the general court are already deserted for want of help, and several more garrisons of equal importance, that were built at the cost and expense of particular men, are deserted likewise. For three days in four the last week the inhabitants were necessarily rallied by alarms and hurried into the woods after the enemy, and this, we have just reason to conclude, will be the case, frequently to be called from our business, for almost daily the enemy are heard shooting in the woods above us, and to be thus frequently called from business in such a season must impoverish us, if the enemy should not destroy us; and what we greatly regret is, our enemies, having a numerous herd of our cattle to support themselves with and feast upon, among which they have repeatedly been heard shooting, from which we conclude that there may be great slaughter among our cattle.

"EDWARD HARTWELL,
JONATHAN WILLARD,
JOSIAH DODGE,
JACOB GOULD,
BENJ. BELLOWS. } Commissioned officers.

JONATHAN BRADSTREET,
BENJ. GOODRICH,
JOHN GRANT,
BENJ. FOSTER. } Selectmen of Lunenburg.

"July 12th, 1748."

After the Indian wars were ended, and the war between Great Britain and France was closed by treaty, the settlers in the frontier towns of the Province gave their attention particularly to religious matters, among which was the nearest and best way to attend public worship. The language in the charters of most all the towns in regard to territory, without fixing the boundaries, expressly gives the grantees an area "not exceeding six miles square;" but in some way when the surveyors and *sworn* chairmen, *attended by interested parties*, finished their work and submitted the plan, their lines inclosed, in many instances more than one-third more acres than were granted. This was the case with Lunenburg, chartered in 1728, and with Townsend, chartered in 1732. The distance from Lunenburg meeting-house to its western boundary was about eight and one-half miles. The distance from the meeting-house in Townsend to Ashburnham line was about eight miles. From A.D. 1750 to 1765 the number of inhabitants living in the territory which is now comprised within the limits of Ashby increased considerably. The people of Townsend had located more in their western border. The excellent land in the northwestern part of Lunenburg was settled with neighbors at convenient distance. The northeast part of Ashburnham, containing an industrious colony of Germans, was only a

short distance from the present Common in Ashby. All these people were anxious to have a town of their own and an easy distance to a meeting-house. Until 1764 the territory included within the present towns of Townsend, Lunenburg, Ashburnham, Fitchburg and Ashby was embraced by the three towns first named. In 1764 Fitchburg was set off from Lunenburg, and at that time included the southern part of Ashby. In 1765 Ashburnham was incorporated without changing any town lines.

On the 5th day of March, 1767, the town of Ashby was incorporated from the west part of Townsend, the north part of Fitchburg and about twelve hundred acres taken from the northeast part of Ashburnham. It will thus appear that John Fitch and his neighbors, living, in 1763, in the southern part of Ashby, were citizens of Lunenburg; in 1764 they were in Fitchburg; and 1767 they were in Ashby. In the brief space of three years, without changing their domicile, they were voters in three different towns and attended town-meetings in each of them.

The petition for the incorporation of Ashby was before the General Court for more than two years before it was acted upon. Neither Townsend nor Fitchburg objected to giving up the portions of their territory asked for by the petitioners, but Ashburnham became much excited, because so many of its citizens owning so much territory in that township were anxious to join in making up Ashby. There were several town-meetings called on this subject and the record of one of them contains the names of the remonstrance of sixteen of the voters against granting the petition. After the matter was fully explained to the General Court, only about one-fourth part of the proposed area was severed from Ashburnham. James Locke, Jr., of Townsend, John Fitch, of Fitchburg, and Jacob Schoff, of Ashburnham, constituted the committee which appeared before the General Court in behalf of the petitioners. They were in attendance at the Court sometimes collectively, sometimes singly, at different times, and within a few months after the creation of the town an amount of money was voted to pay their expenses.

There has been only one alteration in the boundary lines of Ashby since its creation. There was, however, a slight alteration in the line between Fitchburg and Ashby, made by the General Court, March 3, 1829. Some of the citizens in the northeast part of Ashburnham, in 1791, who did not succeed in being annexed to Ashby in 1767, remembering their disappointment for twenty-five years, and not being in full sympathy with a majority of the town in matters of religion, were determined to make another effort to get away from that town. When a new meeting-house was proposed at that time the desire to leave was much greater. They gave Ashby to understand that they wanted to be annexed to that town. Ashby, with much promptness, "Voted to receive Isaac Whitney, James Pollard, James Bennett, Joseph Damon, Jeremiah Abbott, John Hall, Daniel Brown, John Abbott, Amos Brooks, John Shattuck and others, with their lands, together with the non-resident land within the bounds of a plan that they shall exhibit to the town if they can be legally annexed to this town." This movement caused a sharp controversy among the citizens of Ashburnham, more bitter, if possible, both in and out of several town-meetings, than that of 1767. The dispute was carried to the Legislature, where two of the most influential men of the town, with Jacob Willard, who was the Representative, made an earnest effort against the measure, but the petitioners accomplished their object and the act was passed November 16, 1792. The act in part is as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that John Abbott, James Bennett, James Pollard, John Shattuck, Joseph Damon, Isaac Whitney, Jeremiah Abbott, John Hall, Amos Brooks and Daniel Brown, with their families and estates, and also the lands contained within the following lines (excepting the lands now owned by Henry Hall) to wit: beginning at the northeast corner of Ashburnham at the line between the states of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and running westerly by and with said states lines 504 poles to the land of James Spaulding; thence running southerly in a straight line by land of said Spaulding 145 poles to land of Capt. John Moor. Thence running southerly in a straight line 870 poles to Ashby line at a stake and stones; thence running by Ashby line 753 poles to the corner of Ashburnham first mentioned be, and hereby are, etc."

By this excision from Ashburnham Ashby acquired about six hundred acres of land and fifty inhabitants. The language of the grant is quoted here to account for some angles in the town-line not mentioned in the report of the selectmen of both towns, dated October 16, 1793, when the line was established. This line was not made according to the grant, but according to the needle of Matthias Moseman, who was the surveyor.

As before stated, Fitchburg was willing that John Fitch and others living in that part of Fitchburg which is now in Ashby should be set off into a town or parish. In September, 1764, Fitchburg "voted that two miles on the westerly line of this town, beginning at the northwest corner, and half a mile on the easterly line, beginning at the northeast corner on Townsend line, then running a straight line from one distance to the other, be set off to Mr. John Fitch and others in order to make a town or parish among themselves." Mr. Fitch was popular in Fitchburg, having been first on the committee which was active in getting the charter of the town. Three years after this Ashby entered the sisterhood of towns. The act of incorporation empowered James Prescott, Esq., of Groton, to call the meeting for the municipal organization of the town, and he drew his warrant, dated March 23d, directed to John Bates, requiring him, "in his Majesty's name," to notify and warn the inhabitants of Ashby qualified to vote in town affairs to assemble at the house of Peter Lawrence "att nine o'clock in the forenoon." The house where this meeting was held was burned. It stood on the foundation where a cottage-house now stands on the south-

erly side of the main street running through the central village, and about one-third of a mile westerly of the Fitch Monument. Peter Lawrence was the son of Jonathan Lawrence and Tryphena Powers, born in Townsend October 14, 1742, died in Ashby October 21, 1798. His house was probably built just before his marriage, of which there is no record, but his first child was born May 25, 1766.

The second meeting of the town, and the first under its own organization, was held at the house of Jonas Barrett. From the proceedings at this time it appears that the house of Peter Lawrence was fixed upon as the place where their civil and religious meetings were to be held. Twenty pounds were appropriated "to hire preaching" and a committee chosen to expend the same. Measures were also taken to secure a suitable place to bury the dead. The first valuation was made in 1768, which gives the names of forty-three of the fathers of the town, with the account of their estates. Like other people in a newly-settled town, they were poor in this world's goods but rich in all the elements of manhood and patriotism which came down from the pilgrims of 1620.

Before the town had passed one year of its municipal existence, Lieutenant Amos Whitney, of Townsend, was chosen a delagate to a convention called by the inhabitants of Boston, to discuss the critical condition of the Colonies in relation to Great Britain, and the selectmen were instructed to communicate to him the sentiments of the town, which were as follows: "As there is a prospect of some of His Majesty's troops arriving in this Province, we judge it may be of importance, if they should arrive, that proper measures be taken that their order may be discovered before they are suffered to land, and the province receive notice of the same; and if, upon discovery of the same, they appear to be manifest infringements of the natural rights of the people, or upon our Charter Rights, of this Province in particular, that all proper and prudent measures may be taken to defend and secure the Province."

For the next few years the efforts of the citizens of Ashby were mainly directed to securing a place of public worship. In March, 1769, the town voted to build a meeting-house and decided on its dimensions, but it was more than two years after that before the frame was covered and the floor laid so that a town-meeting could be held within its walls.

In the month of March, 1772, the arrangement for finishing the pews on the lower floor of the house and building a pulpit was completed and the work done. In 1774 the house, except finishing the pew ground in the gallery, was considered by those who were to occupy it as finished; and although it was not an elegant structure, only a mere shell where two or three hundred people could be seated, it undoubtedly held within its walls as sincere worshipers as were the contemporaries of David who exclaimed, "How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts." The town records are silent in regard to the dedication of this building; neither is the date given when it was opened for religious services. June 4, 1772, by vote of the town, was observed as a day of fasting and prayer. Five ministers from the neighboring towns were invited to be present, and it may be that it was dedicated at that time. The first money appropriated for schools was in 1773, when four "squadrons" (districts) were formed, each of which was to draw its portion of what it paid from the eight pounds assessed for that purpose. The same year the town appropriated thirty pounds to support preaching.

As the town records come down nearer to the opening of the Revolutionary War we find the opinions of the citizens of Ashby, entered on these records more bold and outspoken. When the citizens of Boston resolved that the tea of the East India Company should be sent back to the place from whence it came, their action was quickly responded to by the citizens of Ashby, and the message went back "That it is the opinion of this town that the proceedings of the town of Boston at their meeting in November last respecting the East India Company's tea imported to, and intended for sale in America, is agreeable to reason and the natural rights of this free people, and the same appears to have been necessary at that time." July 11, 1773, the town ordered the selectmen to offer to all persons in town for their signature the "Solemn League or Covenant, to suspend all commercial intercourse with the mother country, and neither purchase nor consume any merchandise imported from Great Britain, after the last day of August," and the selectmen were instructed to act as a Committee of Inspection to see that the covenant was fully observed. October 4, 1774, Captain Samuel Stone was chosen to represent the town in the Provincial Congress, which met at Concord and adjourned to Cambridge. In the warrant for this meeting His Majesty's name was omitted and the call was made "By Virtue of our Charter Rights," thus ignoring the royal prerogatives and taking the first step towards independence.

On the 13th of October the Provincial Congress advised the several constables and collectors throughout the province, having money in their possession, payable to the order of Harrison Gray, to retain the same; on the 28th Henry Gardner, of Stow, was named as treasurer and receiver by the Congress. December 29th the town instructed the constables to pay the amount in their hands to Henry Gardner, and that his receipt should discharge them from any obligation to the town. June 16, 1774, the town "voted to instruct the selectmen to procure thirty hogsheads of salt for the use of the town." Their stock of ammunition and arms was also replenished, and when the crisis came they were able to lend to their neighbors. February 24, 1775, in accordance with the recommendation of the Continental Congress, the Solemn League and Covenant was dissolved

and the resolution passed September 30th in respect to the importation and exportation of any goods from or to any of the ports of Great Britain was adopted, and a Committee of Inspection chosen.

The 19th of April, the day on which the troops of Great Britain and her Colonies first came in hostile collision, had dawned. The British troops reached Concord at seven o'clock A.M., and the "Alarm" which aroused the Ashby minute-men was fired at about nine o'clock. There are good reasons for the belief that the "Alarm" was fired in front of Lieutenant Jonas Barrett's house. He was an inn-holder and the second in command of the "minute-men" who must have had some rendezvous for their arms and equipments, which were kept in readiness for instant action. Within a short time this company of forty-six men, under the command of Captain Samuel Stone, shouldered their muskets and hurried on towards the scene of action. Before the Ashby men had reached Concord, the enemy hurried back and had arrived at their quarters by the tide-water.

"A muster Roll of the minute company under the command of Captain Samuel Stone in Colonel William Prescott's regiment enlisted April 19, 1775: Samuel Stone, Captain; Jonas Barrett, First Lieutenant; James Bennett, Second Lieutenant; Abijah Wyman, Sargeant; Benjamin Spaulding, Sargeant; Isaac Brooks, Sargeant; Amos Wheeler, Sargeant; Ephraim Gibson, Corporal; Peter Lawrence, Corporal; William Flagg, Corporal; John Meede, Corporal; Samuel Stone, Jr., Fifer; Timothy Stone, Drummer.

"*Soldiers.*—Joseph Davis, Caleb Nurss, Salmon Dutton, Oliver Wright, James Spaulding, Joseph Goodrich, Nathan Davis, Thomas Dutton, Benjamin Newton, Jonathan Barrett, Benjamin Barrett, Samuel Winch, George Newell, John Lawrence, Walden Stone, Stephen Patch, Benjamin Hodgman, Nathan Barron, Joshua Barron, Jacob Wheeler, Elisha Davis, Thadeus Smith, Isaac Stearns, Joseph Wheeler, William Walker, Jonathan Daby, Solomon Coleman, Jonathan Gibson, Jonathan Stone, James Jones, Jonathan Lawrence, Jr., John Stone, John Wheeler."

The time of service of these men was short, varying from five to thirty days. Lieutenant Barrett served forty-four days. They were paid the usual wages and for one hundred miles travel. April 20th the militia, under command of Captain John Jones, enlisted and hurried on to join the Provincial forces in the field.

"Muster Roll of Ashby men in Colonel James Prescott's Regiment of militia who marched on the 20th of April, 1775: John Jones, Captain; Stephen Gibson, First Lieut.; Jonathan Locke, Second Lieut.; Samuel March, Sergeant; Joseph Walker, Sergeant; Benjamin Walker, Sergeant; Abraham Gates, Sergeant.

"*Soldiers.*—Joseph Wheeler, Samson Hildreth, Benjamin Hodgman, Jacob Upton, David Locke, Timothy Emerson, Asa Walker, Samuel Fletcher, Asa Shedd, Rufus Wilder, Jacob Lewis, Isaac Gregory, Samuel Howard, Ira Bennett, John Dunsmore, John Gibson, Joseph Barker, Silas Brown, John Foster, Jonathan Foster, Jacob Damon, John Read, Joseph Damon, Aaron Coleman."

This company remained in and around Cambridge and Charlestown till April 29th, when its members were paid for seven days' service and for one hundred miles' travel. These two rolls are copied from Volumes XIII. and XIV. in the State archives, which are indexed, "Military Rolls, Lexington Alarm."

The Provincial Congress, considering the necessity of a stronger military force, on the 23d of April resolved to raise 13,000 troops from Massachusetts, and in order to promote enlistments as fast as possible, those who raised companies or regiments were promised commissions. Under this arrangement Abijah Wyman, who was first sergeant in the company of "minute-men," raised a company, twenty-four members of which were Ashby men, eight were from Captain Stone's company and four from Captain Jones'. Second Lieutenant Thomas Cumings and ten men were from Westford and others were gathered from different places. First Lieutenant Isaac Brown was one of the selectmen at that time. He was wounded at the battle of Bunker Hill. John Gibson, of Fitchburg, and Cæsar Bason (colored), of Westford, were killed. Amos Wheeler, of Ashby, was wounded and died on the 21st of June. Benjamin Bigelow, of Ashby, and Oliver Stevens, of Townsend, were taken prisoners and died in the hands of the enemy. Ezekiel Bigelow was severely wounded. John Meede fell on that day.

Forty-three of the citizens of Ashby participated in the siege of Boston and the organization of the little army of Washington. Seven of her townsmen joined in the terrible campaign in Canada and passed through privations and sufferings almost unparalleled in modern warfare. They probably marched with Arnold through the wilderness of Maine, for Lieutenant Brown states in his return, made October 3d, that John Campbell was detached from the company September 7th, and given a command in Quebec.

At a town-meeting held on the 1st day of July, 1776, "*Voted*, That if the Honorable Congress, for the safety of the Colonies, should declare them independent of the Kingdom of Great Britain, the inhabitants of Ashby will solemnly engage with their lives and fortunes to support them in that measure."

On the 24th of July, 1776, fourteen men enlisted for five months, and served at or near Ticonderoga, and Ezekiel Bigelow and William Walker were killed in this campaign. At about the same time three men enlisted for three months and served at or around Boston.

In September, 1776, eight men joined "Company No. 7," consisting of sixty men from Townsend, Pepperell, Ashby and Groton, in a regiment organized by Brigadier-General Oliver Prescott, of Groton, with Captain Thomas Warren, of Townsend, who were on duty at New York. In December seven more enlisted for three months and served at the same place. In some one of the engagements occurring there Simon Patch was wounded, and died on his way home. August 2, 1777, five men were drafted to serve three months at the westward, and on the 14th of the same month, by an additional draft, five more were required to report for duty for three months at or near Bennington. On the 30th of September, 1777, in compliance with an order from General Prescott, seventeen men were detached from the militia company, to serve for thirty days after they arrived at the camp of General Gates,

and marched the next morning. This company, consisting partly of volunteers, contained sixty-six men, rank and file—James Hosley, of Townsend, captain; Asa Kendall, of Ashby, first lieutenant. In the roll may be found the names of "Privates William Prescott, Esq., formerly Colonel; Henry Woods, Esq., formerly Major; Samuel Stone, Major in the militia." When veterans like these join the ranks, no wonder that the over-confident Burgoyne was compelled to surrender.

The year 1778 opened with a call for eight men to perform guard duty at Cambridge, who were promptly furnished. May 18th three men enlisted for nine months in the Continental Army. October 29th five men were detached from the militia and ordered to the frontier, distant 180 miles. In addition to these oft-repeated calls the town was required to fill her quota of three years' men for the Continental Army. From this record of enlistments it must be evident that Ashby made every possible effort to redeem the solemn pledge made July 1, 1776.

The first town war-rate made in 1778 to cover its liabilities was £1245 14*s.* 7*d.*, but this sum not being sufficient to meet its obligations, the people were obliged to tax themselves the second time, in the same year, to the amount of £934. The town was required, by the General Court, to furnish many articles of clothing, shoes and blankets for soldiers during the war, which it found difficult to procure, but which were vigorously exacted by those in authority. Here is a receipt for some things sent:

"Concord, October ye 10th, 1778.

"Then received from Mr. Asa Walker, one of the selectmen of Ashby, fourteen pairs of shoes, fourteen pairs of stockings, twenty-eight shirts, agreeable to the resolve of the General Court of the 7th of June last.

"Joseph Hosmer, agent for Middlesex."

It appears from the town record of August 7, 1776, that one man was suspected of being a Tory, but as nothing is recorded further concerning this matter, the presumption is that he uncovered before the assembled dignity of the town and made satisfactory apologies. *Article in the warrant:* "To see if the town will take under consideration the case of Oliver Blood concerning toryism, together with the proceedings of the committee of safety." Twelve of the citizens of Ashby were in sympathy with the ill-advised and irrational revolt known as the Shay's Rebellion. Most of them were good soldiers in the long War of the Revolution, and all of them were much-respected townsmen. The town records show that they all, at different times (from 1787 to 1791), appeared before some magistrate or the town clerk and "took the oath of allegiance and delivered up their arms." From the fact that some of them took the oath before Oliver Prescott, Esq., of Groton, it may be presumed that they were in Job Shattuck's company. Names of these men: William Stacey, George Darricott, Earl Stone, Benjamin Barrett, Jr., Elijah Houghton, Jr., Isaac Gregory, Stephen Patch, Charles Lawrence, Jonas Barrett, John Lawrence, Benjamin Adams and Eleazer Shattuck. It may be well to allude to some of the causes which induced some of the men of Massachusetts to enter upon an open and armed revolt against their government. After the declaration of peace, in 1783, a general stagnation of business ensued. The united Colonies owed a debt of about $40,000,000, without any means of paying it. Congress, under the confederation, had power only to advise the Colonies to adopt certain measures to meet the wants of the times. No uniform system could be agreed upon to pay this debt or even the interest accruing upon it. The whole body of the people became alarmed and all confidence was destroyed. Even the certificates of the public indebtedness lost their credit with the people, and many of the officers and soldiers of the late army, who were poor, were obliged to sell these certificates at greatly reduced rates. These soldiers naturally hoped and expected that if they could gain their independence and a government of their own be established, that public and private prosperity would certainly follow and everything move on pleasantly. In this they were greatly disappointed. The war had stopped the introduction of gold and silver money into the Colonies, and paper money was worth only about two shillings on the pound. There was no business, no way for the people to earn any money, and money-lenders were in a panic and commenced suits against all who were indebted to them. This state of affairs afforded a rich harvest for the sheriffs and lawyers. Never were the services of the lawyers in greater demand or the courts filled with so much business. The patience of the people was entirely exhausted on seeing their property seized on executions issuing from these courts. They knew not the origin of the evils, but supposed that there was some defect in the laws—that there were too many or not enough. A lawyer on one side and a sheriff on the other, with poverty in front staring a man in the face, will cause him sometimes to resort to desperate measures to extricate himself. Under these circumstances a large number in Worcester County and from the towns of Groton, Pepperell, Shirley and Townsend participated in what was known as the "Shay's Insurrection." From this it will be understood why such men as Jonas Barrett, Deacon John Lawrence and others were obliged to take "the oath of allegiance and deliver up their arms."

After the inauguration of Washington, in 1789, Ashby gave strict attention to the improvement of the condition of the schools. The militia was as well organized then as before the war, and there was much interest taken in its general good appearance at the fall musters. In 1797 the town chose a committee and instructed them "to procure two horses and a wagon, to be under Captain Kendall's direction, to go to Concord; also to provide, at their own discretion (to be paid for by the town), bread, meat and

cider; also one pint of rum per man, for all the militia, both foot and troop, who were obliged to muster at Concord on the 26th of September, instant."

CHAPTER XVII.

ASHBY—(Continued).

MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES.

THE numerous seats of power along the courses of the brooks, with their precipitous banks, invited the people to leave the cultivation of the soil, and temporarily to engage in mechanical pursuits. There are twenty-three mill-sites in Ashby, where the water at some time previous has been or is now utilized to drive machinery. Some of the primitive mills were simple in the extreme, having only an "up-and-down" saw, which, with slow progress, cut out boards, joists and timber for building purposes. These, however, were absolutely necessary for the progress of the settlement. Not many of these have contributed much towards the wealth of the town, being in use only a part of each year, and through neglect they were at an early date allowed to fall to the ground. There has been no effort made to particularize all the mills and mill-seats in town. The first grist-mill was built about 1750, by James Locke, and it stood a short distance below the bridge, over the Locke Brook, in the road from Greenville, N. H., to Fitchburg. This mill was burned (date unknown), and one of the run of the stones was broken in the fire and remains on the spot at the present time. One of the substantial contributions, coming from Ashburnham, at the incorporation of Ashby, was a mill, standing on the brook which comes from Ward Pond, situated on the southwest side of the road leading from the west cemetery to New Ipswich. This mill was built by Moses Foster, Jr., and Zimri Hayward in 1756, and it was used in various industries for more than a century. During its existence it was enlarged, repaired and utilized for grinding, sawing, threshing and driving lathes for the manufacture of tubs and pails. Some of the owners, since the Germans were proprietors, were Richard Richardson, Calvin and Newton Wood, Lewis Whitney (made chairs), Cushing Burr, Joel Balcom, Alvah Stacey, F. W. Wright and Abram M. White. Joel Balcom was killed in this mill by a circular saw April 25, 1845. A part of the old stone dam and a neglected building, once a paint-shop, are all that remind us of the days of yore.

The next mill above, on this young Souhegan, which has had many proprietors, is occupied by S. M. Buxton, who uses modern machinery for sawing all kinds of building lumber. Mr. Buxton also makes a large amount of cider, his customers not having the fear of the prohibitionists before their eyes coming from all directions. A short distance above this is another mill owned by Mr. Adriel Jefts, which at present is not used. The next mill up stream, situated near the town-line, is owned by Mr. Levi E. Flint. This is a large and commodious building, and is used in the manufacture of boards and shingles, and stock for making tubs and pails. All the appliances here, for this business, are first-class so far as room, power and machinery are concerned. A set of tub and pail lathes have recently been put into this mill. On a brook, which is an affluent of the Souhegan, draining the easterly slope of the Watatic, and its surroundings, is a mill that was built at an early date at the side of the New Ipswich road. Here is a strong stone dam holding in its grip a nice little privilege, and the mill, owned by Mr. Asa Holt, is in fair condition considering its age. Besides being used as a saw-mill it has been a chair factory, and Colonel George Waters used it for a starch factory as long as that business was remunerative. At present there is no business done here. There was a saw-mill on Trap Falls brook, called "the Ralph Hill mill," near where Perley Gates died, before the town was incorporated.

About 1804 Samuel Whitney and Asa Wright built a saw-mill on Willard's Stream, situated just below the bridge next below the Sheldon bridge. This mill was carried away in 1856 by the breaking of the reservoir dam. Before 1791 Captain Abijah Wyman built a saw-mill on Willard's Stream, a short distance above the Sheldon bridge, which has been gone for a long time, but a part of the stone foundation and mud-sill still remain to mark the location. On the next mill-site above this, a mill was burned, in which Benjamin D. Lawrence, William Lawrence and Martin Allen, in 1831, made the first tubs and pails which were made in Massachusetts, which were turned in a lathe. James O. Kendall in 1846 built the mill now standing here, which is used in sawing, turning and planing, owned Mr. Harry Wilder.

The next mill above this is the tub and pail factory of Alonzo A. Carr. This mill also was built by James O. Kendall in 1847. It was used for a saw-mill till 1853, when Abram M. White bought it and put in tub and pail lathes, and from that time to the present it has been used in this manufacture. This factory has always been a source of wealth to its owners. Mr. Carr employs from twelve to fifteen men and his annual sales amount to about twenty-five thousand dollars. About 1780 Benjamin Lawrence built a grist-mill which stood about one hundred feet below where the present grist-mill at the South Village now stands, which was in existence till about the beginning of the present century, when Ephraim Hayward bought it, tore it down, and built the mill now in operation. This property has passed through the hands of several owners. Joseph Kendall, father of James O. Kendall, who owned it soon after it was

built, probably had the largest amount of custom in grinding the cereals which were raised in Ashby, at a time when a part of the grain was taken in payment for grinding. The present proprietor, William O. Loveland, is doing considerable business in grinding Western corn and in the sale of grain and meal. With the new road just finished and the improvements lately made in the saw-mill, this establishment must be a source of profit to the owner. In the southeast corner of the town, on the Pearl Hill Brook, and near the Fitchburg line, Daniel Ware has a sawmill which is run a part of each year in the manufacture of that kind of coopering stock which is worked by hand. Two mills, on this brook, one above Ware's mill and the other below, called "the Lord mill," have gone down. The Lord mill was made for wool-carding, cloth-dressing and coloring, by a man by the name of Holt, from Fitchburg, in 1827 or 1828. It was not used much for lack of proper management. In 1810, Joseph Kendall built the antique-looking mill which is situated a short distance above the Carr tub and pail factory. He put in machinery for carding wool, fulling, coloring and dressing the woolen cloth which the farmers' wives and daughters spun and wove by hand. This mill was rented for this business to Paul Gerrish for a term of years, who, after the expiration of his lease, located in the same business at Townsend Harbor. It was of great benefit to Ashby and the adjoining towns all along till the spinning jenny and "the power loom" took the places of the "patent-head" and the hand loom of "the mothers." Austin Hayward is the present owner, who does something in this line of wool-carding for the few who can spin or knit.

Jabez Lawrence, in 1824, built a mill for the manufacturing of starch, which was situated on the road from Lunenburg to Ashburnham, on Willard's Stream less than a mile below the reservoir. The manufacture of potato starch at that time was a very profitable business. Potatoes were easily raised in this vicinity then; the farmers had large families and stalwart boys capable of doing good work.

Samuel Abbot, an educated man, of Wilton, N. H., originated the idea of making starch out of this product of the soil. In 1811, Ezra Abbot, brother of Samuel, erected a building about twenty feet square, the lower story for a horse to turn a shaft connected in the second story with machinery for washing and grating the potatoes, and also having an apparatus for cleansing and drying the starch. The building and its contents did not cost six hundred dollars. Months passed before the machinery was all in, during which time there was much wonderment in the neighborhood concerning what was to be done here, as Abbot kept his own counsel, and never gave anything but evasive answers to the questions of the curious. The first year of his experience in this industry showed a manufacture of 6000 pounds of starch, at the rate of eight pounds of starch to each bushel of potatoes. For a market he made repeated visits to the cities on the tidewater, selling some and leaving some to be sold on commission. He sold at eight cents a pound, and traders often put the price as high as twenty cents a pound. It was used in families for making puddings, and otherwise, and was recommended by druggists as a delicate food for invalids. Soon after the practicability and profitableness of this business was learned, these two brothers entered largely into this manufacture. Farmers found a ready market for their "long reds," and there was some rivalry among them as to who could raise the largest crop for the Abbots. The price of potatoes, at that time, varied from fourteen to twenty-three cents a bushel, according as the season was favorable or unfavorable for the production of the crop. About this time a starch-mill was established in Mason, and another in New Ipswich, and another in Jaffrey, owned by the Abbots. The success of the Abbots, presumably, was the incentive which caused Jabez Lawrence to build his factory for this work in Ashby. The building was large and convenient, and the power sufficient to do the amount of work required, but the business did not prove to be as profitable as was expected, and it was not used in this manufacture for many years. It was afterward converted into a sash and blind factory, and run in this business til 1840, when it was burned.

In 1853 five mill-owners—John Burr, Joseph Foster, Hiram Aldrich, James O. Kendall and Abram M. White—built the reservoir dam and adjusted the damage done to the owners of the land which the dam caused to be covered with water. On the 11th of April, 1856, this dam broke away, and the valley below was flooded, and considerable damage was done. There was a heavy rainfall for nearly thirty hours before the accident occurred; and when the clouds lifted, a brisk wind from the southwest set in, sweeping across the pond and driving the waves against the dam. Soon a small, but continuous, stream flowed over the top of the dam on the southeast end of it. The current at that point plowed deeper and deeper every moment, until the dam yielded to the force of the escaping water. A mounted courier was dispatched down the valley to notify interested parties of the approaching danger. The flood dashed rapidly down the bed of the stream in its work of destruction. The old dam which Jabez Lawrence made to obtain power for his starch factory was swept away; arriving at the grist-mill at the South Village, the current spread out on both sides of the building and washed the earth and stones away clean down to the ledge, leaving the mill standing, but carrying away considerable lumber and other property.

The first bridge below where Carr's tub and pail factory now stands was washed away. On reaching the Sheldon bridge, that yielded to the mighty force of the water. The mill which stood just below the next bridge down stream, built by Lemuel Whitney

and Asa Wright, was suddenly lifted to the top of the waves and scattered in the fury of the flood. From this point the wrathful current went dashing down stream on a steeper grade between two precipitous banks, lifting great boulders from their beds and howling and seething with increased velocity till it reached the more level land in Townsend, where two or three cellars were filled with water, and from whence quite an amount of wood and lumber was carried down into Ash Swamp. The town was obliged to pay large bills for the repair of roads and bridges caused by this washout. The bill for rebuilding the Sheldon bridge was over $450. The owners of the reservoir, not disheartened at their loss, soon after employed James O. Kendall, one of their number, to reconstruct the dam, which he did in a workmanlike, substantial manner, completing the job in the month of the following July.

Three citizens of Ashby—Abraham Edwards, Alexander T. Willard and Philander J. Willard, two brothers—were considerably noted as clock-makers. The clocks made by them were put in cases a trifle more than six feet in height, were metallic and would run for eight days without winding, their dials being nearly one foot in diameter. From 1780 to 1840 this kind of a clock was very much in use. This is the timepiece that dudes and people of mawkish sentimentality are so anxious to possess. These gentlemen accumulated considerable wealth in this trade, as many of their clocks were made to order and the price was fixed accordingly. Mr. Edwards' place of business was in a building which stood on the ground on or near where Francis W. Wright, Esq., now lives. The Willards owned and occupied the premises where Lysander Willard now resides. About 1815, Cushing Burr put in tan-vats and erected buildings convenient for tanning and currying leather, which were situated a little west of where the Post-Office now stands. This gentleman and those who succeeded him in this branch of industry were successful in that trade till about 1840, when the combined capital in places like Woburn and other large towns, made it impossible for those doing a smaller business to place their goods in the market at the prices then paid. Levi Burr and Jackson Burr were in this business when it was discontinued. Cushing Burr, Jr., was interested here part of the time.

Perhaps Jonas Prescott Whitney excelled all other Ashby men in mechanical ingenuity. While working at the carpenter's trade in Boston, he bought a small reed organ to gratify his musical taste, upon which he learned to play. On looking it over he concluded that he could make an instrument superior to the one he had. Soon after he moved to Ashby and commenced organ-building in the house now occupied by Miss Clara Mansfield. He made every part of his organs: the keys, the reeds, the bellows and stops; he made cases and sawed the veneering, getting his power from a wind-mill on top of his house. He painted and finished his instruments and tuned them so nicely that they became celebrated. Some church organs made by him sold as high as $1500. Presumably he did not get rich in this enterprise, but his son, Andrew Whitney, who went to Fitchburg, owns about as large a part of that city as any one man. He has followed the advice of the Avon poet:

> "Say less than thou knowest,
> Have more than thou showest."

A half a century ago the mothers and daughters of Ashby were engaged in braiding palm-leaf hats. The traders furnished the leaf to the workers, who made it into hats and returned them to the stores and took their pay in goods. For some time hats of this kind nicely made, were worn here, but most of them found a market south of Mason and Dixon's line. In 1837, 59,989 hats of this kind were made in Ashby, valued at $7751.50, and this was about the annual average.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ASHBY—(Continued).

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

THREE years before the incorporation of the town the people levied a ministerial tax upon themselves and hired itinerant preachers, holding their meetings at private houses, generally at the residence of Peter Lawrence. This custom was continued until their meeting-house was in a condition to accommodate them. The interests of the town and those professing religion were one and inseparable. From these facts it will be easily seen that in this dual arrangement the town held a controlling influence in all its religious interests. In 1771, "voted not to hire Mr. Lancaster any more." This gentleman is the first minister named in the records. The town was not successful in securing the services of a pastor who pleased the people, or, if one was found whom they liked, he could not be induced to settle with them. Before a church was organized three reverend gentlemen had each received a formal "call" to become their pastor. One of them was Rev. Joseph Goodhue, of Dunstable, who gave as a reason for not accepting that he "distrusted his ability in making the town united in approval of his services." Different ministers supplied; the names of some of whom are not on record. Rev. Abraham Fowler was dismissed 1777. That is all that is said of him. About this time Rev. Jabez Fisher supplied the pulpit for a short time (there was a pulpit in town then), but he did not prove a lucky "fisher of men." In 1788 a call was given to Rev. Samuel Whitman (born in Weymouth, March 1, 1751; Har. Col., 1775), which was accepted, and he was ordained as the town's minister. From

the commencement there appears to have been a lack of unanimity between the church and the town. In 1781, at their annual town-meeting, this article was in the warrant: "To see if the town will pay Mr. Whitman his salery for two years." The town voted to pay him, but four of the citizens "ordered their dissent to be placed on record." It was with considerable difficulty that the money was collected to pay his salary the next year.

In 1783 he was obliged to sue the town before his salary was paid. Soon after this he was dismissed. In 1784 Rev. Joseph Langdon (Dart. Col., 1783) supplied the pulpit for a short time, and in 1786 Rev. David Hascol and Rev. —— Bailey were the preachers. In 1792 the name of the preacher was Gideon Dorranel. For the next four years they had a variety of ministers as usual. On the 14th day of June, 1797, Rev. Cornelius Waters was installed. He was born in Sutton, May 6, 1749; graduated from Dartmouth College 1774; married Sibyl Gardner, of Brooklyn, N. Y.; died at Ashby, July 30, 1824. He was dismissed February 14, 1816, having a pastorate of nineteen years. He was a man of average ability. The town voted to print his sermon delivered on February 22, 1800, on the death of Washington. During the latter part of his pastorate sectarianism and doctrinal differences began to disturb the people. Soon after, the town extended a call to a person whom the church would not accept, which caused a tedious controversy. In 1818 an *ex parte* council was convened which advised the church to withdraw and worship separately from the town; but it was more than a year before a large majority of the church finally left the town's meeting-house and held services by themselves. A part of the people of the town went with the church. At that time the church had one hundred and ten members, all but nine of whom left—one male and eight females. After the separation in 1819, the church and minority of the town worshiped for more than a year in the house of Fred Estabrook. From 1819 till 1885 the church was connected with an ecclesiastical society known as the "Calvinistic Congregational Society." On the 17th of April, 1885, by an act of the Legislature, it took the name of the "Orthodox Congregational Society in Ashby." In 1820 this society built a meeting-house located on land which at present is covered by a thrifty apple orchard at the east side of Charles C. Green's house.

For fifteen years this building was quite well filled on the Sabbath, near the end of which time it was considered too small for vestry and Sabbath-school accommodations, and was sold to a number of gentlemen, who moved it to a lot facing the east end of the Common, and fitted it for an academy—now Watatic Hall. This building is now owned by the town. The first story is used as a town-house, the second for the High School and the basement contains the selectmen's room, with the archives of the town. The meeting-house now used by the Orthodox was built in 1835, and dedicated January 1, 1836.

Under the new arrangement, after the withdrawal from the town, the first pastor was Rev. John M. Putnam, who was ordained and installed December 13, 1820; dismissed December 13, 1825. This gentleman was here just five years, and he had the pleasure of receiving forty-six members into the church during the second year of his pastorate.

The next man was Rev. Albert Barlow Camp, born in Northfield, Vt., February 16, 1797 (Yale College, 1822, Andover 1826); ordained and installed January 24, 1827; dismissed March 28, 1832.

The next pastor was Rev. Orsamus Tinker, born in Worthington November 5, 1801 (Williams College 1827, Andover 1830), installed January 1, 1834; died October 13, 1838.

Rev. Charles Wilkes Wood, born in Middleborough June 30, 1814 (Brown University 1834, Andover 1838); installed October 30, 1839; dismissed January 7, 1858.

Mr. Wood is a well-balanced man of amiable and exemplary character, besides being a preacher who secured the attention of his audience by the clearness and force of his arguments. During his pastorate of more than eighteen years he was much respected. He was popular as a school superintendent. He was the orator at the Ashby Centennial, September 4, 1867. At present he resides at Middleborough.

The successor of Mr. Wood, upon whom his mantle fell, was Rev. James M. Bell, born in New York City February 25, 1833 (Union College 1854, Andover 1827); ordained and installed July 21, 1858; dismissed June 21, 1864. He was genial and prepossessing in his manners, an excellent scholar, always knowing what he wanted to say, and always saying just enough. He now has a pastorate at Lisbon, N. H.

Rev. Horace Parker, who was graduated from Amherst College in 1860 and studied theology with Rev. J. C. Webster, of Hopkinton, was installed May 18, 1865; dismissed April 1, 1870. A correspondent says of him: "Mr. Parker did good work here; not a great scholar, but quite original—rather blunt in his way." During his ministry forty-five were added to the church.

Then came Rev. James Monroe Bacon, who was installed November 2, 1870, and his labors were closed by death March 5, 1873.

Rev. George F. Walker (Amherst College 1844) was installed June 11, 1873; dismissed November 18, 1875.

Rev. Azro A. Smith, a graduate from Andover, supplied the pulpit from January 4, 1877, till July 14, 1878.

Rev. Frank E. Mills, born in Charlestown April 8, 1847 (Andover 1878), was ordained and installed November 13, 1878; dismissed May 24, 1882.

Rev. Melvin J. Allen, born in Cincinnatus, N. Y., May 7, 1852 (Amherst 1879, Andover 1882), ordained and installed November 8, 1882; dismissed 1889.

From what has been gathered from the records the inference is that religion in Ashby, among all its inhabitants, is a great improvement on that of one hundred, or even fifty years ago. Now a man of one faith can look at another of different views without calling forth a shudder or a scowl from either party. Harmony and "good-will" between the Arminian and the Calvinist have become substitutes for discord and bitterness. Some of the people of Ashby have been slightly irritated, however, from the fact that the Orthodox pastors in their church manuals, and at all times, when alluding to the history of their church, have invariably represented that their church was *the church* which was gathered in 1776.

It is difficult for any one who is perfectly disinterested to understand it in any other way than that there was a great difference of opinion between a large part of the town and a small part of the church on one part, and a large majority of the church and a small part of the town on the other part; that the last-named part, angered at not having a controlling influence, *seceded* and established a church of their own, and called it the "Calvinistic Congregational Church." The decision of the Court at Concord, in 1822, whereby those who withdrew from the town's meeting-house in 1819 were compelled to return certain property to the town and church, shows conclusively that the church organization was perpetuated by the nine members and the congregation which worshiped with them.

In 1809 the first meeting-house, which was built in 1770, was torn down, and a new one was erected by the town on the same location. This is the house now in use by the First Parish. Joseph Kendall and Darius Wellington, of Ashby, did all the carpenter's work on this building. In 1841 the First Parish remodeled this house by making a floor across, on a level with the gallery floors, supported by strong insulated pillars, thereby making a commodious auditorium on the second flat, with a large hall below, which is used for secular, social and literary purposes. The funds for the purchase of the bell were raised by subscription, headed by Lewis Gould, a number of gentlemen following his example and giving twenty-five dollars. In 1846 he was a donor to the town of $300, given expressly for the purpose of buying the town clock, to be placed on this church, and in 1847 he contributed $100 towards defraying the expense of the Fitch monument, now on the Common.

"The Congregational Church in Ashby," with the majority of the town sympathizing in its behalf, anxious to secure the services of a spiritual adviser, extended a call to Rev. Ezekiel Lysander Bascom to become their pastor. He was born in Gill, August 20, 1777 (Dartmouth College, 1798); on the 24th of September, 1800, he was married, and ordained the same day at Phillipston, where he was pastor of the First Congregational Church for twenty years. He was installed in Ashby June 2, 1821. He was a man of scholarly attainments, a good extemporaneous speaker, and was highly appreciated by his parishioners. He retained his relation with his people till his death, although he was unable to perform the active duties of his office. He died at Fitzwilliam, N. H., April 20, 1841, and was buried in Ashby. His colleague during the last six years of his life was Rev. Reuben Bates, who was so much appreciated that he was chosen as his successor. Mr. Bates was born in Concord, March 2, 1808; Harvard College, 1829; Harvard Divinity School, 1832; dismissed August 14, 1845; died December 1, 1862.

On the 14th of January, 1846, Rev. William Pitkin Huntington (Harvard College, 1824), was installed and was dismissed on the 20th of the following November. Mr. Huntington was succeeded by Rev. Theophilus Pipon Doggett, born in Taunton, January 20, 1810 (Brown University, 1832; Harvard Divinity School, 1835); installed February 24, 1847; dismissed April 23, 1853; died May 7, 1876. He had pastorates in Bridgewater, Ashby, Barnstable and Pembroke, where he performed pastoral duties for more than thirty years. He had a ministerial ancestry. His biographer says of him: "He was a faithful and devoted worker in his various fields of ministerial service."

Rev. John Stillman Brown, born in New Ipswich, April 26, 1806 (Union College, 1834), supplied the pulpit from April 1, 1855, till April 27, 1857, and was followed by Rev. Nathaniel Gage, born in Andover July 16, 1800 (Harvard College, 1822; Harvard Divinity School, 1827); installed June 5, 1858. He did ministerial work in Nashua, N. H., Haverhill, Petersham and Westford before he came to Ashby. He was a man of attractive personality, never spoke harshly of other denominations, and was much respected. As a preacher he was considerably above mediocrity. He died in office, much lamented, May 7, 1861.

November 1, 1861, Rev. Charles Bugbee, who graduated from Meadville Theological Seminary, Meadville, Pa., 1853, was called to supply the place thus made vacant, but on the 7th of July, 1865, he, too, passed over "the peaceful river," leaving sorrowful friends behind.

Rev. William Tait Phelan, a graduate from Meadville Theological Seminary, 1862, supplied the pulpit for two years, from March, 1866.

On the 18th of July, 1868, Rev. George Stetson Shaw received a unanimous call to settle with the parish, which he accepted. Mr. Shaw was born in Bristol, R. I., April 8, 1838 (Meadville Theological Seminary, 1862); married Miss Mary E. Gates, of Ashby, June 1, 1869. Mr. Shaw is courteous and unassuming in his intercourse with his fellow-men,

and his pastorate, which has extended nearly through a quarter of a century, has been an era of concord and good-feeling.

CHAPTER XIX.

ASHBY—(Continued).

THE GREAT CIVIL WAR.

On the breaking out of the slave-holders' Rebellion, at a legal town-meeting held May 1, 1861, the following action was taken by the town :

"*Resolved*, That we pledge ourselves and our posterity to sustain the Constitution, the freedom and the rights bequeathed to us by our fathers, and that we will defend them to the last.

"*Resolved*, That the town raise two thousand dollars, and that fifteen hundred dollars be loaned to the State, and made payable to the order of the Governor of Massachusetts."

At a town-meeting held July 22, 1862, it was

"*Resolved*, That in view of the sacrifices which men must now make in being called from their business at this season, and in view of the perils and hardships they are called to undergo, it is just and proper that additional pecuniary inducements should be offered to those who shall enlist to constitute the quota from this town."

In consequence of this vote the treasurer was ordered to pay one hundred dollars to each volunteer for the service of the town when he should be mustered into the service of the United States, and by a subsequent vote in 1864, the bounty was increased to one hundred and twenty-five dollars. At a town-meeting on the 3d of April, 1865, "voted, that the selectmen be authorized to procure recruits in number sufficient to make the surplus credited to the town fifteen." During this war Ashby furnished one hundred and nine soldiers, eighteen of whom lost their lives either from being killed in action, from cruelty and starvation in captivity, or the usual casualties of war. John Mayo, Eliab Churchill and David Wares fell dead at Lookout Mountain; Albert Davis, at Fredericksburg; Daniel Daily and Amos Eastman, at Antietam; Henry Rice died from cruelty and neglect in Andersonville prison; Daniel D. Wiley, at Baltimore; Albert Shattuck, at sea; Lyman W. Holt, John Gilson and Benjamin H. Bigelow, at New Orleans; Daniel Coffe and James Sullivan, in Louisiana; John R. Wilder, at Baton Rouge; Morton Gilson and John Savin at home, from disease contracted in the army; George A. Hitchcock passed five months at Andersonville, and one or two others thirty days; Lieutenant Henry S. Hitchcock was badly wounded at Petersburg; Sanders, at Fredericksburg; Wares, in the battle of the Wilderness; Morgan and Ferguson, at Dallas, Ga; and Davis, in some one of the many engagements during the war.

It will thus seem that Ashby did its honorable part by contributing both men and money. The votes of the town were earnest and patriotic in maintaing the Union, while the mothers, wives, daughters and sisters at home bravely and faithfully did their part to assist those in the field by sending them food, clothing, medicines and home comforts of every description, and by keeping up the home farms and households. When the news of the surrender of Lee (on April 15, 1865) reached Ashby, there was great rejoicing. Every one was anxious to tell somebody that the war was ended. The church bells rang out their merry peals, which reverberated among the hills. They were used to

"Ring out the old,
Ring in the new,
Ring out the false,
Ring in the true."

And the only cause of sadness was the tender recollection of "the loved and lost," who, during "this cruel war," were put into "that dreamless sleep that knows no waking."

CHAPTER XX.

ASHBY—(Continued).

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Turnpike.—At the commencement of the present century the turnpike mania raged about the same as the railroad excitement did forty years afterward. After the debt caused by the Revolutionary War was paid, and the country had felt the influence of peace in accumulating wealth, a moderate amount of capital began to be collected in the hands of a few men in most every town, and trading and trafficking was on the increase. Better facilities for travel and freight between the larger towns and centres of trade had become necessary when turnpikes began to be built and controlled by private corporations. Towns situated on the lines of these thoroughfares were greatly benefited. Taverns, stores and blacksmith-shops became more numerous, all of which were, to a great extent, dependent on these roads for patronage. In 1801 the town of Ashby "voted to measure the route from Stone's tavern in Townsend to Milliken's tavern in Jaffrey." At that date the turnpike from Keene, through Peterborough, New Ipswich, Townsend and on through Groton, had just been completed. In 1803 the town "chose a committee to look after a turnpike." It will thus be seen that the town was in earnest in its efforts to have as many improvements as were enjoyed by its neighbors over the line in New Hampshire. The desired turnpike from Keene, through Rindge, Ashby and Groton, was incorporated in 1807 and finished in 1811. It intersected with the road leading from the west part of Townsend to New Ipswich at a short distance from

Ashby line, and is now the traveled road between Townsend and Ashburnham, leaving Ashby a short distance from Watatic. It had two toll-gates in Ashby, one at each border of the town. This road, like all others of this class, did not receive the patronage required to return any dividends to the stockholders, and, after an existence of about fifteen years, was given up and assumed by the towns through which it passed. Stockholders of comparative wealth were financially ruined, and the hard-earned dollars of those in moderate circumstances were sunk in the general crash. The prominent and wealthy men in Ashby suffered considerably, among whom were Alexander T. Willard, Abraham Edwards, Cushing Burr, the Wymans, the Kendalls and others in affluent circumstances, besides those who invested on a much smaller scale. But if from a financial standpoint turnpikes were failures, they were of great benefit in encouraging the growth of the country, in turning trade into channels heretofore unused, and particularly in setting the example of a well made road-bed.

From the time that this turnpike was completed till the advent of railroads there was a great amount of travel from the southern part of New Hampshire and Vermont through Ashby. Long lines of teams and much travel for pleasure passed over this road. Heavy wagons, drawn by four, six and sometimes eight horses, loaded with agricultural products for Boston market, which returned with full loads of goods for the country stores, were continually going and coming. The four and six-horse stage-coaches, which passed daily each way, were always objects of interest to everybody. There was life and activity when they arrived and when they departed. The landlords at the taverns answered the calls of many guests, while their servants and hostlers grew weary in their constant labor and attendance.

November 6, 1826, the owners of the turnpike released and quit-claimed their right to and interest in the land over which their road was built to the town for $600, which might have been fifteen per cent. of the cost of the land added to the making and fencing it.

Cemeteries.—Most of the older towns, many times by gift, secured eligible locations for the burial of their dead on land joining their first meeting-house, in order that the departed might repose beneath the shadow of these sacred temples. In 1770 Mr. Jonathan Lawrence, who came from Woburn to Ashby in 1758, sold to the town two and one-half acres "for a cemetery." After the town had taken a title to this land, it was found that the frontage on the main road was less than was desirable. This tract comprised the west part of the Common and a part of the "church-yard." A meeting-house was in contemplation, and a larger lot being the desideratum, Mr. Joseph Davis, who owned land joining on the east side of this two and one-half acres, in 1771, gave the town one and one-half acres, which is now the east part of the Common and cemetery. When the meeting-house was built, six years afterward, in order to have a spacious Common, it was located so far back from the road that the smaller part of the four acres was left for a cemetery. This burial-place contains the usual number and variety of moss-covered slate stones. "With uncouth rhymes and shapeless sculpture decked," interspersed with nicely-polished marble tablets and costly monuments. In 1802 the town "Voted to fence the burying-ground bought of Benjamin Willington." There is nothing further on record concerning the cemetery in the west part of the town to which allusion is made by this vote. Tradition says that a small part of the east end of this narrow belt of land was bought of Mr. Benjamin Willington, and that the west end was given by Mr. John Wright. Quite a number of graves are here which have no head-stones. The oldest date on any stone is "1800." As has before been stated, the Germans living in this vicinity did not associate cordially with the Ashburnham people, who, at that time, had but one cemetery. From the fact that this spot occupied a central location in their large domain, and that some Germans lie buried in a separate place in Ashburnham, outside of the town's cemetery, it may reasonably be inferred that these unmarked graves are those of "ye Dutchmen," and that later, others were buried here, until finally it was accepted by the town.

The Glenwood Cemetery.—In 1850 there was an effort made to have a new cemetery. At a town-meeting a committee was chosen and instructed to purchase a suitable tract of land for that purpose, and in the discharge of its duty this committee bought a lot of land and the town took a title to it. On reflection, not being quite satisfied with the location, and without much excitement, at a subsequent town-meeting the town, by a large majority, voted to sell this land. The citizens, who were particularly in favor of a new cemetery, induced others to share equally with them in the purchase of four acres of land which they had in view, to be used for this purpose. The number of proprietors was forty, who paid ten dollars each, and became mutually interested in the ground where some of them now repose. This "city of the dead" is conveniently located and pleasantly situated in plain view from the main street. The proprietors have made liberal appropriations in grading, opening avenues, and improving the natural surface of the ground, and it contains many chaste and substantial works of monumental art. "It was consecrated with appropriate religious services, and solemnly dedicated as a resting-place for the dead" on the 30th day of September, 1851. Address by Rev. Charles W. Wood. Consecrating prayer by Rev. Theophilus P. Doggett.

Social Organizations.—The citizens of Ashby, as an aggregate body, have for the last thirty years been noted for their free intercourse and familiarity

with each other. There is no aristocracy of wealth here to excite the envy of any one. At the meetings of their different organizations, all assemble and "a good time" is the result. They put their money into their enjoyment. No matter what the occasion may be,—at the dance, at the grange, at the farmers' supper, at their literary entertainments,—their exercises are conducted in a friendly and enjoyable manner. The first instance of an organization of a social nature in this town may be learned from the following extract taken from the records of the Grand Lodge of Masons in Massachusetts:

"GRAND LODGE, 12th March, 5798.

"A petition was received from Elias Wellington and others praying for a charter to hold a Lodge in the town of Ashby, county of Middlesex, by the name of Social Lodge, was read by the Grand Secretary with the papers accompanying the same—and being properly recommended, voted that the prayer of the petitioners be granted."

Abijah Wyman, the Wellingtons, the Kendalls, Cushing Burr, Sr., and others, not a large number, constituted the members of this fraternity at that time. During the last nine or ten years of its existence Rev. Ezekiel L. Bascom was its chaplain. This gentleman was also Grand Chaplain for six years, between 1804 and 1826, of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. This lodge met at Oliver Kendall's house, near the place where John Fitch was taken captive by the Indians. In a quiet way this fraternity did some good till about 1830, when anti-Masonry went into politics and a great excitement spread throughout the country, caused by men who had "a zeal but not according to knowledge."

About that time the temperance cause began to be agitated by the people here, and large audiences assembled at the First Parish Hall to listen to the harangues of the reformed drunkards, the Washingtonians and the Goffs of that period, some of whom were eloquent. Then the pledge was passed around and pleasant intercourse followed.

Coming down to the present time, we notice the May-day gatherings of veterans who were once "the boys in blue," who bear in the place of arms, flowers, to be placed upon the graves of those who gave up their lives in the defense of the nation many years ago. In those battle years, which seem so near but are so far away, these men went at their country's call, and steadily, sometimes wearily, but never doubting, went forward in their path of duty. From some of them the stalwart vigor of manhood has departed, and it is well for them to have these annual gatherings to clasp each other's hands, to call to mind again the scenes and incidents of a soldier's life; to talk again of bivouac and battle; to recall fast-vanishing recollections and, saddest of all, to mark the changes which the hand of time has wrought among them. The exercises of Decoration Day are witnessed by the town's people of all ages and conditions, and it has become one of the social holidays of the year.

Perhaps "The Ashby Farmers' and Mechanics' Club" has had as much influence during the last decade in leveling off differences of opinion, causing kindly feelings and exciting a love of home as any other association in town. This club was organized February 12, 1880, with the following officers: President, Francis W. Wright; Vice-President, Rev. George S. Shaw; Secretary and Treasurer, Jonas P. Hayward; Committee, Joel Foster, Edwin K. Johnson, Ivers H. Brooks. Mr. Hayward, the secretary, an excellent fruit-grower, has since deceased. The preamble to the constitution then adopted sets forth the object in forming the organization in manner as follows: "We the undersigned unite in forming a Club for the discussion of questions pertaining to farming and other material interests of the town." It is an old maxim that he who needs advice concerning any trade or business, should ask it from a person who earns his living by that business. Now these discussions before this club are engaged in by men who know what they are talking about. The market gardener, the man who sold grapes recently for two dollars a pound, the cultivator of small fruits and berries, the man who has the best hoed crop, the men who raise grapes and cucumbers under glass, in fact, men who cultivate most everything that is produced in this climate, are in this club and give the result of their experience. The meetings of the club through the winter months are held every two weeks, and they are fully attended by those who enjoy the discussions. Occasionally, literary and musical entertainments take up the time of an evening. "The club has received and paid out over $2000, much being to members as premiums; has been the means of establishing the Ashby Creamery; has held a number of field meetings and two institutes, which were of unquestionable benefit to the farmer and all concerned. Reports of the Amherst Experimental Station are received by the secretary and distributed each month, also the crop reports sent out by the State Board of Agriculture." Since its organization there have been twenty-three lectures delivered before this club by persons of considerable distinction, among whom are Carroll D. Wright, Mrs. Mary Livermore, ex-Congressman Edward Burnett and others.

Ashby has another organization in the interest of the husbandman, called The Grange, which has been here for a short time and has become quite an enjoyable institution. It is a congener to the Farmers' Club and does not differ materially from it, except that a larger number of the gentler sex are connected with it, who hold certain offices and participate more freely in its exercises. Every member is required to contribute something, within certain stated times, for the instruction, amusement or literary entertainment of the association. Most of the male members are interested in the Farmers' Club.

ASHBY MUSICAL ASSOCIATION.—For a town of its size (numerically considered), Ashby has always boasted of a more than average number of people of

musical abilities. The early settlers of the town must have given the matter some attention, or else the pure air of the hills developed a natural talent for music, for their descendants have always been musically inclined. The record of their doings previous to the present century is unknown to the writer, but doubtless one exists. "In 1818 Jonas Barret taught instumental music in New Ipswich." In 1826 the Calvinistic Congregational Parish "Voted to pay the expense of the singers at the ordination of Mr. Albert B. Camp." In 1827 "Voted to pay $10 for singing books, Deacon N. D. Gould's collection, and that Isaac Patch take charge of them." In 1828 "Voted $25 for singing, to be laid out by the discretion of the assessors." If these sums seem small for these purposes, it may be noticed, in passing, that the minister's salary for 1828 was only $450, and that "Capt. Jona^{n} Blood undertook to open and sweep the meeting-house for one year for $2." He had no fires to build, for the society had just "voted not to have a stove in their meeting-house." At a meeting held soon after the musical fund was, however, increased to $50. In 1829 "voted to consent to have the *orgen* stand in their meeting-house." This was probably the organ built by Mr. Whitney, referred to in another paragraph. About the year 1827 Deacon N. D. Gould, a noted teacher of vocal music, taught a singing-school in Ashby; and he was followed in later years by Isaac Wright, Peter H. Clark, David Wares and Messrs. Fuller, Partridge, Kimball and others. In 1857 a glee club, composed of eighteen young persons, under the leadership of Myron W. Whitney, did some good singing and enjoyed many pleasant hours, the memory of which will linger in the hearts of those who participated in it while life lacts. For many years the musical services of the Second Parish were in the care of Mr. Paul A. Hayward, who was organist and director. He was assisted by his wife, who possessed a soprano voice of rare strength and purity, and in later years by his daughters also. Since 1875 Mr. Homer J. Hayward has served as choirister. The Unitarian Society will long remember with gratitude the services of Mrs. Perley Gates, now deceased, and of her daughter, Mary Gates, now the wife of Rev. George S. Shaw, in the cause of sacred music.

Ashby boasts of having furnished to America the finest basso, in the person of Mr. Myron W. Whitney, that this country has ever produced. As a representative of oratorio music he has probably no equal. Mr. Whitney now resides in Watertown, and a sketch of his life, accompanied by a steel engraving, may be found in this history in that part thereof relating to Watertown.

"The players on instruments" have not been lacking. Of those who achieved marked success in this direction may be mentioned Mr. Edward A. Wright, of Boston, leader of Wright's Orchestra, of whom it has been said, "he can play any musical instrument he sees." His specialties, however, are the cornet and violin. Since the beginning of the present century several brass bands have been organized in Ashby. which, in their time, did some good work, but were not long-lived.

At present Ashby has a cornet band, composed principally of young performers, but already it gives promise of a successful future. Its members are prompt in their attendance at its meetings, and, although they have not enjoyed a long practice together, "discourse sweet music."

Frederick A. Willard, leader, b cornet; William O. Loveland, second leader, e cornet; Willis G. Spaulding (business manager), tuba; Harry F. Bingham, b tenor; Oscar A. Hubbard, b clarionet; John J. Piper, e alto; Oeorge H. Piper, baritone; Willis B. Hayward, b tenor; Herbert P. Hayward, b clarionet; Frank A. Forseman, e tuba; John C. Elliott, b bass; John A. Willard, e alto; Curtis Huckins, b tenor; Clifford W. Davis, e alto; George Wright, snare-drum; Charles A. Porter, bass-drum; E. Monroe Bennett, e cornet.

The centennial of Ashby was celebrated September 14, 1867. On that pleasant autumn day a large assembly was gathered on the Common. The principal address was made by Rev. Charles W. Wood. It embodied what may be called the domestic history of the town, military, religious and material, and must have cost a great amount of patient, plodding research. It was delivered well and was received with much relish. After the usual exercises on such occasions, there was a spontaneous movement for the mammoth tent, which had been improvised, under which long tables, laid with plates sufficient to accommodate seven or eight hundred persons, were covered and loaded with culinary delicacies, such as farmers' wives and daughters only know how to prepare. The rich viands, the tempting fruits and fragrant bouquets had rivals in the forms and faces of the fair ones who moved around among them and waited upon those at the feast. The day will long be remembered by those who were in attendance.

Schools.—At the annual town-meeting in 1773, "Voted to raise eight pounds for the support of schools. This was the first appropriation made here for school purposes, and about the same amount was raised "to hire preaching." The money thus raised for both of these objects, when changed into our currency would be about thirty dollars, and yet these small appropriations would compare well with sums raised in the neighboring towns at that time for similar purposes. At a town-meeting on the 13th of May following, "Voted to have but four squadrons. One squadron at the centre of the town, one in the south side, two in the north side of the town and that each man shall give their names to the selectmen by the first day of July next of what part or squadron they will be of, and each party to draw their proportionable part of the taxes they pay." The word squadron was

first used in this sense in those towns which had been surveyed and laid out into ranges and quadrangular lots, and the territory contained in a certain number of these squares, which itself was square, constituted a district. In some towns at this time the word "diocese" was used instead of district. For the next four years ten pounds were raised, and in 1778 the town raised fifty pounds for schooling. In 1785 the town "Voted to build school-houses in the four squadrons in town, the money to be provided to each squadron according to their pay, and chose a committee to see the houses built, and chose in the centre squadron Captain Wyman, Lieutenant Damon and L. Barrett; South, Stephen Barker, Amos Putnam, Stephen Patch; Northeast, First Division, Major Stone, Benjamin Adams, Jonathan Foster; Second Division, Jonathan Locke, David Locke, Timothy Emerson; Northwest squadron, John Yaquith, William Rice and Timothy Stone. Voted to raise 120 pounds for the above purpose and chose the following committee to expend the same: Jonathan Locke, Abijah Wyman and Deacon Lawrence. Voted that the assessment of the school-house money be suspended till the town rate is assessed." At that time they must have had private schools or they would not have given to their sons and daughters the amount of learning which we know they had. The town records during the time from its incorporation to the end of the century were as well kept as at any other period. The amount of matter on record, changing one man from this district to that, and altering different district boundaries, shows that there was much interest in schools at that time. And again in 1792, when the town received additional territory and almost fifty inhabitants from Ashburnham it went through the excitement of making another school-house in a new district at the extreme northwest part of the town.

Presumably no person in Ashby can tell where more than one of the school-houses of 1785 stood, and the location of some of those of a more modern date, where the ferule has been applied to the disobedient, and where the "lads and lasses" enjoyed themselves at the evening spelling-schools and in going home, cannot be pointed out. From the beginning of the present century until now Ashby has made liberal appropriations for the public schools, and from that time to the present the best men of the town have served on the School Committee. The reports of the Board of Education for the last twenty years show that the Ashby schools have had a good average attendance. In 1868 there were only thirteen towns in the state that had a better average attendance. In 1875 there were twenty-four towns which stood better than Ashby; and in 1880, among the three hundred and fifty cities and towns in this Commonwealth, Ashby stood first in its average school attendance.

In 1842 the town "voted to raise one hundred and thirty-five dollars for the purpose of establishing a library in each school district." The town received from the State just the same amount, which was added to this appropriation, and the books were bought and put into the schools. In 1864 the town raised two hundred and fifty dollars for the support of a high school, and since then larger appropriations have been made for the same object.

In 1836 the meeting-house built by the Orthodox Congregationalists in 1820 having been abandoned for more than a year, some of the public-spirited people of the town suggested that it should be used for an academy. This idea met with a favorable response from its owners, and accordingly the building, including the land, was sold at auction, May 11, 1836, for five hundred and twenty dollars, to Amos Wellington. The pew-owners gave their interest in the house in order to have an academy. A subscription was taken to collect money "for the purpose of fitting up the meeting-house lately occupied by the Second Parish for an academy, provided eight hundred dollars is raised for the said purpose." Ezekiel Coleman headed the list of twenty-one subscribers to this document, in which the sum of $774.50 was pledged for the accomplishment of this object. The ladies very soon collected the sum required to make the original subscription binding. The building was soon moved to its present location, September 1, 1836. Amos Wellington sold this house to the five trustees of this academy—"Rev. Orsanus Tinker, Deacon Paul Hayward, Deacon Ephraim Hayward, Mr. Ezekiel Coleman and Amos Willington, Esq."—for $420. November 14, 1836, an examining committee of eleven men, eight of whom were clergymen, from this and the adjoining towns, was appointed for this academy, which commenced August 4, 1836, with Worcester Willey as teacher, who was to receive all the tuition money for his services. The next year he was paid $400 for the same work, and he was the only teacher who continued two years in office. There was no deficiency in numbers on the board of trustees, as it appears that, in 1838, fifteen gentlemen were added to the five who were chosen two years before. In 1840 Luke Wellington and others and their successors, by an act of the Legislature, were made a corporation by the name of "The Proprietors of Ashby Academy," with the power to hold personal and real estate to the amount of $15,000. This school did not receive the patronage which it appeared to deserve, perhaps on account of its proximity to New Ipswich Academy, or from the popularity of older and more richly endowed institutions of its kind. It was discontinued at the close of the summer term of 1860, but there is no doubt that the good influences emanating from this academy are still guiding many of those who availed themselves of its privileges. Ashby has a public library of 1584 volumes, with which its inhabitants have a pleasant and profitable acquaintance. The Unitarian Sabbath-School Library, 783 volumes; the Orthodox Sabbath-School Library, 300 volumes; Ladies' Library, 230 volumes.

Hotels and Stores.—When the town was incorporated there were three inn-holders in Ashby, who, on a small scale, sold spirituous liquors and occasionally gave hospitable reception and entertainment to travelers. There was not much drunkenness in those days; but the fact that the town at an early date put a set of stocks on the Common is sufficient proof that, at least on public and social occasions, the place was not entirely free from those who loved strong drink. Capt. Samuel Stone, living in the east part of the town, was an inn-holder. Jonas Barrett, who built and lived in the house now owned by Jonas Curling, kept a house of this kind; and, before the town was incorporated, James Coleman kept an inn in the westerly part of the town, on the road leading from the West Cemetery to the old turnpike, only a short distance from the "friendly guide-post" which points toward Ashburnham. He was the most popular man among the Germans who became citizens of the town when it was created. The foundation of the house may still be seen, over which the flip was drunk and the merry jokes passed around. John Abbot kept a tavern, in the beginning of the present century, in the northwest part of the town, on the old county road, in the house now occupied by Mrs. Amanda Kendall. He had ample room, both in the house and at the stables, and he gave strict attention to his business, having a large acquaintance, and was deservedly popular. For a long time Stone's tavern, at the foot of the hills, in Townsend, and Abbot's tavern were the favorite stopping-places on the road. Capt. Abijah Wyman built his house, about 1780, at the southwest corner of the Common. It constituted what is now the south end of the main building which faces the Common. Two or three additions have been made to this building; besides, stables and sheds have been added, and now the many roofs cover a number of square rods of land. It is not probable that this house was built for a tavern, but the location was so eligible that it eventually was used for this business. John Wyman, a son of Capt. Abijah, was landlord here for a short time; but whether he was the first man who kept a tavern here is unknown to the writer. In 1809, when the Unitarian meeting-house was being built, the town voted to hold the town-meeting "at the house of Nathaniel Adams." Chester Mann was landlord here for several years, and his house was extensively patronized by guests and his stalls were well filled. Besides these men, the house has had two or three other landlords, among whom was Francis Wyman, a grandson of Capt. Abijah Wyman. The house did a paying business till the railroads were made, or till about 1850.

Joseph Kendall, Sr., in 1802, built the house and out-buildings where Joel Foster lives expressly for a hotel. Thomas Rice was either the first or one of the earliest landlords. Those who succeeded him were Leonard Patch, Josiah Prentice, Owen Willard (who was a favorite landlord, and kept the house a long time) and Abel Walker, who remained here till the house was closed to the public for want of patronage.

Stephen Adams kept a tavern near Townsend line, and had considerable custom, more than fifty years ago, at the place where John Butterfield now lives. "The pledge," which was strictly kept by many from 1830 to 1850, and the railroads, which diverted travel from the main roads and thoroughfares, proved fatal to many of the country hotels of New England. Population of Ashby in A. D. 1830, 1240; 1840, 1246; 1850, 1208. Since that date the population has decreased each year in a small degree.

The names of all the traders who have done business in this town cannot be given, but it will interest some people to learn something concerning the men, the places where and the dates when stores were kept here. William Green, grandfather of Charles O. Green, was a trader here at as early a date as any except perhaps Captain Abijah Wyman. He came from Pepperell about 1795 and he had a small stock of groceries in the building which stands just west of the post-office. This building was afterward converted into a nice cottage-house. He did not continue long in trade, but sold out to Abijah Wyman, with whom he could not compete in business. Wyman's store was at his dwelling-house, situated nearly a quarter of mile westerly from the Common. Nathaniel Adams had a store in the tavern on the corner of the Common, at the same time that he kept a public-house there. Noah Start built a store in 1820, which stood between C. O. Green's house and the house on the corner of the street; and he traded there until about 1828, when he sold out to Nathaniel Adams. Mr. Adams was followed by Spooner & Kendall, these men by Nathaniel Whittemore, and he by White & Adams. The length of time that these men and firms traded here cannot be ascertained, but the building in 1862 was moved to Fitchburg and converted into a dwelling-house. A notice of Lewis Gould and his store is in another part of this work. The following named gentlemen have traded in the store "on the hill:" Andrews Edwards, F. W. Wright, 1844; Martin Howard, 1846 and 1848; George E. Rockwood, J. M. J. Jefts and Edwin Whitney. Commencing about 1840, Abram M. White and Winthrop White (brothers) had a store on the road leading northerly and not far from the Common. Their room was small, but they had a good share of the trade. They carried the first blueberries from Ashby to the Boston market. About 1820 Alfred Spaulding came from Townsend to the South Village and put a stock of goods into the building which is now the dwelling-house of W. H. C. Lawrence, and opened a store there. He carried on coopering in that village and continued in trade six or seven years, and then sold out his business to James Bancroft, another Townsend man. Mr. Bancroft continued the business for a few years, and then sold out to Ephraim

Hayward, who was the last person who had a store at the South Village. The following named gentlemen and firms have been in trade in the store in which the post-office is now located. The date following their names is the year or about the time when each of them commenced: Burr & Balcom, 1840; Burr & White, 1843; F. W. Wright, 1846; Toleman, Millikin & Co., 1851; Cushing Burr & Co., 1853; Burr & Wallace, 1856; Burr & Green, 1860; Charles O. Green, 1865; and Mr. Green has continued in business at this location during the last twenty-five years, and in connection with dealing in wood and lumber he does an extensive business.

CHAPTER XXI.

ASHBY—(Continued).

CIVIL HISTORY.

TOWN OFFICERS.

1767. Moderator, John Fitch; Clerk, James Lock, Jr.; Selectmen, James Locke, John Fitch, John Jones, Jr. 1768. Moderator, James Lock; Clerk, James Locke, Jr.; Selectmen, James Lock, Jr., John Jones, Jacob Puffer, Jonathan Barrett, Levi Houghton. 1769. Moderator, James Lock, Jr.; Clerk, William Parkman; Selectmen, Jacob Puffer, Thomas Stearns, Benjamin Spalding. 1770. Moderator, James Lock, Jr.; Clerk, William Parkman; Selectmen, Stephen Gibson, John Bates, William Parkman. 1771. Moderator, Thomas Stearns; Clerk, James Bennett; Selectmen, James Bennett, Jacob Puffer, John Lock. 1772. Moderator, James, Lock, Jr.; Clerk, Jonas Barrett; Selectmen, Jonas Barrett, James Lock, Jr., John Jones. 1773. Moderator, James Lock, Jr.; Clerk, Jonas Barrett; Selectmen, Samuel Stone, John Jones, Jonas Barrett. 1774. Moderator, Thomas Stearns; Clerk, Jonas Barrett; Selectmen, Jonas Barrett, Samuel Stone, James Bennett. 1775. Moderator, Thomas Stearns; Clerk, Stephen Gibson; Selectmen, Stephen Gibson, Samuel Stone, Isaac Brown. 1776. Moderator, Thomas Stearns; Clerk, John Lawrence, Jr.; Selectmen, Isaac Gregory, John Lawrence, Jr, Isaac Brown, Joseph Walker, Abijah Wyman. 1777. Moderator, James Bennett; Clerk, Isaac Gregory; Selectmen, Isaac Gregory, Samuel Stone, Jonathan Lock. 1778. Moderator, Thomas Stearns; Clerk, Isaac Gregory; Selectmen, Samuel Stone, John Jones, Asa Walker, Isaac Gregory, Jacob Damon. 1779. Moderator, Thomas Stearns; Clerk, Jonathan Lock; Selectmen, Jonathan Lock, Jacob Damon, Asa Walker. 1780. Moderator, Thomas Stearns; Clerk, Isaac Gregory; Selectmen, Asa Kendall, John Lawrence, Jr., Hooker Osgood. 1781. Moderator, Asa Kendall; Clerk, Jonathan Lock; Selectmen, Samuel Stone, Asa Kendall, Stephen Patch. 1782. Moderator, Stephen Gibson; Clerk Jonathan Lock; Selectmen, Jonathan Lock, Jacob Damon, Abijah Wyman. 1783. Moderator, Thomas Stearns; Clerk, Jonathan Lock; Selectmen, Jonathan Lock, Abijah Wyman, Jacob Damon. 1784. Moderator, Thomas Stearns; Clerk, Jonathan Lock; Selectmen, Jonathan Lock, Abijah Wyman, Jacob Damon, John Jaquith, Timothy Stone. 1785. Moderator, Abijah Wyman; Clerk, Jonathan Lock; Selectmen, John Lawrence, Isaac Gregory, Charles Lawrence. 1786. Moderator, Abijah Wyman; Clerk, Isaac Gregory; Selectmen, Isaac Gregory, Charles Lawrence, Stephen Patch. 1787. Moderator, Abijah Wyman; Clerk, Isaac Gregory; Selectmen, Isaac Gregory, Stephen Patch, Charles Lawrence. 1788. Moderator, Abijah Wyman; Clerk, Waldren Stone; Selectmen, Waldren Stone, Benjamin Adams, Stephen Patch. 1789. Moderator, Benjamin Adams; Clerk, Waldren Stone; Selectmen, Waldren Stone, Benjamin Adams, Stephen Patch. 1790. Moderator, Abijah Wyman; Clerk, Isaac Green; Selectmen, Isaac Green, Jacob Damon, Isaac Gregory. 1791. Moderator, Benjamin Adams; Clerk, Isaac Green; Selectmen, Isaac Green, Stephen Patch, Asa Kendall, Jr. 1792. Moderator, Abijah Wyman; Clerk, Isaac Green; Selectmen, Stephen Patch, Asa Kendall, Jr., Benjamin Coleman. 1793. Moderator, Abijah Wyman; Clerk, Isaac Green; Selectmen, Isaac Green, Stephen Patch, Benjamin Coleman. 1794. Moderator, Abijah Wyman; Clerk, Benjamin Coleman; Selectmen, Benjamin Coleman, Stephen Patch, Isaac Gregory. 1795. Moderator, Abijah Wyman; Clerk, Benjamin Coleman; Selectmen, Benjamin Coleman, Peter Lawrence, Abraham Edwards. 1796. Moderator, Abijah Wyman; Clerk, Benjamin Coleman; Selectmen, Benjamin Coleman, Abraham Edwards, Asa Kendall, Jr. 1797. Moderator, Abijah Wyman; Clerk, Benjamin Coleman; Selectmen, Benjamin Coleman, Abraham Edwards, Asa Kendall. 1798. Moderator, Abijah Wyman; Clerk, Benjamin Coleman; Selectmen, Benjamin Coleman, Abraham Edwards, Asa Kendall, Jr. 1799. Moderator, Abijah Wyman; Clerk, Allen Flagg; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, William Green, Benjamin Damon. 1800. Moderator, Abijah Wyman; Clerk, Allen Flagg; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, William Green, Benjamin Damon; Representative, Stephen Patch. 1801. Moderator, Cushing Burr; Clerk, Allen Flagg; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, William Green, Benjamin Damon. 1802, Moderator, Cushing Burr; Clerk, Allen Flagg; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, William Green, Isaac Walker. 1803. Moderator, Cushing Burr; Clerk, Allen Flagg; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, William Green, Amos Willington. 1804. Moderator, Cushing Burr; Clerk, Allen Flagg; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, William Green, Benjamin Damon; Representative, John Locke. 1805. Moderator, Cushing Burr; Clerk, Allen Flagg; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, Elijah Prescott, Benjamin Damon; Representative, John Locke. 1806. Moderator, Amos Willington; Clerk, Allen Flagg; Selectmen, Allen Flagg, Amos Willington, Isaac Walker. 1807. Moderator, Amos Willington; Clerk, Allen Flagg; Selectmen, Allen Flagg, Amos Willington, Stephen Patch, Jr. 1808. Moderator, Amos Willington; Clerk, Allen Flagg; Selectmen, Allen Flagg, Amos Willington, Stephen Patch, Jr. 1809. Moderator, Cushing Burr; Clerk, Allen Flagg; Selectmen, Allen Flagg, Cushing Burr, Amos Willington. 1810. Moderator, John Locke; Clerk, Amos Willington; Selectmen, Amos Willington, Wm. Green, Jonathan Roff. 1811. Moderator, David Wood; Clerk, Allen Flagg; Selectmen, Amos Willington, Wm. Green, David Wood; Representative, Amos Willington. 1812. Moderator, Amos Willington; Clerk, Allen Flagg; Selectmen, Amos Willington, Wm. Green, Stephen Patch, Jr.* 1813. Moderator, John Locke; Clerk, Allen Flagg; Selectmen, Allen Flagg, Cushing Burr, Oliver Kendall; Representative, John Locke. 1814. Moderator, John Locke; Clerk, Allen Flagg; Selectmen, Allen Flagg, Cushing Burr, Oliver Kendall. 1815. Moderator, John Locke; Clerk, John Locke; Selectmen, John Locke, Cushing Burr, Oliver Kendall. 1816. Moderator, Cushing Burr; Clerk, John Locke; Selectmen, John Locke, Cushing Burr, Oliver Kendall. 1817. Moderator, Cushing Burr; Clerk, Alexander T. Willard; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, Oliver Kendall, Robert W. Burr. 1818. Moderator, Cushing Burr; Clerk, Alexander T. Willard; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, Oliver Kendall, Robert W. Burr. 1819. Moderator, Cushing Burr; Clerk, Alexander T. Willard; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, Oliver Kendall, Robert W. Burr. 1820. Moderator, John Locke; Clerk, Alexander T. Willard; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, Oliver Kendall, Robert W. Burr. 1821. Moderator, John Locke; Clerk, Alexander T. Willard; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, Oliver Kendall, Robert W. Burr. 1822. Moderator, Cushing Burr; Clerk, Alexander T. Willard; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, Oliver Kendall, Robert W. Burr. 1823. Moderator, John Locke; Clerk, Cushing Burr, Jr.; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, Robert W. Burr, Stephen Wyman; Representative, John Locke. 1824. Moderator, Cushing Burr; Clerk, Cushing Burr, Jr.; Selectmen, Robert W. Burr, Stephen Wyman, Asa Kendall. 1825. Moderator, Cushing Burr; Clerk, Cushing Burr, Jr.; Selectmen, Stephen Wyman, Asa Kendall, Asa Stratton. 1826. Moderator, Nathaniel Adams; Clerk, Cushing Burr, Jr.; Selectmen, Asa Kendall, Oliver Kendall, Cushing Burr, Jr. 1827. Moderator, Nathaniel Adams; Clerk, Andrews Edwards; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, Jr., Isaac Hartwell, Oliver Kendall; Representative, Ezekiel L. Bascom. 1828. Moderator, Nathaniel Adams; Clerk, Andrews Edwards; Selectmen, Stephen Wyman, Cushing Burr, Jr., Abraham Haskell; Representative, Ezekiel Bascom. 1829. Moderator, Nathaniel Adams; Clerk, Andrews Edwards; Selectmen, Stephen Wyman, Cushing Burr, Jr., Abraham Haskell; Representative, Ezekiel L. Bascom. 1830. Moderator, John Locke; Clerk, Abraham Haskell, Jr.; Selectmen, Stephen Wyman, Cushing Burr, Jr., Joel Balcom; Representative, Abraham Haskell, Jr. 1831. Moderator, Nathaniel Adams; Clerk, Abraham Haskell, Jr.; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, Jr., Joel Balcom, Noah Start; Representative, Abraham Edwards. Previous to this the representatives were chosen in May. In November, 1831, Cushing Burr was chosen Representative for the session of 1832, and all his successors were chosen to serve the next winter after their election in November. 1832. Moderator, Nathaniel Adams; Clerk, Abraham Haskell, Jr.; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, Jr., Joel Balcom, Isaac Hartwell. 1833. Moderator, Nathaniel Adams; Clerk, Abraham Haskell, Jr.; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, Jr., Joel Bal-

com, Isaac Hartwell; Representative, Cushing Burr, Jr. 1834. Moderator, Nathaniel Adams; Clerk, Abraham Haskell; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, Jr., Stephen Lawrence, Isaac Hartwell. 1835. Moderator, Nathaniel Adams; Clerk, Abraham Haskell; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, Jr., Joel Balcom, Stephen Lawrence; Representative, Cushing Burr, Jr. 1836. Moderator, Nathaniel Adams; Clerk, Abraham Haskell; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, Jr., Stephen Lawrence, Joel Balcom. 1837. Moderator, Nathaniel Adams; Clerk, Cushing Burr, Jr.; Selectmen, Stephen Lawrence, Joel Balcom, David Lawrence; Representative, Cushing Burr, Jr. 1838. Moderator, Joel Balcom; Clerk, Abraham Haskell; Selectmen, Joel Balcom, Levi Burr, Cushing Burr, Jr. 1839. Moderator, Jonas Patch; Clerk, Cushing Burr; Selectmen, Abraham Haskell, Luke Wellington, Isaac Haskell. 1840. Moderator, Joel Balcom; Clerk, Cushing Burr; Selectmen, Abraham Haskell, Isaac Hartwell, Samuel Damon; Representative, Stephen Jones. 1841. Moderator, Nathaniel Adams; Clerk, Cushing Burr; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, Ephraim Hayward, Isaac Patch; Representative, Asa Walker, Jr. 1842. Moderator, Joel Balcom; Clerk, Cushing Burr; Selectmen, Jonas Patch, Ephraim Hayward, Howard Gates; Representative, Asa Walker, Jr. 1843. Moderator, Joel Balcom; Clerk, Cushing Burr; Selectmen, Isaac Hartwell, Ephraim Hayward, Joel Hayward; Representative, Amos Willington, Jr. 1844. Moderator, Joel Balcom; Clerk, Cushing Burr; Selectmen, Ephraim Hayward, Joel Balcom, Joel Hayward; Representative, Reuben Bates. 1845. Moderator, Joel Balcom; Clerk, Cushing Burr; Selectmen, Joel Balcom, Alfred Hitchcock, James Hayward; Representative, Reuben Bates. 1846. Moderator, Cephas Watkins; Clerk, Cushing Burr; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, Alfred Hitchcock, James Hayward; Representative, Charles W. Wood. 1847. Moderator, Abraham Haskell; Clerk, Cushing Burr; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, James Hayward, Hosea Kendall; Representative, Alfred Hitchcock. 1848. Moderator, Francis W. Wright; Clerk, Francis Tinker; Selectmen, James Hayward, Alfred Hitchcock, Asa Walker, Jr.; Representative, Hosea Kendall. 1849. Moderator, Frederick W. Harris; Clerk, Cushing Burr; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, Martin Howard, Silas Rice; Representative, Howard Gates. 1850. Moderator, Francis W. Wright; Clerk, Francis Tinker; Selectmen, Martin Howard, Silas Rice, Samuel Burr; Representative, Howard Gates. 1851. Moderator, Francis W. Wright; Clerk, Francis Tinker; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, William Sheldon, Francis W. Wright; Representative, Hosea Kendall. 1852. Moderator, Francis W. Wright; Clerk, Francis Tinker; Selectmen, Cushing Burr, Francis W. Wright, Martin Howard; Representative, Amos Wellington. 1853. Moderator, Seromus Gates; Clerk, Francis Tinker; Selectmen, Martin Howard, Stephen Wyman, William Sheldon; Representative, Benjamin Allen. 1854. Moderator, Francis W. Wright; Clerk, Cushing Burr; Selectmen, Francis W. Wright, Stephen Wyman, Silas Rice; Representative, Benjamin Allen. 1855. Moderator, Francis W. Wright; Clerk, Cushing Burr; Selectmen, Francis W. Wright, Luke Wellington, Silas Rice. 1856. Moderator, Francis W. Wright; Clerk, Cushing Burr; Selectmen, Stephen Wyman, Levi Burr, Robert Spencer; Representative, Cyrus A. Davis. 1857. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, P. C. Burr; Selectmen, F. W. Wright, Luke Wellington, Joseph Foster. 1858. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, P. C. Burr; Selectmen, F. W. Wright, Luke Wellington, Joseph Foster. 1859. Moderator, Stephen Wyman; Clerk, P. C. Burr; Selectmen, Levi Burr, Stephen Wyman, Samuel P. Gilson. 1860. Moderator, B. W. Seamans; Clerk, P. C. Burr; Selectmen, F. W. Wright, Luke Wellington, Paul Gates; Representative, Joseph Foster. 1861. Moderator, B. W. Seamans; Clerk, P. C. Burr; Selectmen, Silas Rice, Joseph Foster, B. F. Wallis. 1862. Moderator, B. W. Seamans; Clerk, P. C. Burr; Selectmen, Joseph Foster, B. F. Wallis, John S. Jaquith. 1863. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, J. M. J. Jefts; Selectmen, F. W. Wright, John S. Jaquith, Liberty Wellington; Representative, Paul Gates. 1864. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, E. H. Hayward; Selectmen, F. W. Wright, J. S. Jaquith, Liberty Wellington. 1865. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, E. H. Hayward; Selectmen, F. W. Wright, J. S. Jaquith, Liberty Wellington; Representative, George L. Hitchcock. 1866. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, P. C. Burr; Selectmen, F. W. Wright, J. S. Jaquith, Liberty Wellington. 1867. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, Francis Tinker; Selectmen, Liberty Wellington, Chas. O. Green, Julius K. Gates. 1868. Moderator, Francis W. Wright; Clerk, Francis Tinker; Selectmen, Samuel R. Damon, Robert Spencer, John C. Whitney. 1869. Moderator, Dennis Fay; Clerk, Alonzo A. Carr; Selectmen, Samuel R. Damon, John C. Whitney, Julius K. Gates; Representative, Samuel R. Damon. 1870. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, Alonzo A. Carr; Selectmen, F. W. Wright, John C. Whitney, Charles S. Allen. 1871. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, Alonzo A. Carr; Selectmen, John C. Whitney, E. P. Stone, Joel Foster. 1872. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, A. A. Carr; Selectmen, John C. Whitney, F. W. Wright, George Handley. 1873. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, A. A. Carr; Selectmen, F. W. Wright, George Handley, Joseph Foster; Representative, Alonzo A. Carr. 1874. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, A. A. Carr; Selectmen, F. W. Wright, Joseph Foster, Jesse Foster. 1875. Moderator, George S. Shaw; Clerk, J. W. Sheldon; Selectmen, Joseph Foster, Jesse Foster, J. P. Hayward. 1876. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, J. W. Sheldon; Selectmen, Jesse Foster, J. P. Hayward, F. W. Wright. 1877. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, J. W. Sheldon; Selectmen, J. P. Hayward, F. W. Wright, Jesse Foster. 1878. Moderator, Edwin K. Johnson; Clerk, J. W. Sheldon; Selectmen, Jesse Foster, Joel Foster, William S. Estabrook; Representative, F. W. Wright. 1879 Moderator, Edwin K. Johnson; Clerk, J. W. Sheldon; Selectmen, Jesse Foster, Wm. S. Estabrook, Joel Foster. 1880. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, J. W. Sheldon; Selectmen, Wm. S. Estabrook, Levi Lawrence, Julius K. Gates. 1881. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, J. W. Sheldon; Selectmen, Wm. S. Estabrook, Julius K. Gates, Ivers H. Brooks. 1882. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, J. W. Sheldon; Selectmen, Wm. S. Estabrook, Julius K. Gates, Ivers H. Brooks; Representative, Alonzo A. Carr. 1883. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, J. W. Sheldon; Selectmen, Julius K. Gates, George Handley, Wm. S. Estabrook. 1884. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, J. W. Sheldon; Selectmen, George Handley, F. W. Wright, Alonzo A. Carr. 1885. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, J. W. Sheldon; Selectmen, F. W. Wright, A. A. Carr, David H. Damon. 1886. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, J. W. Sheldon; Selectmen, F. W. Wright, David H. Damon, Jesse Foster. 1887. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, J. W. Sheldon; Selectmen, F. W. Wright, David H. Damon, Jesse Foster. 1888. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, J. W. Sheldon; Selectmen, F. W. Wright, Jesse Foster, Horace S. Brooks. 1889. Moderator, F. W. Wright; Clerk, J. W. Sheldon; Selectmen, Julius K. Gates, Joel Foster, John T. Carr; Representative, Horace S. Brooks.

MAGISTRATES.—There was no person appointed here as a justice of the peace by royal favor during the eight years of existence which Ashby had under the reign of His Majesty. After the adoption of the Constitution the duty of appointing these officers devolved upon the Governor. One hundred years ago there was much dignity attached to this office. The salutation on meeting would invariably be "Good morning (if that was the hour), Esquire Smith." Esquire Smith, always instead of Mr. Smith, was the prefix used. There has been a great change within a quarter of a century, and now men holding this office do not enjoy the distinction that once attended the position.

The following is a list of the Ashby justices of the peace, giving the dates of their appointment and the dates of their death:

Jonathan Locke, commissioned 1788, died August 29, 1808; Allen Flagg, commissioned 1798, died October 7, 1815; Abijah Wyman, commissioned 1802, died November 24, 1804; John Locke, commissioned 1802, died August 24, 1855; John Wyman, commissioned 1808, died May 9, 1816; Alexander T. Willard, commissioned 1811, died December 14, 1850; Ezekiel Coleman, commissioned 1813, died December 10, 1854; Stephen Wyman, Sen., commissioned 1827, died April 30, 1852; Amos Wellington, commissioned 1839, died November 20, 1857; Luke Wellington, commissioned 1843, died January 26, 1868; Isaac Patch, commissioned 1843, died April 26, 1847; Alfred Hitchcock, commissioned 1843, died March 30, 1874; Cushing Burr, commissioned 1848, died February 6, 1866; Francis W. Wright, commissioned 1848; Stephen Wyman, Jr., commissioned 1850, died February 13, 1868; Leonard French, commissioned 1858; Martin Howard, commissioned 1859; Benjamin W. Seamans, commissioned 1860, died November 16, 1866; Zenas Allen, commissioned 1863, died May 20, 1887; James M. J. Jefts, commissioned 1864, died December 22, 1886; Dennis Fay, commissioned 1865, died February 22, 1889; Francis Tinker, commissioned 1866; Benjamin F. Wallace, commissioned 1867; Alonzo A. Carr, commissioned 1874; Charles O. Green, commissioned 1874; Jonas P. Hayward, commissioned 1874, died November 29, 1887; Samuel R. Damon, commissioned 1876; S. Joseph Bradlee, commissioned 1884.

The last named gentleman has the power to issue warrants and take bail; and the office was given to him because Ashby is situated about seventeen miles from a Middlesex District Court.

CHAPTER XXII.

ASHBY—(Continued).

POST-OFFICE, PHYSICIANS, AGRICULTURAL, PERSONAL NOTICES.

POST-OFFICE.—A post-office was established in Ashby in 1812, soon after the turnpike was finished. The following list of postmasters, with the dates of their appointments, was furnished by the Post-office Department at Washington:

Alexander T. Willard, appointed January 27, 1812; Lloyd Hall, appointed October 4, 1839; William Weston, Jr., appointed May 21, 1847; Martin Howard, appointed May 31, 1848; Nathaniel Whittemore, appointed July 8, 1849; George L. Adams, appointed April 12, 1856; Abram White, appointed December 19, 1856; Samuel M. Allen, appointed May 8, 1860; Benjamin W. Seamans, appointed August 15, 1861; Perez C. Burr, appointed March 23, 1864; Charles O. Green, appointed October 31, 1867; George Handley, appointed November 24, 1885.

Mr. Willard held the office twenty-seven years, eight months and seven days. At first the office was kept by Nathaniel Adams, at the tavern on the corner of the Common. A part of the time it was kept at the Start store. Mr. Hall was a shoemaker, and he had the office in the west wing of C. O. Green's store. Since 1860 the office has been kept at its present location.

PHYSICIANS.—*Dr. Thomas Carver* was the first disciple of Galen, who had the courage to commence in the practice of his profession in Ashby. He settled here in 1774, seven years after the incorporation of the town, but nothing is known concerning his birthplace, or where he received his education. His name does not appear on the town records more than once or twice when he was chosen on a committee. The fact that he remained in practice here for nearly forty years furnishes sufficient evidence that his professional services were appreciated here. He was a skillful physician and an honorable man. He died October 7, 1815.

Dr. Allen Flagg came to Ashby in 1798; his previous history is also unknown. He opened an office and shared the practice with Dr. Carver. While here he built the house which stands on the east side of the road from the post-office to the South Village, just after crossing the rivulet, the next house south of the Goodnow house, built by Lewis Gould. He had an extensive practice, sometimes riding beyond the limits of the town, and he was a much-respected citizen. He was the second person in Ashby who received the appointment of justice of the peace. The next year after he came here he was elected town clerk, and with the exception of two years he held the office till his decease. He died October 15, 1815, just one week after the death of Dr. Carver.

Dr. Abraham Haskell, Jr., soon after the death of Dr. Flagg located in Ashby, and practiced medicine here about three years, when he sold out to Dr. Moses Kidder and removed to Leominster, where he was in practice for some time, but he returned to Ashby and bought out Dr. Kidder, and remained here till his death, April 23, 1851.

Dr. Moses Kidder was born in Billerica, July 25, 1789. He entered Williams College two years in advance, and spent the junior year (1810) in that institution, but he did not proceed further in a collegiate course of study. He studied with Dr. Stickney, of Antrim, N. H., during 1811, and with Dr. Matthias Spaulding, of Amherst, N. H., during 1812. In 1813 he was a surgeon stationed at Fort Warren, where he remained until the close of the war. He was a self-made man, quick of apprehension, and remarkable in regard to his power of memory. He was not a healthy man, and for this reason while he was here at different times he had two men of his profession with him as assistants. He was skillful and faithful to his patients. He left town about 1825, after which time he was in practice at Townsend, Littleton and Dublin, N. H., a short time in each place, and at last he removed to Lowell, where he died.

Dr. George Haskell was the successor of Dr. Kidder. There is nothing particular in tradition concerning this gentleman. He remained here about five years when he removed to Alton, Illinois.

Dr. Daniel B. Cutter was born in Jaffrey, N. H., May 10, 1808; graduated from Dartmouth College in 1833, from Yale College Medical Department 1834. He came to Ashby in 1834, and remained here two years and then he moved to Peterborough, N. H., where he not only became popular as a physician, but he was a prominent citizen, holding the most important offices in the gift of the town, and where he died in 1889.

Dr. Alfred Hitchcock was born at Westminster, Vt., October 23, 1813. In 1831 he went to New York City and spent three or four months to be cured of stammering, which was a great annoyance to him and an impediment from which he suffered greatly during his youth. He returned partially relieved, but he never entirely overcame the embarrassment. His early education was acquired at the "People's College," the common school, although he pursued his studies at the academy at Bennington, Vt., and at Phillips Academy, Andover, a short time at each place. His health failed him so that he was unable to study; and from Andover he went home and passed a long time under the care of a doctor. In 1834 he commenced the study of medicine in his native town with a physician of considerable note, with whom he remained a year or more. He graduated from Dart-

mouth College Medical Department in 1837, and commenced the practice of medicine in Ashby the same year. In the beginning of his practice fortune seemed adverse, and it is said that for the first six weeks he had no business. His merits, however, soon began to be appreciated, and it was not long before he entered upon a sphere of usefulness which attended all his labors as long as he lived. Through his influence Ashby, though a small town and surrounded by able physicians, became a centre of medical practice. Young men resorted thither to avail themselves of his teachings, particularly in anatomy. He represented Ashby in the General Court in 1847, and was one of the selectmen in 1848. During the next two years he was invited and importuned even, by the influential people of Fitchburg to remove to the town. He went to Fitchburg in 1850. In 1851 he attended medical lectures in Paris during a visit to Europe. In 1861–62–63 he was a member of Governor Andrews' Council. His death, which occurred March 30, 1874, was caused by angina pectoris, which was exceedingly distressing at times, and at a partial relief of what proved to be the final paroxysm his last words were, "Now I will rest."

Dr. Leonard French, son of Leonard C. and Nancy (Hutchinson) French, was born in Bedford, N. H., Nov. 11, 1817. Fitted for college at Gilmanton (N. H.) Academy; graduated from Dartmouth, 1843; took his degree of M.D. from the same college in 1846. April 1, 1847, he came to Ashby and entered into partnership with Dr. Hitchcock, with whom he remained three years. He then located in Fitchburg; but for some reason, known only to himself, he only remained there three months, and then returned to Ashby, and continued the duties of his profession until November, 1861, when he removed to Manchester, N. H., where he now stands at the head of the medical profession. While he was here he had an extensive practice, was consulted in difficult cases from the adjoining towns, and was much respected. He was one of the counselors of the Massachusetts Medical Society. He has two sons, both of whom were born in Ashby, who are practical physicians and surgeons. Dr. L. Mellville French, born July 26, 1849, commenced the study of medicine at home in 1869, afterward attended lectures at the University Medical College, New York, through a course, and in 1873 graduated from Dartmouth College Medical Department. He is now in practice at Manchester, N. H. Dr. Henry M. French, his second son, was born April 1, 1853; graduated from Dartmouth College in 1876; took his degree of M.D. in 1879, from the same institution. In 1880 he attended a course of lectures in New York City, and afterward was connected with the hospital at Flatbush, N. Y. He is at present in practice at Concord, N. H., where he is a successful physician and surgeon.

Dr. Charles Davis followed Dr. French soon after he left. *Dr. J. S. Andrews* was in Ashby a short time.

Dr. James Emerson was born in Barnstead, N. H., in 1817; graduated from the Dartmouth Medical School in 1857; was in practice at Ashby from 1862 to 1865; resided in Gardner since that time until he died there, January 18, 1890.

Dr. Josiah M. Blood, son of Ebenezer and Betsy (Abbott) Blood, was born in Hollis, N. H., July 3, 1832. He fitted for college at Worcester Academy, but did not pursue a collegiate course. He graduated from University Medical College, New York, in 1857. An alumnus of this college says of him, "He was one of the six best scholars in his class of one hundred and twenty." He commenced practice in Temple, N. H., and remained more than two years in that town. From Temple he removed to Townsend and practiced his profession until the commencement of the Civil War, when, in 1862, he was appointed assistant surgeon in the United States Army. He remained in the service until the close of the war. He came to Ashby in 1865, and for a quarter of a century he has held, and now holds, the confidence of its citizens. He is a modest man, skillful, cautious, prompt to an appointment, and his record compares favorably with any of his predecessors who have practiced medicine in Ashby.

AGRICULTURAL.—The farming interests of Ashby, compared with that of the adjoining towns appear to good advantage. The last decennial census (1885) gives the number of farmers as 157, number of farm laborers as 101. The population of the town at that time was 871—number of males, 436; number of females, 435. Number of boys in the public schools, 60. The aggregate of the farmers, laborers and boys was 376, leaving 118 males including those who were either too old or too young for labor, who are engaged in every other industry. Of this 118, 43 are represented as either retired or at home (children under ten years), leaving only 75 males in town who *do not* work at farming. These workers produce annually on their farms over 3000 tons of hay, about 12,000 bushels of potatoes, about 3000 bushels of Indian corn, about 1000 bushels of oats, about the same quantity of barley and other grains and vegetables in about the same proportion. From their orchards, in every "odd year," they gather about 13,000 bushels of merchantable apples besides the fruit not fit for market, which is made into cider amounting to about 12,000 gallons. They have 584 milch cows, and a creamery, operated by a small engine, the annual product of which is 40,000 pounds of butter. Quite an amount of dairy products does not go through this creamery, but is used at home. A large amount of milk is put on the cars for Boston market and some retailed in Fitchburg. Besides these sources of income they have large graperies and acres of land covered with vineyards, which (except an occasional year when frost comes too early) pay them well for their labor. One man sold twenty-six pounds of grapes recently for fifty-two dollars. And then the peaches, the straw-

berries, and other small fruits, receive an equal amount of attention, and pay equally as well for the trouble of cultivation.

If the farmers in this climate can accomplish as much and do as well as is above represented, it certainly shows a lack of good judgment for so many young men in New England to leave the old homestead and begin anew in the land of cyclones at the far West. One thing is certain beyond dispute: it will be long time before any real estate agent will make a fortune on commissions in selling farms in Ashby. Its citizens love their homes and do everything they can to induce their children to be attached to the town, by approving of all innocent amusements, by giving them excellent advantages in schooling, and by supplying them abundantly with those newspapers and magazines which reflect the thoughts of some of the keenest minds of this nation. The people of this town have a good amount of wealth, and their buildings are kept up with neatness and good taste. They enjoy good air, good water and delightful scenery, and best of all, they are "not slothful in business," but "given to hospitality."

The person who named the town is unknown, but it is known that its name has for a long time and still is pronounced wrong by many. It is not Ashbye, but Ashbee, the last syllable sounded like bee. In no other State or nation is it pronounced Ashbye, but it is Ashbee. No one ever heard of General Canbye—pronounce it Canby and the Indian fighter flashes before the mind.

PERSONAL NOTICES.—*James Locke*, a very enterprising man, came from Hopkinton in 1749, and bought two lots of land of Amos Whitney, situated on Battery Hill, and commenced a settlement on it the same year. This land was taken into Ashby at the incorporation of the town, and it lies on both sides of the road leading from Greenville to Fitchburg. This was the next year after John Fitch was captured by the savages, and for self-preservation he built a strong garrison-house near the log cabin in which he lived. Tradition has it that he was a man of great physical strength and endurance, and very industrious. He was first in the list of church members, and he built a grist-mill, situated on the Locke Brook, about a quarter of a mile easterly of the spot where the large, unpainted house now stands on what was his homestead. He died September 1, 1782.

James Locke, Jr., born in Hopkinton in 1729, came to Townsend with his father, and they lived together for some time, until he married, and then they were near neighbors. He made great exertion to get a good common education. When the petition for a new town (which resulted in the incorporation of Ashby) was before the General Court, he appeared at Boston at two or three different times as representative of that part of the petitioners belonging to Townsend. At the first and second town-meetings under the charter he was chosen town clerk, and for the next two years he was moderator of the annual town-meetings. He served on the Board of Selectmen four times, and was on the committee for building the meeting-house. In 1773 he moved from Ashby to Townsend, and lived on a farm situated about a mile northerly from the harbor, and it was at that place where the sheep were sheared and his wife and daughter spun the wool, wove it into cloth, and made a suit of clothes for one of the family who was drafted into the army at so short a notice.[1] He was second lieutenant in Captain James Hosley's company of minute-men, who responded to the call of the 19th of April, 1775. From 1774 to 1787 he was clerk of the Townsend proprietors, and the records he made, both in chirography and language, are equal to those made at the present time. In 1777 and 1778 he represented Townsend in the General Court.

Jonathan Locke, Jr., born Dec. 7, 1737, a brother of the former James Locke, Jr., came to Ashby from Hopkinton in 1772, at the solicitation of his father to care for him, as he had become old and well stricken in years. He was then thirty-five years old, and he inherited the activity and energy of his father. He was town clerk in 1782 and 1785, and one of the selectmen five times from 1777 to 1785. He was on important committees several times. He was second lieutenant in Captain John Jones' company, which marched at the alarm on the 19th of April, 1775. He was the first man in Ashby who held the office of justice of the peace appointed by the Governor. In proof of his enterprise and force of character, we have only to look at the set of farm buildings, which have resisted the force of the elements for more than a century, now standing on the place where he lived and died, and which he built. The farm is now owned by Isaac B. Hayward. He died August 29, 1808.

Captain John Jones, son of Thomas and Mary (Miles) Jones, was born in Concord December 7, 1730. He married, October 24, 1754, Phebe Brewer, of Weston. He lived in Concord until 1762, when he settled in the northeast part of Dorchester Canada (now Ashburnham). He was a selectman of Ashburnham in 1766 and 1767. In 1767 Ashby was incorporated, and his farm was a part of the new town. At the first town-meeting of Ashby (1767) he was elected a selectman, and also for the years 1768, 1773 and 1778. He was constable 1771 and town treasurer in 1768 and 1771. He wrote a fair hand and gave evidence of an education beyond that of a majority of his time. He commanded the company of militia which marched on the memorable 19th of April. He became one of the original members of the church, and in town affairs was often chosen on important committees. The location of his house and land gave the name to "Jones' Hill" in the westerly part of the town. He died December 18, 1811.

Major Samuel Stone, son of Jonathan and Chary

[1] See Sawtelle's "History of Townsend," pp. 201, 202.

(Adams) Stone, was born in Lexington, June 10, 1727. He moved to Ashby in 1770, and soon after built the house where Francis S. Wheeler now lives, near Townsend line. He was an inn-holder here for several years. His grandson, Captain Prentice Stone, of Ashby (now an old gentleman), has the sign which hung in front of his house, on which is painted a man on horseback with the word "entertainment" underneath. The Stones from whom he descended were among the early settlers of Lexington, and "were quite numerous in the town, so much so that they were, in many instances, in the Lexington records, designated by their geographical position as John Stone, *east*, and John Stone, *west*, and Samuel Stone, *east*, and Samuel Stone, *west*." He bought, in addition to his first purchase, four or five lots of land which were sold for non-payment of taxes in 1772, so that he had a large amount of land. He built the first mill on the site where Stickney's mill now stands, at the base of the Ashby Hills, in Townsend. At an early date he had a brick-kiln near Trap Falls Brook. He commanded the minute-men who responded to the call, April 19, 1775. In 1776 he was chosen major in the militia. From 1772 to 1782 he served six times on the Board of Selectmen. In 1777 he served as a private, side and side with Colonel William Prescott, of Pepperell, and Major Henry Wood, of Groton, in a volunteer company of sixty men, most of whom belonged to Townsend, commanded by Captain James Hosley, of Townsend, which went to the assistance of General Gates, and they participated in the battle which resulted in the surrender of the over-confident General Burgoyne. No other battle of the Revolution except that at Bunker Hill, was of so much importance to the patriots. Major Stone died in Ashby, December 15, 1806.

Captain Abijah Wyman, son of Abijah and Abigail (Smith) Wyman, was born in Lancaster August 9, 1745. No Ashby man except John Fitch ever had so eventful a life as he passed. On the 14th of August, 1758, he was impressed into Captain John Carter's company for a drummer-boy. This company marched on an expedition to Fort William Henry and returned the following November. In 1762 he voluntarily served in Captain James Reed's company in the same capacity. This experience on the rough side of life, added to the few weeks in each year passed at the common school until he arrived at majority, was the extent of his education. With his father, in the manufacture of brick, he accumulated some money, and at the age of twenty-six he came to Ashby. In 1773 he bought a farm of 130 acres of Deacon Jonathan Lawrence, situated northerly and westerly of the Common and joining land, at that time, of Joseph Davis on the east. In 1772 the province laid a tax on all non-resident land in Ashby, and empowered the assessors to sell all the land on which the tax was not paid, to collect the money due the town. At these sales he bought four lots of land for a small sum of money. Soon after he bought three other tracts of land in Ashby, one from Abijah Wyman, of Woburn, making him owner of nine lots of land in town, some of them joining each other. He was first sergeant in Captain Stone's company before mentioned. When that company returned, under a provincial call for men he enlisted a company consisting of citizens of Ashby and other towns, of which he was appointed captain. His company was in Colonel William Prescott's regiment and was engaged in the battle of Bunker Hill, in which two of his men were killed and two taken prisoners, who soon after died of their wounds received in the action. He married Bettie Stearns, of Billerica. After the war ended he industriously applied himself to the improvement of his real estate and the general prosperity of the town. He served on the Board of Selectmen five years, and was moderator of nine of the town-meetings, from 1774 to 1801. He was one of the charter members of Social Lodge of Free Masons, and for a short time he was landlord at the tavern which adjoined the south-west corner of the Common. He died in Ashby, November 24, 1804.

Hon. John Locke, son of Jonathan and Mary (Haven) Nichols Locke, was born in Hopkinton February 14, 1764. He was not a brilliant scholar, but he had much patience, and while engaged in teaching school through several terms he, for the most part, fitted himself for college. He graduated from Harvard College in 1792. In 1796 he was admitted to the bar, and commenced the practice of law in Ashby. He held the responsible offices in the gift of the town, and took much interest in its welfare. He represented Ashby in the General Court in 1804, 1805, 1813 and 1823. In 1820 he was the member for Ashby in the Constitutional Convention. In 1823 he was elected a member of Congress for the North Worcester District, Ashby being then in that Congressional District, and was twice re-elected, making a six years' service in Congress. As a lawyer he was not an eloquent advocate, but as a judge of law and as a counselor he stood in the front rank in the profession. In 1804 he built the dwelling-house on Main Street, now owned and occupied by Mrs. Willard, which has been kept in excellent condition since he left the town, and it is decidedly the most substantial and elegant dwelling-house in Ashby. He lived a few years in Lowell, but the latter part of his life he spent in Boston, where he died August 24, 1855.

Cushing Burr, son of John and Emma (Cushing) Burr, was born in Hingham January 21, 1759. He settled in Ashby about 1788. He carried on a farm a part of the time; besides being interested in the tannery, he was engaged in making wooden dry-measures, consisting of those holding from half a bushel to quart-measures. He was a man of action rather than of words; very decided in his opinions, although always courteous towards every one. He was much respected by his townsmen, being one of

the selectmen fifteen times between 1801 and 1825, and moderator of the annual town-meetings thirteen times between 1800 and 1825. He accumulated a large amount of property for his time, the appraisal of his estate at his decease amounting to over $16,000. He died September 19, 1838.

Lewis Gould (I have been unable to learn the names of his parents) was born in Franklin October 16, 1771, was graduated from Harvard College 1797, and tradition says that he pursued a course of theological studies with the intention of entering the ministry. Little is known concerning him prior to 1804, when he came to Ashby and opened a store in a building which stood where Austin Hayward's house now stands. He always dressed in a scrupulously neat manner with the ruffle shirt accompaniment of his time; was eccentric, and sometimes his language would be in bad taste for a man holding his position in society. But under a somewhat rough exterior he carried a warm heart, and in all his dealings he was strictly honest, courteous and obliging. During the long time in which he was in trade here he must have acquired a small fortune, as his family expenses were light and he was prudent, but not miserly. In 1846, after a residence here of more than forty years, he wrote a polite letter "To the Inhabitants of the Town of Ashby," in which, on certain conditions, he offered to give three hundred dollars with which to buy a town-clock. The town acceded to his wishes, which were in regard to the tower on which it was to be put and the care that should be taken of it. After the object was accomplished the town, not willing to be outdone in etiquette by the donor, chose a committee to draft suitable resolutions to be spread on the town records concerning the matter, of which the following are a copy:

"*Resolved*, That the town tenders to Mr. Lewis Gould their respect and gratitude for his very much needed and useful donation of $300 for the purchase of a Town Clock.

"*Resolved*, That in accepting Mr. Gould's donation and complying with his wishes in presenting a Town Clock, we have a beautiful and enduring memento of his judicious taste, public spirit and benevolence.

"HOBERT SPENCER,
"ALFRED HITCHCOCK,
"*Committee.*"

Mr. Gould, as has before been stated, gave the town-clock, the Fitch Monument on the Common to the town, and twenty-five dollars towards the bell on the church of the First Parish. He died in Ashby April 14, 1851, and was buried at Mount Auburn Cemetery.

Benjamin, Elias, Amos and Liberty Wellington, sons of Benjamin and Lucy (Smith) Wellington, were born in Brookfield. Benjamin in 1764, Elias in 1766, Amos in 1770, and Liberty in 1774. They came to Ashby between 1786 and 1790, and settled on farms in the northwest part of the town, some of them on the northerly brow of Jones Hill. They were carpenters and bricklayers, and well adapted to make themselves homes in a newly-settled town. They made large and commodious dwelling-houses, brought many acres of wild land into a good state of cultivation, and orchards, which they enclosed with stone wa... and their descendants were much-respected citi... Benjamin died November 9, 1817; Elias died January 28, 1824; Amos died November 20, 1857, and Liberty died April 24, 1851. Amos was town clerk, 1810, 1812; representative in 1812; selectman six times between 1805 and 1813, and moderator at the annual town-meetings seven times in the same length of time. His son, Amos Wellington, Jr., represented the town in 1852. Liberty served on the Board of Selectmen for five years, and was chosen on several important committees.

Cushing Burr, son of Cushing and Emma (Cushing) Burr, was born in Ashby October 24, 1791. He was decidedly a business man: engaged in a tannery, in storekeeping and in the lumber business. November 21, 1821, he married Miss Hulda Wright, and lived and died in the house which is the present residence of Charles O. Green. He was a popular and useful citizen, was moderator several times, and town clerk for thirteen years between 1840 and 1857. He was one of the selectmen for seventeen years, between 1824 and 1852, and he served on the most important town committees. He represented Ashby in the General Court in 1832, 1833 and 1835. He died in Ashby February 8, 1866, and was buried with Masonic honors.

James O. Kendall, son of Joseph and Mary (Haynes) Kendall, was born in Ashby January 4, 1821. He is one of the successful men who were born in this town. In his youth his time was divided between an attendance at the district school and working with his father at the carpenter's trade. On his arrival at manhood he began in the manufacture of tubs and pails at the South Village. He built two of the mills now in operation there. In 1853 he married Miss Phebe H. Denny, of Leicester. He was one of the five mill-owners who built the reservoir. In 1856 he moved to Hartford, Wisconsin, where, for a few years, he had liberal pay for his services as a mill-wright. In 1860 he bought an interest in the Hartford mill property, including the water-power, saw-mill and flouring-mill at that place, situated on the Milwaukee and Saint Paul Railroad. The firm with which he is connected does business under the name of J. O. Kendall & Co. The business of this firm increased so rapidly that, in 1873, they built an extensive brick flouring-mill, known as The Hartford Mills. In 1883 the firm remodeled the mill into a complete roller-system, and now the firm handles from 125,000 to 150,000 bushels of grain annually.

Francis Tinker, son of John and Philena (Francis) Tinker, was born in Worthington January 3, 1816. He acquired a good education at the academy in his native town and at the academy at Ashby. He learned the harness-maker's trade, and while here he worked at it for some time, which is good evidence that he had a sensible parentage. Men who graduate

(Adams) Stonches of the New England mechanics 1727. He carry with them the best equipment to built the battle of life. He came to Ashby in 1842, and remained here until 1853, when he removed to Leominster, and while he was there, in 1860, he was elected one of the three representatives to the General Court from the Sixth Worcester District. In 1865 he removed back to Ashby and was four times elected as town clerk and has served on the School Committee in a very acceptable manner. In 1866 Ashby chose a committee "to compile incidents and facts in regard to the early history of the town," consisting of "William Sheldon, Joel Hayward, Stephen Wyman, Jonas Patch, George S. Hitchcock and Francis Tinker." Generally the gentleman first named on a committee has "to bear the heat and burden of the day." Not so in this instance, as Mr. Tinker worked faithfully and was the only active member of that committee: and just here I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to him for most of the facts and incidents relating to the part taken by the citizens of Ashby in the Revolutionary War and in the War of the Rebellion. He is author of "History of Norwood" in the "History of Norfolk County," edited by D. H. Hurd. At present this gentleman resides at Norwood, where he has held the office of town clerk since 1872, when that town was incorporated, where, like mine, his

"May of life
Is fall'n into the sere, the yellow leaf."

Francis Walter Wright, son of Abiel and Martha (Baker) Wright, was born in Nelson, N. H., September 27, 1819. He worked on his father's farm while he was not at school, until he was twenty years old. Like many New Hampshire young men who have amounted to something, he took his turn at teaching school. He was a trader in Marlow, N. H., for about a year. He came to Ashby in 1844 and opened a store in the building which stands next west of his dwelling-house. After being in trade here for some time, he exchanged his stock of goods for an interest in a tub and pail factory, which stood in the northwesterly part of the town. This business required too much of his personal attention and interfered with his taste for general speculation so much that he sold out, and since 1848 he has been trading in neat stock, horses, real estate, and, in fact, most everything that could be bought and sold at a profit. He has shipped many car-loads of horses from Canada and sold them in this vicinity. He has held nearly all the town offices. He has served as moderator of thirty-one annual town-meetings since 1850, besides holding the same office many times at special town-meetings, and has held the office of justice of the peace since 1848. He represented Ashby in the General Court in 1879, and he pays the most money in taxes of any citizen of Ashby.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

MYRON W. WHITNEY.

The subject of this sketch was born in Ashby September 5, 1835. He is descended from John Whitney, who lived in Isleworth, near London, in the early part of the seventeenth century, and who embarked at London for New England in April, 1635, in the "Elizabeth and Ann," Roger Cooper, master, with his wife, Elinor, and five children—John, Richard, Nathaniel, Thomas and Jonathan. At the date of emigration John Whitney was thirty-five years of age, his wife thirty, and the sons were eleven, nine, eight, six and one, respectively. Soon after his arrival Mr. Whitney settled in Watertown, where he bought sixteen acres of land which had been granted by the Massachusetts Colony to John Strickland. These acres were, however, only the nucleus of a much larger estate of which he was the possessor at the time of his death. Mrs. Whitney died May 11, 1659, and her husband married, September 29, 1659, Judith or Judah Clement, whose death was followed by that of Mr. Whitney June 1, 1673, at the age of seventy-four. Three sons—Joshua, Caleb and Benjamin—were born in Watertown, and there, with the exception of Caleb, all the other brothers were living at the time of their father's death.

John Whitney, Jr., son of the ancestor, was born in England in 1624, and married Ruth, daughter of Robert Reynolds, of Boston. He was a prominent man in Watertown, and served on the Board of Selectmen from 1673 to 1679, inclusive. He had ten children: John, born September 17, 1643; Ruth, April 15, 1645; Nathaniel, February 1, 1646–47; Samuel, July 28, 1648; Mary, April 29, 1650; Joseph, January 15, 1651–52; Sarah, March 17, 1653–54; Elizabeth, June 9, 1656; Hannah (date of birth unknown), and Benjamin, June 28, 1660. Of these children Benjamin married, March 30, 1687, Abigail Hagar and a second wife, Elizabeth, and remained in Watertown. His children were Abigail, born May 3, 1688; Benjamin, baptized July 10, 1698; Ruth, baptized July 10, 1698; John, born June 15, 1694; David, June 16, 1697, and Daniel, July 17, 1700. Of these children David settled in Waltham and married a wife, Rebecca. He was an ensign in the navy, and died before April 30, 1745, the date of the division of his estate. His children were Rebecca, born in November, 1721; David, September 25, 1723; Anna or Hannah, August 8, 1725; Ruth, February 23, 1728–29; Josiah, November 22, 1730; Jonas, June 25, 1733, and Jonathan, February 10, 1735. Of these children Josiah lived in Waltham, and married, June 15, 1762, Sarah Lawrence. He died December 3, 1800, and his children were Sarah, born April 18, 1763; Josiah, June 23, 1765; Rhoda, August 22, 1768; Jonathan, May 8, 1772; Annie, baptized April 2, 1775, and Lucy, baptized July 28, 1776. Of these



W. W. Whitney



Edwin K. Johnson

Josiah married Mary Barrett, of Ashby, to whom he was published January 10, 1794. His children were Josiah, born in Waltham March 20, 1791; Sally, born in Waltham March 19, 1792; Jonas Prescott, born in Waltham September 22, 1793; Mary, born in Waltham September 14, 1796; William, born in Lincoln July 20, 1798; John born April 7, 1801; Nancy, March 29, 1803, and Alice, December 17, 1805. He was, with his wife, dismissed to the church in Ashby November 24, 1799, and in that town the death of his wife occurred, August 23, 1841, followed by his own, December 24, 1842. Of these children William lived in Ashby and married Fanny Lincoln, a native of Marlboro', N. H. He is the father of Myron W. Whitney, the subject of this sketch, and is still living (June, 1890) in his native town at the advanced age of ninety-two.

Myron W. Whitney, until the age of sixteen, attended the public schools of Ashby, and then removed to Boston, where, at the age of twenty, having developed musical and vocal talents of great promise, he began with E. H. Frost to study for the profession in which he has won distinction, and soon became a member of the well-known Tremont Temple Choir, of which Mr. Frost was director. During his membership in the choir, which continued several years, he sang with marked success in oratorios and concerts; but, conscious of powers which needed a better education than Boston could afford, he went to Italy in 1869 at the age of thirty-three, and availed himself of the instruction of the celebrated Vannucini, of Florence. After leaving Florence he went to London, and, with Signor Randegger, the distinguished oratorio teacher, perfected himself in that department of musical art. While in England his singing of *Elijah* with the Birmingham Festival Choral Society won for him a reputation which opened the way for a brilliant reception and career on his return to his native land. After his return he sang in oratorios concerts and festivals until 1873, when he again visited England, under a contract with the distinguished soprano, Madame Rudersdorf, to sing with her in a concert and oratorio tour through England, Ireland and Scotland. The reputation which he had acquired at his earlier appearance in England was enhanced by his later efforts, and the power and compass of his voice, ranging from low C to high F, gave him a universally acknowledged claim to a place in the front rank of the bassos of his day.

In the autumn of 1873 he sang at Covent Garden Theatre in London during six weeks in concert and oratorio, under the direction of Sir Arthur Sullivan, Sir Julius Benedict and other celebrated directors, and returned home in the spring of 1874 to fill engagements at various American festivals, and made a tour of the United States with Theodore Thomas and his unequalled orchestra. In 1875 he again visited England under a contract with Novello, Ewer & Co. for a three months' season of oratorio and concert in Royal Albert Hall, London. This engagement was unusually brilliant and successful, and at its close Mr. Whitney sang almost nightly in the larger cities of Great Britain until his return to America, in the spring of 1876, which was hastened by an urgent invitation to take part at the opening of the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia of that year. Mr. Whitney was on that occasion the only soloist of the celebration. The immense space in front of the art building was filled by a crowd estimated approximately at 100,000, and the voices of the speakers failed to reach the ears of more than one-tenth part of the multitude. Far within the circumference of the audience the voices of even the chorus were indistinct, but over and beyond the limits of the great congregation the grand notes of Mr. Whitney cut their way with a power and clearness which excited the wonder and admiration of all who were present and heard them. No human voice was ever subjected to such a test, and no test of far less magnitude was ever by the human voice more triumphantly met.

Since 1876, though frequently urged to repeat his visits to England, he has confined himself to engagements at home, which have been arduous and unremitting. He has sung in all the large festivals of the country, with the Handel and Haydn Society in their Boston oratorios, in eight of the nine festivals in Cincinnati and in New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Indianapolis festivals. He probably has the most extensive *repertoire* of any basso in concert and oratorio, while his later efforts have given him an enviable *repertoire* in grand opera also. His operatic experience, extending over a period of ten years, and including two seasons with the American Opera Company through the United States, has crowned a reputation as basso which no other singer of our country has ever attained. His success in the grand *rôle* of *King*, in "Lohengrin," no American audience has ever seen surpassed, if even equaled.

Among the more celebrated artists with whom Mr. Whitney has sung may be mentioned,—Parepa Rosa, Christine Nillson, Adelina Patti, Annie Louise Carey, Clara Kellogg, Campanini, Charles Adams, Candidus and Gorg Henschel in the United States; Madame Titiens, Madame Lemmens Sherrington, Madame Trebelli, Madame Patey, Antoinette Sterling, Sims Reeves, Vernon Rigby and Julius Stockhausen in England; and Madame Rudersdorf and Edward Lloyd in both the United States and England. As conductors he has sung under Sir Michael Costa, Sir Julius Benedict, Sir Arthur Sullivan, August Manns, Signor Randegger and Sir Charles Halle in England; and Theodore Thomas, Carl Zerrahn, Gericke and others. During the present year of 1890 he has sung in the festivals of Boston, Springfield, Cincinnati, Mansfield, O., and Pittsburgh, and his engagements end only with the advent of summer.

Mr. Whitney married, May 4, 1859, Eleanora Breasha, of Boston, in which city he held his residence

until December, 1888, and has three children,—William Lincoln, Lizzie Gertrude and Myron W., Jr. In 1888 he removed to Watertown, where he bought an estate which he has since occupied, and which he has discovered is a part of the estate owned by his ancestor, John Whitney, during his residence in that town. In 1880 he bought land on the shore of Long Pond, in the town of Plymouth, on which he built a house which he occupies as a summer residence. The pond on whose margin his house stands, and the large numer of other ponds in the vicinity, afford him abundant opportunity for the indulgence of his taste for fishing during intermissions from his professional labors. His skill with the rod is only surpassed by his musical attainments, and it is a matter of doubt whether he is not less proud of his reputation as an artist than of the feat he has performed of landing a trout weighing twenty-five pounds and fourteen ounces with an eleven-ounce rod.

Mr. Whitney is in the prime of life, with health unimpaired, and with a voice promising still greater triumphs than it has ever yet achieved. During his summer residence in the native town of the writer of this sketch he has won hosts of friends, and not the least of his successes was the part gracefully accepted by him at the celebration of the completion of the National Monument to the Pilgrims on the 1st of August, 1889. On that occasion the beautiful hymn of Mrs. Hemans, "The Breaking Waves Dashed High," as sung by him before an audience of 2000 persons, was one of the most interesting features of the day.

EDWIN K. JOHNSON.

Edwin Kendall Johnson, son of William and Betsey (Wright) Johnson, was born in Ashby October 5, 1827. He married Lucy M. Thayer, of Lebanon, Maine, July 19, 1866. She died in Ashby October 19, 1870. No children. He is descended in the fifth generation from Captain Edward Johnson, born in Herne Hill, Kent, England, in 1599. He came to New England in 1637, and settled in Charlestown in that part thereof which is now Woburn. He is known as the author of the remarkable historical work entitled "Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England." He was a joiner, a prominent military man, and deputy from Woburn to the General Court many times. He died in Woburn April 23, 1762, and his sons were the leading men of that town. William was a favorite Christian name in the Johnson family, and every paternal ancestor of the subject of this sketch since the time of Captain Edward had that name. His grandfather lived in Acton, was a prominent man there, a soldier in the Revolution under General Arnold, was in the battle at Saratoga when Burgoyne surrendered. He saw Major André executed and testified to his attractive personality and his quiet submission to his fate. He moved to Ashby in 1791 and settled beneath the evening shadow of Nemosit Hill, known also as Prospect Hill and Blood Hill. Edwin K. distinctly remembers his grandfather, and when not at school he worked with his father on his farm. He attended the academy at Hancock, N. H., one term, was at New Ipswich Academy three terms, and at the Ashby Academy most of the time for two years. He learned the mason's trade, and after he became master of the business he went to Boston, where he made a specialty of setting boilers, ranges and furnaces, and he followed this occupation successfully for twenty-one years. He attended strictly to his business, saved his money and invested it with good judgment. For the last twenty years he has lived on the ancestral homestead, where he cared for his parents in their declining years and to some extent has improved his farm. He has never coveted office, although he has served as moderator at the annual town-meetings and has been on the School Committee several years. He is a Republican in politics, having voted for every Republican candidate for the Presidency since that party was formed.

CHAPTER XXIII.

WOBURN.

BY WILLIAM R. CUTTER.

INTRODUCTION.

WOBURN, according to a recent authority, is one of the older towns of Massachusetts, having been settled in 1642. Its growth, however,—it continues,—was slow, and it is only in recent years that it has attained to marked importance. This indeed is true; still, Woburn has, nevertheless, quite a history, and in the past has faithfully performed her part in the State and country. In the earlier days, when the fathers were slowly and broadly laying the foundation of the privileges and advantages her present sons enjoy, many of her sons were sent to adorn and benefit other municipalities, where their careers not only gained credit for themselves but increased the renown of the places they had selected for their adopted homes. The same is true of her daughters; and the careers of these, and of the others whose lives have been spent on their natal soil, in very many instances have shown commendable examples of worth and usefulness, sobriety, industry, good sense and abounding activity in all common employments. Due regard has also been paid to all religious, educational and moral and pecuniary obligations. The financial credit of the town and city in its corporate capacity has always been good; and its bills have always been paid with commendable promptness. The place has also contained among its inhabitants many public-spirited citizens, both male and female, who have given generously of their time and means for its so-

cial advancement and the improvement of the mental and physical condition of its inhabitants. Those of our native population who have traveled, or have found homes elsewhere, have felt, wherever they have been, that Woburn has been a place good to hail from. For ourselves we are proud to say that we are native to Woburn; that our birthplace was here on its goodly soil; that its people were our earlier and later friends; that within its bosom rest the remains of our beloved parents; many of our earlier friends rest in its soil with them—peace to their ashes! We are not ashamed of Woburn's past, and have no fears for its future. From a natural love of the work we have made the history of the town the study of a lifetime. This has been partly an inherited taste. Our advantages in the prosecution of the task have been great, if not unusual. We are thankful to all who have aided in any way in helping with special or general information. The response has always been faithfully met. In the following pages we have attempted to show the results of a few of our researches. In this undertaking we have had the sanction of the members of the Rumford Historical Association and the assistance of his honor, Edward F. Johnson, the first mayor of the city of Woburn, and of the Rev. Leander Thompson, both natives of Woburn; the latter gentleman for a long series of years having made the history of the town, its churches and the genealogy of its people a special and favorite study.

If with all these advantages the writers have failed to meet the reasonable expectations of the public in these sketches, it is hoped that their failure may be attributed to their want of ability, rather than to their want of zeal in the prosecution of their researches. The mass of material before them from which to select is immense, and the subject is one that possesses, besides, a great variety of aspects; to select judiciously is a task of no small difficulty, and opinions may differ on the wisdom of their choice. But it has been determined to rest generally on the decision of their own judgment, governed to some extent by the custom usual in such matters. It has been their determination to present their facts in the most compact language at their disposal, to avoid disquisitions, and to confine themselves to a clear statement of facts, letting the facts carry their own weight of interest and importance, believing that the serious student will find in them much of value and usefulness, in spite of possible or positive defects.

The Sketch in the "Social Statistics of Cities."—The town assumed sufficient importance, even before its incorporation as a city, to form the subject of a chapter in the "Social Statistics of Cities," a report of the United States Government, published in connection with the census of 1880. In this sketch the population in the aggregate, from 1800 to 1880, is given, with 1228 inhabitants in 1800; 6287 in 1860; 8560 in 1870, and 10,931 in 1880, the latter numbers illustrating the period of its greatest growth. Its latitude, 42° 29′ north; longitude, 71° 9′, west from Greenwich, are given; also an outline map, showing its distance and direction from five neighboring cities—Boston, Salem, Haverhill, Lowell and Waltham, Mass.; also statistics of its population by sex, nativity and race, at census of 1880; and its financial condition, followed by an historical sketch, another map and statistical accounts collected by the census office to indicate the condition of Woburn in 1880, as to location, railroad communications, topography, tributary country, climate, streets, waterworks, gas, public buildings, places of amusement, cemeteries; sanitary authority with features of Board of Health, infectious diseases and municipal cleansing; police, Fire Department and public schools. On the larger map are shown the location of the "four villages," of greater or less size, comprised within its limits; the area occupied by its "small rural population," and the situation of its nearly "75 miles" of streets;[1] also the principal pond—Horn Pond—the principal elevations, such as Horn Pond Mountain, Mount Pleasant, Rag Rock and Whispering Hill, with other general features, such as streams and railroads. On the whole, giving a very good general idea of the character of the town. The historical sketch is comprehensive, beginning with the settlement in the wilderness, which then stretched to the west and northwest, broken only in one or two places by small settlements, while the nearest incorporated towns were Rowley and Ipswich on the north; Salem and Lynn, northeast; Charlestown, east; Cambridge, southeast and south, and Concord, southwest. The territory roundabout had then been but very little explored. Two-thirds of the sketch, which in the main is quite accurate, is devoted to the period previous to 1700, and an account is given of the leather industry, which has been for many years the leading manufacture of the place. This is the latest extended account of the town (1886), which we have seen published. Since the facts on which it was based have been collected the growth has been considerable, and by 1892—the year of its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary—the population, it may be supposed, may be increased in number by at least one-half, if former years are a criterion of judgment on which to base a calculation of such importance.

Note.—*Cf. Ency. Britannica*, 9th ed., xxiv. 625–626; *U. S. Census Report on the Social Statistics of Cities* (Wash. 1886), pt. 1, 330–334.

[1] An elaborate article on the streets of Woburn is published in the appendix of Mayor E. F. Johnson's inaugural address, Jan. 6, 1890. The actual length in miles is, however, 63.1 miles.

CHAPTER XXIV.

WOBURN—(Continued).

CIVIL HISTORY TO 1800.

THE civil history of Woburn to the year 1800 is much like that of other towns of equal age; town-meetings were held, officers were chosen, common lands were distributed, ecclesiastical and secular matters pertaining to the jurisdiction of a town were properly attended to, and till 1730 the town and parish were practically one in the effect of their action. Wilmington had been set off from Woburn in 1730, and in the same year the remaining portion of the town was divided into two parishes for religious purposes—the First, or Old Parish, including the present territory of Woburn and Winchester, and the Second Parish, or Woburn Precinct, as it was often called, including the part later set off as the town of Burlington. Town-meetings after this period were often held alternately in each parish. This is evident from the entries to be found in the records and in the contemporary diary of Samuel Thompson, Esq., a gentleman long identified with the town as a public and parish officer. The extant result of this business—besides the gradual effect of measures and duties consecutively performed upon the welfare of the public—is a series of handsomely written and well-kept records, well preserved and well cared for, of which, as a whole, the place has no cause to be ashamed, but cause for congratulation in the choice of her early clerks and the excellent handwriting of the greater part of them. Good ink and a large hand was the rule, and Woburn has in this series of books a priceless treasure, which we hope no fire will destroy or vandal purloin or mar.

In the course of events unusual transactions have occurred which possess a general interest, and attention is directed to a few. First and foremost, the facts in relation to the settlement of the town set forth in the first volume of the town records, which volume has been published. The discovery of the territory was accomplished with difficulty, and the inducing of settlers to locate on the lots already laid out by the parent town, or on lots to be laid out, or to stay afterwards, was a matter of still greater difficulty, and subjected the leaders to periods of discouragement. The courageous persistence of a few accomplished the work. Second, in the ordination of their first minister, some proceedings esteemed irregular by the authorities occurred, which excited the attention of that time and some interest later until the present age. This matter belongs to the ecclesiastical history of the town. Third, when once established, the community prospered, and with the exception of the loss of a portion of her territory and people to form another town, increased in population and resources till the opening of the war of the American Revolution. This contest imposed burdens which impaired the prosperity of her people, and when recovery had commenced the loss of nearly half her territory and much of her population to form the town of Burlington, in 1799, crippled her prosperity to a considerable degree. The principal dependence for wealth to that date had been agriculture, and the town was a large farming community, in comparison with similar communities in the State. After the beginning of the present century the leather industry began to assume important proportions and became the principal production. The town suffered no further loss of her territory till the separation from her limits of the town of Winchester in 1850. Fourth, such matters of great interest to the fathers, but now of little importance, as the Mistick or Medford Bridge controversy and the extinction by mismanagement of the loan funds acquired from the Province, and the sale of the town's two thousand acres in 1734,—matters which were before the public for a long series of years,—having been fully treated in the already published history of the town, it seems needless to go over them again; and the same might be said of the arbitrary proceedings of Sir Edmund Andros in Woburn in 1687–88, which belong especially to the account of the life of William Johnson. The greatest injury the prosperity and growth of the town received before 1800, was the separation from it of two towns and the consequent loss of territory and population. The losses of the Revolutionary War were partly supplied by the sale of some public lands.

NOTE.—The particulars of the settlement are given in Sewall's *Woburn* chap. i.; customs of the settlers for the first fifty years described, chap. ii.; proceedings of Andros in Woburn, chap. iv.; Medford Bridge and loan business, chap. iv., vi. and ix.; separation of Wilmington as a town, and the part now Burlington as a precinct or parish, chap. viii.; embarrassment of the town by debt after the Revolution, chap. xiii.; incorporation of Burlington, ditto. Mr. Champney (Drake's *Middlesex County* ii. 530) treats the Medford Bridge and the loan matters (532–533). The main points of the history of the town are concisely stated in a brief sketch by Dr. B. Cutter, in catalogue of First Church, published in 1844. The substance of this statement was that Woburn anciently included the major part of the present towns of Wilmington and Burlington within its bounds, and for more than ninety years had but one church and one place of public worship for all its inhabitants. In 1730 Wilmington was set off; and the remaining facts are ecclesiastical in their nature. These facts are repeated in the church catalogue of 1852 and 1871.

In the following pages it is purposed to treat, under separate headings, various topics connected with the civil history of the town before 1800. We shall make use of such light as recent discoveries afford, and some of the topics will be:—The origin of the name; the early settlement, and certain contemporaneous incidents; the earthquake of Oct. 29, 1727, concerning which much material is extant; the history of the ancient public burial-grounds, etc.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME.—The reason why Woburn was named for the Woburn in Bedfordshire, England, is a recent discovery. Captain Edward Johnson, in some curious lines at the beginning of the first volume of the Woburn town records, says in line four of this

unique production, in which the town is supposed to be speaking in the first person:

"Nowell, Symmes, Sedgwick, these my patrons were."

These were influential names. Nowell, was Increase Nowell, a well-known magistrate and leading citizen; Symmes was Zachariah Symmes, the minister of Charlestown, the parent town; while Sedgwick was Robert Sedgwick, a military officer of eminence and one of the distinguished men of his time. Nowell and Sedgwick were then both residents of Charlestown; and while much has been written in the past concerning Nowell and Symmes, developments of recent date place Sedgwick in an interesting light as the individual to whom the New England town of Woburn owes its name. This discovery was first made public by E. F. Johnson and W. R. Cutter in the first issue of their publication of the Woburn records in the *Woburn Journal* for May 18, 1888: the former is a lineal descendant of Captain Edward Johnson, and the first mayor of the city of Woburn. Cutter having read in the number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for April, 1888, a statement that Maj.-Gen. Robert Sedgwick, of Charlestown, was baptized at Woburn, Bedfordshire, England, investigation was immediately made to see what intimate connection that fact might have with his relation to the Woburn in New England. The line above quoted from Edward Johnson in the rude poem at the beginning of the Woburn records, and designed to memorialize, if not to immortalize, the facts relating to the origin of Woburn, shows that he was one of the three principal patrons of the enterprise; and the fact noted by Savage (*Gen. Dict.* iv. 48) that Sedgwick was "a neighbor" of Johnson when the latter resided in Charlestown, and the latter mentioning Sedgwick, in the "*Wonder-working Providence*," as "the first Sergeant-Major chosen to order the Regiment of Essex [equivalent to the present colonel], stout and active in all feats of war, nursed up in London's Artillery garden, and furthered with fifteen years' experience in New England exact theory; besides the help of a very good headpiece, being a frequent instructor of the most martial troops of our artillery men;" etc. (*W. W. Prov.*, ed. 1867, p. 192), and the first mention Johnson makes of him in the Woburn records being in the words "Noble Captain Sedgwick," shows he was held in high estimation by Johnson. The Woburn records show Sedgwick's part in the work of exploring the lands at the time of the settlement of the town, and the influential position he had in selecting the present site for the village, or the spot where the meeting-house should be. He was also the chairman of the committee of thirteen appointed by Charlestown, Nov. 4, 1640, to set the bounds between the two places and select the site for the new town. This was the first important action on the part of the parent town in a corporate capacity, in regard to the setting apart and settling of Woburn.

A biographical sketch of Sedgwick is given in the number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* already referred to. He was the son of William Sedgwick and Elizabeth Howe, who were married, according to the registers of St. Mary's Church, at Woburn, Bedfordshire, England, April 10, 1604. His father, William, was a warden of that church, and was buried there July 25, 1632. Robert Sedgwick was baptized at Woburn, Bedfordshire, England, May 6, 1613. The family was one of distinction in England. After a distinguished career in New England, he was sent by his friend and commander Cromwell to Jamaica, where he was high in office, and died in 1656.[1]

The fact that Sedgwick came from Woburn, Bedfordshire, England, was the reason why the name of the place of his origin was given to the Woburn in New England, in whose founding he took such a leading part; to say nothing of the influence of Johnson, the father and projector of the infant settlement, in imposing such a name on the town, in honor of its principal patron. It is not so stated in the records; but it is evidently true. The matter of naming a New England town in the seventeenth century from the leading man, either layman or pastor, is mentioned by an excellent English writer, Doyle, *English Colonies in America*, iii. 7; and he says, "The town was named, not after the individual, but after his former abode; thus Duxbury, Groton and Haverhill commemorated the birthplaces of Standish, of Winthrop, and of Ward."

The theory in Sewall's *Woburn*, p. 539, which has been widely copied, therefore, has no force. The honor conferred on Richard Russell in this matter was misplaced. He came, also, from Hertfordshire, where none of the English Woburns are placed. There are three of these in England: Woburn, *Bedfordshire;* Woo-burn, *Bucks;* O-burn, *Dorset.* All three spellings were used by the early settlers of New England, but which was our namesake was unknown. It was not known till this discovery that any person connected with the settlement of this Woburn had any relation with the English Woburns. From the statements made the matter is now clear, and Woburn, Bedfordshire, is the place whence our town derived its name.

NOTE.—For local articles on the subject of Woburn, Bedfordshire, see *Our Paper* (1875), 34, and (1876) 54, 59, 62; also *same*, vol. 2 (1876) 6, 10, 14, 42, 67; *Woburn Journal*, Oct. 25, 1879, Oct. 3, 10, and Dec. 5, 1881, and Aug. 5, 1887. It would be easy to add more. Natives of Woburn, New England, have from time to time visited Woburn, Bedfordshire, England, notably Edward F. Johnson, who gave a lecture on his experiences before the Rumford Historical Association on April 9, 1889, published in the *Woburn Journal*, May 2, 1890; and Ephraim Cutter, M.D., who gave a description of his visit in a letter published in the *Woburn Budget* for July 18, 1862. Also Leonard Thompson, trustee and vice-president of the Rumford Historical Association, who gave an account of his visit in a letter published in the *Woburn Journal*, July 26, 1889.

THE EARLY SETTLEMENT.—On the first page of

[1] *Cf.* Frothingham's *Charlestown* (1846), 135–139, which cites a quotation from Carlyle's *Cromwell*, ii. 198, regarding Sedgwick.

the first volume of the town records are the following lines, composed by Captain Edward Johnson, intended to be a sketch of the history of the settlement of the town.[1]

Paulisper Fui.[2]

In penniless age, I, Woburn town, began ;
Charlestown first moved the court my lines to span ;
To view my land place, compiled body rear,[3]
Nowell, Symmes, Sedgwick, these my patrons were.
Some fearing I'll grow great upon these grounds,
Poor, I was put to nurse among the clowns,
Who being taken with such mighty things,
As had been work of noble queens and kings—
Till babe 'gan cry and great disturbance make—
Nurses repent they did her undertake.[4]
One leaves her quite[5]—another he doth hie
To foreign lands, free from the baby's cry.[6]
Two more of seven,[7] seeing nursing prove so thwart,
Thought it more ease in following of the cart.[8]
A neighbor by,[9] hoping the babe would be
A pretty girl, to rocking her went he.
Two nurses, less undaunted than the rest,[10]
First houses finish ; thus the girl 'gan dressed.
It's rare to see how this poor town did rise
By weakest means ;[11]—too weak in great ones' eyes.
And sure it is, that metal's clear extraction[12]
Had never share in this poor town's erection.
Without which metal, and some fresh supplies,
Patrons conclude she never up would rise.
If ever she 'mongst ladies have a station,
Say 'twas from parents, not her education.
And now conclude the Lord's own hand it was
That with weak means did bring this work to pass.
Not only town, but sister church too add,
Which out of dust and ashes now is had.
Then all inhabit Woburn town, stay, make
The Lord, not means, of all you undertake.[13]

[1] Though the records begin in 1640, these lines were supposed to be composed in 1642, from the allusions to events of that year. They are published with the crudity of their original spelling by Sewall (*Hist.* 530–1), Poole (*W. W. P.*, 1867, lxxxvi.), and Frothingham (*Hist. of C.*, 108–9).

[2] *Lat.* "I have lived for a short time," or I have been a little while, "I" meaning the town.

[3] Meaning "my compact body to rear."—*Frothingham.*

[4] "The distinguished patrons of Woburn, fearing it would one day rival Charlestown, discouraged the enterprise, and gave it to those they regarded of a lower grade in society, or as the 'clowns.' But difficulties discouraged them also, and they 'repent they did her undertake.'" —*Frothingham.*

[5] Ezekiel Richardson, supposed. Others have thought Sedgwick the person referred to.

[6] Thomas Graves, the admiral, evidently. For biog. sketch, see Frothingham (*Hist. of C.*, 139–40), and Sewall (*Hist.* 68–71) ; also see *Winchester Record*, ii. 397–8.

[7] The number of the commissioners for the founding of Woburn.

[8] The two were the brothers Samuel and Thomas Richardson, evidently.

[9] Edward Johnson, "the author of the metre in the text."

[10] Edward Converse and John Mousall.

[11] Or from the humblest circumstances imaginable.

[12] A phrase signifying gold or silver money, mainly the latter.

[13] The preliminary quotation is from Plautus (*Ps.* 1, 1, 36) "Comedy of the Liar:" *quasi solstitialis herba, paulisper fui*, "As a summer's flower, I have lived for a short time,"—true as to the existence of Woburn in 1642. The ascription of glory to the Lord for what had been accomplished, the failure of patrons to encourage or aid, the opposition of Charlestown, the consignment of the undertaking to "the clowns," the absence of supposed solid means, the difficulty of the enterprise of opening a new settlement in a dense wilderness; all this, as expressed in Johnson's verse, truthfully shows, it may be supposed, the meagreness of the means at the outset. The enterprise was finally conducted by the common people in their own way.

At the present day one can little conceive the obstacles that surrounded these persons. The difficulties to be met in the forest were to be overcome by men with hard muscles, long inured to severe toil, and such as the hardiest alone could stand ; work of a kind to be accomplished by laborers of the roughest sort—the "clowns" of Johnson's verse—rustic and ill-bred, but full of determination to win and overcome natural obstacles of a most disheartening character. They toiled, says Johnson, their leader, with much difficulty, traveling through unknown woods and through watery swamps; sometimes passing through thickets where they were forced to make way with their hands for the passage of their bodies, and their feet clambered over crossed trees, from which if they missed their footing they sunk into an uncertain bottom in water and waded up to their knees ; they tumbled, sometimes higher and sometimes lower, and wearied with this toil, at the end would meet with a scorching plain ; yet, in the quaint phrase of Johnson, it was there not "so plain," or easy, for the ragged bushes of the place manifested their presence by scratching the explorers' legs "foully." The sun also cast such a reflecting heat in such places from the sweet fern, whose scent was very strong, that some of the party were very near fainting from it, although they had very able bodies to undergo such hardship and travel—the toil of a new plantation being like the labors of a Hercules—never at an end.

See a reference to the above extract from the *Wonder-working Providence*, in the *Winchester Record*, iii. 18, 23 ; also for a further quotation from Johnson, *ibid.* i., 49.

A publication entitled *Good News from New England* (*London* 1648), reprinted in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 4th s., cf. i. 201, 212—refers to Woburn thus: "*Woo-burn*, Wickham [meaning Wenham] *Redding* [Reading] built with little silver mettle [metal]." The "Good News" being a relation partly in rhyme, a comparison of Johnson's verse-making with that writer's shows that the work of one is about the same as the other; and a mixed relation in verse and prose appears to be a common feature of the literary productions of the day, particularly in descriptions of New England.

A second reference to Woburn in this production of 1648 is the following, referring to Thomas Carter as minister (*M.*) of the town, and to his salary of £60 (60*l.*) in a list of towns and ministers : "Woo-burn : *M.* Tho. Carter, 60*l.*"

The territory called Woburn, says Frothingham ("Hist. of Charlestown," chap. xiii., A.D. 1846) was regarded in 1640 as remote land, whose roads were Indian pathways, with crevices of rocks and clefts of trees for shelters. To explore it, or occupy it, was viewed as a great labor, and not to be accomplished without danger. The Woburn records note every step. This author, with characteristic ability, gives each important incident in the history of Woburn to

the death of Rev. Thomas Carter, in 1684. Of some of the features of the town orders, he remarks—"small things, some may think . . . . but let them not be despised; for such are the fibres of our national tree!" The history of the town's settlement, he says, is "minutely detailed by the early authorities"—referring mainly to the writings of Captain Edward Johnson—and it afforded a "good illustration of some of the peculiarities of the times, and of the way in which towns were organized." The town, he said, shared largely in the early dangers, and "partook of the prosperity of the country."

The peninsula which is known to us to-day as Charlestown was the site of the original settlement of that municipality, and territory was added to that small tract till the area of many present towns was covered by the name of Charlestown. The town of Woburn was the first to be set off. Shorn of this external territory in the course of years, Charlestown has again shrunken to her original limits, and has lost her name also in that of Boston.

Posterity owes a great debt to the perseverance of the first settlers of Woburn and to Edward Johnson, the leader, who patiently recorded the story of their labors. No fuller account of the origin and settlement of a town of equal age has been given in the annals of New England. His history is now the basis of many writers on historical and political science, when treating of the New England people. Frothingham called him "the father of Woburn." He was a native of Kent, of the parish of Herne Hill, in England. He was connected intimately with a place called Waterham, in that parish in the old country, where he left possessions mentioned in his will. Captain Johnson was a citizen of Charlestown after 1630, and returning to England, brought over on his second passage from that country his family, consisting of his wife, his seven children and three servants. This is supposed to be about 1636 or 1637. At Charlestown, says Frothingham, "he lived in Bow Street," anciently Crooked Lane, the location of his houses and gardens being verified in Hunnewell's *Century of Town Life*, plans, pp. 108, 129. "Yet," says Frothingham, "it is strange that the name of so noted a civilian and religionist is not found in the church records at all, nor on the town records before 1640, except in divisions of lands and in a description of his property, where he is styled captain." As we have intimated, he was "the author of the very curious work entitled *Wonder-Working Providence of Zion's Saviour*" (Lond. 1654), "a relation of the first planting of New England." From the outset he took a leading part in the settlement of Woburn, and at the first meeting of the commissioners for the purpose presented a plot of the contemplated town and was chosen its recorder or clerk. He was active in founding the church and was the first captain of the military company at Woburn. He was a man of much influence in the Colony at large, held many offices, and died April 23, 1672.[1]

Edward Converse, another citizen of importance among the settlers, was the first ferryman at Charlestown, and a selectman there from 1635 to 1640. At Woburn he built and occupied the first house erected in the town and was the owner of the mill. These buildings were at what is now Winchester Centre. He represented Woburn in the General Court in 1660 and died Aug. 10, 1663. Frothingham states that he left an estate valued at £827 5*s*. 6*d*. to his wife, his three sons and daughter. He was of Charlestown in 1630. (See Frothingham, *Hist. C.*, 78.[2])

Thomas Graves, the rear-admiral, was a prominent character among the settlers also. His farm was located in North Winchester, near present Montvale. The celebrated John Harvard or Mrs. Harvard had a lot laid out near (120 acres) which was sold to Thomas Graves.—*Winchester Record*, ii, frontispiece, and pp. 15, 21.

The names of the seven commissioners for the founding of Woburn were: Edward Johnson, Edward Converse, Thomas Graves, John Mousall, and the brothers, Ezekiel, Thomas and Samuel Richardson.

NOTES.—THE COUNTY OF KENT WHENCE CAPTAIN EDWARD JOHNSON CAME IN ENGLAND.—The obligations of New England to the county of Kent is the subject of an address by George F. Hoar, before the *Amer. Antiq. Soc.* (Worcester), 1885. Kent, from the earliest historic period, says this writer, was the "England of England," and remarkable for the courage and warlike quality of its people, for their tenacity in clinging to their own customs and for the part their customs have

[1] Edward Johnson was probably the best known citizen of the town in his time in the Commonwealth. His fame extended even in his lifetime to England, where an English squire printed in London his unique and valuable "History of New England" as his own production. For many years the fraud upon the labor and brains of our worthy town father passed unrecognized; but posterity now recognizes its true source, and his name and fame are assured as the author of that early New England history. He was a pioneer explorer of the forest, and in connection with one expedition his initials were cut in a rock at the outlet of Lake Winnepesaukee, and are still to be seen. As a deputy from Woburn in the General Court he was appointed to serve with the most distinguished men of the Colony on important committees, and it would be easy to enumerate from the colony records a long list of his services. This has been already done by the present writer in a lecture before the Rumford Historical Association, on April 8, 1887, a copy of which lecture in manuscript is in the archives of that society. Johnson was a lieutenant, 1644, and captain, 1650. After his decease the General Court pronounced an opinion on him as a local historian, by mentioning his name with others of the highest repute. There is no stone to mark his grave and the spot is forgotten. For early sketches of Johnson, see *N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll.* (Concord, 1834), iv.; *Columbian Centinel*, June 16, 1819, copied, with a few alterations, into *Farmer and Moore's Coll.* (1822), article by John Farmer. Also among a great many other notices, one in the *Winchester Record*, i. 41–47.

[2] Edward Converse and two others, in 1635, made the first exploration authorized by Charlestown, into the country. His ferry was where Charles River Bridge now is, and was established in 1631. He was a member of Woburn Church from the beginning and a deacon in it, one of the first two till his death. Selectman from the first choice, 1644, till his decease. He was evidently a power in all these early enterprises. *Cf.* Frothingham, *Hist of C.*, 65, 94–5; Sewall's *Woburn*, 72-3; *Winchester Record*, i., 223–43, 247–59; ii., 208–22. For criticism of genealogical position in *ib.*, ii., 208–22, see *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, xli., 344. Some curious minor references to Converse, before 1642, are found in *Colony Rec.*, vol. i. and ii.

played in the history of liberty. Blackstone has said, "When liberty dies out, it will give its last groan among the yeomen of Kent!" The county of Kent is the home of the original Yankee, and the people who emigrated thence to New England were the "Yankees of the Yankees." The following persons connected with the early history of Woburn were certainly from Kent, and their names were of Kentish origin: Edward Johnson, Thomas Graves, John Mousall, Isaac Cole, Zachariah Symmes, Daniel Gookin and Simon Willard. Thus three of the seven commissioners for the settlement of the town were from Kent.

EARLY EXPLORATIONS AND MAPS.—The first recorded exploration of this vicinity was in 1621, when an exploring party from Plymouth entered Boston Harbor and made an excursion into the interior in the direction of the present localities of Medford and Winchester. It is doubtful if they quite reached the latter place, although their explorations extended to the vicinity of Mistick Pond. *Cf.* on this subject the *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, i. 63, etc., and the authorities there mentioned. It is probable, also, that the few white settlers scattered about the site of Boston from 1623–24 to 1629 (see account in the *Narr. and Crit. Hist. of America*, iii. 311) had an acquaintance, more or less superficial, with this neighborhood. The principal immigration from England was between the years 1630 and 1640, and after 1630 the knowledge of the territory adjacent to the principal settlements increased and was becoming considerable by 1633, from the evidence shown by two maps of this section of that date, one being recently discovered, *i. e.*, the Winthrop map, the other being Wood's map. The Winthrop is evidently the older, and Wood's was apparently made from it. Gov. John Winthrop was the namesake of one and William Wood, author of *New England's Prospect* (Lond. 1634), of the other. Wood's work is the earliest topographical account of Massachusetts. The Winthrop map is minutely described in the recently published *Narr. and Crit. Hist. of America*, iii. 381, which expresses the opinion that the topography corresponds with Wood, if both are not drafted from an earlier map, the result of a previous survey. They are crude drawings. Spot Pond, Mistick Pond and Horn Pond are named on both maps. Horn Pond is the name given to a pond which is plainly Spy Pond, in Arlington, and the true Horn Pond is not represented. The use of its name, however, shows that the cognomen is of greater antiquity than the town itself and older even than the year 1638, when it was used in the description of the Waterfield lots. The map-makers of 1633 evidently did not have an intimate acquaintance with the actual pond, or they would not have left it out of their maps. It is presumed that the whites had by that time penetrated to it and named it. Horn Pond Mountain, though unnamed, is shown as a hill in Winthrop's map, and three small ponds are represented near, intended to be the ponds in Winchester, known as Wedge and Winter Ponds. The Mistick Pond is stated on the Winthrop map to be sixty fathoms deep; Fresh Pond, Cambridge, forty fathoms deep. On that map is a stream representing the Aberjona River as unnamed and as leading into the country.

Spy Pond, in Arlington, has been called by that name since 1656, and references to it by that name are frequent in that century. On Aug. 15, 1716, news was brought that the celebrated Cotton Mather, while fishing on Spy Pond in a ticklish boat, fell into the water, but was not hurt from the bath. See *Narr. and Crit. Hist. of Amer.*, iii. 347; *Sewall's Diary* (*M. H. C.*), 5th ser. i. 482, ii. 15*, iii. 98; *Cutter's Arlington*, 9, 20.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE CHARLESTOWN RECORDS RELATING TO THE EARLY PLANTATION OF WOBURN.[1]

1633. Any of the inhabitants have liberty to go without the town neck to build, and grounds are allowed to three individuals, and another tract to one of them, provided he plow it up in four years. The parties were Nowell, Beecher and Wade.

1635. Edward Converse, William Brackenbury and Mr. Abraham Palmer were desired to go up into country upon discovery three or four days, for which they were to be satisfied at the charge of the town. *Cf. Frothingham's Charlestown*, 65; *Charlestown Records*, i. 18, 23, 24, etc. In this year an order was passed adverse to granting house-plots outside the neck. The order of the General Court is copied that Charlestown bounds shall extend eight miles into the country from their meeting-house.—*Col. Rec.*, i. 168; the order was dated March 3, 1635–6. The following year (1636) grants were made to the brothers Ezekiel and Thomas Richardson, and to Thomas Pierce, outside the neck and near Cambridge line. Five hundred acres were also reserved to further the flax trade.

1638. Other lands to the amount of three hundred acres were reserved outside the peninsula's limits, and among them the Waterfield lots above Mr. Cradock's farm, or Medford, "to remain in the town's hands for the supply of such as may come with another minister." In this year Edward Converse and Ezekiel Richardson were desired to lay out a highway over the meadow at the head of the North River, on Mistick Side, Malden, and a record was taken (1638) of all such houses and lands as were possessed by the inhabitants, including the Waterfield allotments, or the locality now covered by Winchester and Woburn. These were divided among them "by a joint consent, after the General Court had settled their bounds by granting eight miles from the old meeting-house into the country Northwest-northerly, and the bounds of the said town lying or being betwixt Cambridge, *alias* Newton, on the West-southwest and Boston land on the east, as it appears upon record by the several grants of General Courts to all aforesaid bounds." The Boston land is that on the Malden side, or more properly that adjoining Chelsea and Revere—by Malden, Everett and Malden are meant. Waterfield is explained by a map and de-

[1]From the abstracts executed 1853–54, by Thomas B. Wyman.

scription in the *Winchester Record*, ii. (1886) where the approximate location in 1638 of the lots granted to the Charlestown residents in the limits of Woburn is shown, four years before the incorporation, and two years at least before the actual settlement of the town was begun. Some remarks on this subject are published also in the same volume of the *Record*, 394–98. Waterfield, therefore, meant Woburn, or a locality in ancient Charlestown embracing the vicinity about Horn Pond and the greater portion of Winchester. The name does not appear of long continuance. E. F. Johnson, first mayor of Woburn, in his inaugural address, 1889, alludes to Waterfield, as follows: "In ward one were laid out fully four years before the incorporation of the town, the Waterfield lots, so called, which were the first possessions of civilized man within the present limits of the city."

So the votes go on through 1638 and '39, and Edward Converse is a figure in them. The "Rocks" are mentioned as a locality in 1640.[7] On the 4th of the 9th month, 1640, the committee appointed to set the bounds betwixt Charlestown and the Village, afterwards called Woburn, and to appoint the place for the village, was chosen by the body of the freemen. The number of this committee was thirteen. It included the following names: Captain Robert Sedgwick, Thomas Lynde, Edward Converse, Ezekiel Richardson, John Mousall, Mr. Thomas Coytemore, Samuel Richardson, Francis Willoughby, Abraham Palmer, Mr. Thomas Graves, Ralph Sprague, Edward Johnson and Robert Hale. These on occasion were to advise with Mr. Nowell, the magistrate, and the elders or ministers, in any difficulties they meet with.

It is a noteworthy fact that the name of Captain Robert Sedgwick, in whose honor Woburn was named, from his abode or birth-place in the old country, should head the list of this committee to select the site, and determine the bounds of the new town in 1640. It is also significant that this committee headed by him should select the spot for the village (Nov. 17, 1640) near the site where the meeting-house was afterwards erected, or the present Woburn Centre. Thomas Graves and others were in favor of a site at the easterly side of the town, at present Montvale, and secured a favorable recognition of their plan to the extent of laying the spot out (Feb. 10, 1640–41), but a Charlestown committee headed by Nowell and Sedgwick advised (Feb. 29, 1640–41) "to remove the house lots and place for the meeting-house" to the place that the original committee had selected, or Woburn Centre. Sedgwick, therefore, was again influential in assuring this site for the town's village. He was a moving spirit in the enterprise always, and the town was fitly named in his honor. Edward Johnson, whose lands were at the extreme westerly side of the town, was also more favorable to the centre site, than to one so distant. These facts are ably presented in the *Winchester Record*, ii. 397–98. On the 8th of the 10th month, 1640 (Dec. 8, 1640), a committee was chosen to join with the villagers, on Charlestown's behalf, to "compound any differences" that may occur. The members of this committee were Mr. Nowell, Thomas Lynde, Abraham Palmer, Richard Sprague, Ralph Sprague, Robert Hale, Francis Willoughby, Ralph Mousall, William Stilson and Robert Sedgwick.

The further references to Woburn in volume one of the Charlestown records relate to the bounds (1643, 1650), to land grants (1643, '47, '48, '49, '50, '52), and to the laying out of a highway from Woburn to Mistick Bridge, or Medford. With modernized spelling, this extract is as follows:

1660. Vol. i., p. 137. The 11th day of the 11th month, 1660. We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, viz., from Charlestown, Solomon Phips, Richard Lowden and William Symmes; from Medford, Thomas Eames; from Woburn, Michael Bacon, Josiah Converse; being deputed by the several places whereunto we belong, a committee to lay out a country highway, viz., from Woburn to Mistick Bridge: We do unanimously determine the highway to lie as followeth: viz.—That highway which hitherto hath been used commonly near Woburn meeting-house,[1] that now is to Edward Converse's mill,[2] to be full four poles in breadth, and so to remain where it hath been unto the parting of the ways of the Converses and Richardsons to their now dwelling-houses;[3] and the way to run along upon a brow[4] until you come to a bridge[5] made at a place called Halfway Swamp,[6] holding four poles breadth from the trees marked[7] on the southwest side; and from the fore-mentioned bridge to run east and by south as doth appear by trees marked on the south side, until you come to a valley,[8] where the highway is bounded by a way formerly used,[9] until you come to a pine tree, which standeth in the middle of the way, as by the marks on each side[10] doth appear. And thence to run south and by east until you come to the highway now used, that is, by the mill-pond to the mill;[11] where is a white oak marked, north and south, being in the middle of the way. And thence in a way [that] hath commonly been used, over a place called ——— Bridge.[12] From which bridge, still to keep the old way and the fore-

[1] On the common at Woburn Centre.

[2] At Winchester Centre, site of the present Whitney mill.

[3] Or to the corner of Cross Street, or its equivalent, the main highway being Main Street from Woburn Common to that point. Cross Street was the way to the Richardsons (on Richardson's Row, or Washington Street, Winchester), and the ways to the Converses (at Winchester Centre), were by some equivalent of present Main Street, or by a way through Pond, Cambridge and Church Streets (Winchester)—the last two being "Plain Street" and "Driver's Lane." To Cross Street the way appears to be an old one in use from the beginning of the first settlement (probably the one laid out in 1646, the report being lost), and from Cross Street the way onwards to Winchester appears in some parts to be new (1660).

[4] Description of its present passage through Cutter's Village.

[5] Evidently over the outlet of Horn Pond at that village.

[6] Halfway Swamp is the low tract at Winchester Centre, now and for many years past covered by water by the raising of Whitney's dam.

[7] Marked or "blazed" trees; practically a forest path. "On the southwest side," means, on the southwest side of the highway, *i. e.*, the marked trees, in this instance, stood on that side of the highway.

[8] Evidently near the present bridge over the outlet of Wedge Pond.[a]

[9] "Improved" is the word in the original. This is evidence that an older way formerly existed, on this route, from Cross Street to the present centre of Winchester.

[10] That is, by the marks [on trees] on each side of the highway.

[11] Converse's mill.

[12] Blank Bridge in the original. This bridge is supposed to be over the outlet of a pond which existed on the site of the present Sanderson's store.

[a] Crossing Main Street at right angles, it ran back of the houses of Messrs. P. W. Swan and Edmund Sanderson.—*Winchester Record* (1885), i. 280.

mentioned breadth, until you come to an inclosure, pertaining to Edward Converse, where by a tree marked southward, the way runs directly from that tree unto the easternmost corner of his old orchard, and thence over the mill-dam, east and by south, until you come to a tree marked southwest; and then to run southerly in the way formerly used, until you come to the highway leading to 'Notomie's *Ware* [Weir];[1] and thence to run east and by south, until you come to a place called Bare Hill,[2] the foot of that hill bounding the [highway]; [p. 138] and thence to a tree marked west; and so along to a place called Elbow Hill,[3] the foot of which hill, on the easterly side bounds the way westward. And thence to run along over the swamp called Halfway Swamp,[4] between two ways formerly improved, as by marked trees is manifest. From the swamp, until you come to Mistick Bridge, the way, from one end unto the other, [is] agreed to be four poles in breadth; and accordingly bounded on the north with marked trees.

[Report signed by] Solomon Phips, Richard Lowden, William Symmes, Thomas Eames [mark: T. E.], Josiah Converse, Michael Bacon.

This was evidently the re-laying out of an old way, which had existed for some time. The account of a former laying out is preserved in the Woburn records, i. 9, but no report appears with it. On September 14, 1646, it is stated that Edward Converse and Samuel Richardson were appointed by Woburn "to lay out a highway between this town and Mistick Bridge"; they "being joined" in the work "with some of Charlestown and some of Mistick Houses," or Medford. This committee was constituted in the same manner as the later committee of 1660. There can be no doubt that they performed their duties, and that the highway had existed before 1646—even so early, probably, as August, 1641, when a bridge was built with great pains over the Horn Pond River, evidently the one referred to in the document above presented.[5]

[1] Menotomy, now Arlington. The weir referred to was located on the Mistick River at the point where the road from Medford to Arlington passes. The bridge here being called the Weir Bridge for a long period. Here in ancient times vast quantities of fish were caught. The highway above described was probably a shorter cut to present Grove street.

[2] The long height extending across the easterly side of Winchester, and lying partly in Stoneham.

[3] Elbow Hill, a neighboring height of the former. Supposed to be the height latterly called Ridge Hill,[a] but now mostly dug down. The Winchester Unitarian Church edifice occupies a part of the spot.

[4] The location of this part of Halfway Swamp is already described in the last part of the preceding paragraph as the low tract of ground below Symmes's corner, now occupied for agricultural purposes by Marshall Symmes. The way from this point to Medford or Mistick Bridge, was by the street called on the present maps by the name of Woburn Street, and thence by High Street in Medford to present Mistick or Medford Bridge. Another way to accomplish the same object was a longer route by present Grove Street. This was the ancient way mentioned in the Symmes plan of 1705, as the "county road to Cambridge." It was also the way to the Weir Bridge, between present Medford and Arlington, also to Menotomy, or Arlington itself; Arlington being originally a part of Cambridge principally, the part of that town nearest Mistick River and Pond being a portion of Charlestown,—the two parts together formed a district named Menotomy, from the Indian name of the river separating Arlington and Cambridge.

[5] The appearance of the spot where this way once led in Winchester, is much changed. A body of water now covers a large portion, which was then dry land. The water was then confined to the channel of the Aberjona, and to the channel of two streams, the outlet of Horn Pond and Wedge Pond. These smaller streams united in one stream before they entered the Aberjona River, across which Converse's dam was built.

[a] Cf. *Winch. Rec.* i. 114, 208. The name was extant in 1766.

Some help is gained in tracing this way on Thompson's road-map of 1797. The points shown on these comparatively recent maps demonstrate that the situation in 1794 and 1797 was practically unchanged from 1660. There is a good description of Main Street in the Winchester portion, in the *Winchester Record*, i. 280, and a number of important historical facts are there stated. The author of that description has furnished valuable aid in locating for our use the channels of these streams. Further aid in showing the old channels is found on a plan of the Abel Richardson farm, by Loammi Baldwin, Jr., 1835. The same situation of the channels is also shown on a much smaller scale in the plans of the town made for the first and second State maps of 1794 and 1832.

PLANS *illustrating the present centre of Winchester, showing the past position of the streams and main road.* The first two are loaned through the courtesy of Mr. Arthur E. Whitney, as they illustrate the history of his mill privilege, and were copied by his direction for that purpose.

1. Plan of the Abel Richardson Farm, Woburn, owned by S. S. Richardson, contains 39 acres. Surveyed and drawn by L. Baldwin, Jr., October, 1835.

2. A second plan, undated, of the same spot, including Wedge Pond, drawn about 1863, shows the manner of entrance at that date of Horn Pond River into Wedge Pond, a former inlet into the outlet of Wedge Pond from Horn Pond outlet being at that time obliterated (*see* plan under I); the channels of Aberjona River and of the streams easterly of the present roadway of Main Street being obscured by the height of water, which covers nearly as much territory as it does now.

3. A plan of Woburn, surveyed in "October and September," 1794, on the scale of 200 rods to one inch, by Samuel Thompson, surveyor, see *fac-simile* in *Winch. Rec.*, ii. 286. This was the plan of the town made for the first State map of 1794.

4. Plan of the town of Woburn, on a scale of 100 rods to one inch, in compliance with a resolve of the Legislature passed on the 1st day of March, A. D. 1830. Surveyed by Bartholomew Richardson, 1831—see *fac-simile* in *Winch. Rec.* ii. 417. This was the plan of the town made for the second State map of 1832.

5. A road map by Samuel Thompson, Esq., of date about 1797, entitled, "Road to Woburn: plan of road, two routes (through Woburn); one from Charles Bridge (Boston) to Billerica line." The other route begins at the "Powder House" (in Somerville), and passes through present Arlington (the part formerly a part of Charlestown), the westerly parts of Winchester and Woburn, and into Burlington by present meeting-house to Billerica line also. The distances are given in rods. The original is in possession of the Woburn Public Library—*Thompson Plans.*

6. A plan of Symmes Farm, 1705, by Joseph Burnap, surveyor. On this is the following inscription: "These plans contain Captain William Symmes's farm in Charlestown; his Bare Meadow; his marsh at Menotomy; and a parcel of swamp that joins the farm, now in the possession of John Francis; (also) the lines of Mrs. Mary Torrey's thirds of the several parcels of land as they were set off. . . . The marsh may be drawn too near the farm, yet it lieth at Menotomy by old Mr. Fillebrown's and Mr. Nathaniel Cutter's. Finished 3d July, 1705. Joseph Burnap, surveyor." On the plan of the farm proper are shown such well-known landmarks as the river (Aberjona), the county road, road to Charlestown, county road to Cambridge, road to Mr. Gardner's, Mr. Gardner's corner, Mr. Gardner's farm, the upper end of Mistick Pond. The county road from Woburn Centre is seen crossing a part of this farm, from the junction of present Main and Washington Streets in Winchester to present Symmes's corner. The county road to Cambridge is seen branching off from this road at Symmes's corner in a way analogous to Grove Street, while the road to Charlestown crossing a plot called Mr. Symmes's swamp, continues on in the direction of Medford village to Charlestown. The Bare Meadow plot would imply a connection with *Bare Hill.* The marsh at Menotomy, near old Mr. Fillebrown's and Nathaniel Cutter's, is, as implied in the inscription, at some distance from the farm, being located in present Arlington on the ancient Menotomy River or present Alewife Brook.[6] The swamp that joined the farm,

[6] *Cf.* Cutter's *Cutter Family of New England*, 35, 376; Cutter's *Arlington*,

called in the plan Mr. Symmes's swamp, located below Symmes's corner in the direction of Medford—on the north of the highway to Medford or Charlestown from that point,—is the low ground denominated a part of the Halfway swamp in the description of the Woburn and Medford highway in 1660, being considered a part of the low tract called Halfway swamp covering a large part of the present centre of Winchester, as described in previous pages.

In 1640 the General Court, on petition of the town of Charlestown, granted, on May 13th, "two miles at their headline, provided it fall not within the bounds of Lynn Village," and they "build within two years"; in other words, lay the foundation of a new town, which was called Woburn. Another grant was made October 7th, in addition to the former, "of four miles square, to make a village"; 500 acres of this to be given to Mr. Thomas Coytemore. In these grants "Cambridge line" was not to be crossed, nor were the bounds to "come within a mile of Shawshin River." The "great swamp and pond" were to lie in common. This, according to the records, was intended "to accommodate such useful men as might settle and form a village for the improvement of such remote lands as are already laid out." Three thousand acres also were laid out at the head of the new grant, betwixt Cambridge line and Lynn bounds, "to remain as their upper land, to accommodate with farms there, such as they shall have occasion." Frothingham mentions the repeal of an existing law, providing that no immunity should be granted a new plantation, but we fail to find the verification of this statement in the published records of the General Court. This, if true, was evidently for the sake of affording this particular enterprise substantial encouragement on the part of the general government. Immunity, was, however, granted to "Charlestown Village," afterwards Woburn, "for two years' exemption from public rates," on such stock as they had there "only."—*Cf.* Frothingham's *Charlestown;* vol. i. of the *Charlestown Records*, 41, 51–2; *Colony Records*, i. 290, 306, 329, 330.

The bounds between Charlestown and the Village, it was determined, should be from the "partition of the ponds" to the northwest corner of Mr. Cradock's farm (Mistick or Medford) and thence to that part of Lynn Village (since called Reading) that turns from Charlestown headline by a straight line; provided that this line should be half a mile from the lots in the nearest place. That the lands of the village bordering upon the Common may have "benefit of common" for milch and working-cattle. The village was to allow, also, so much land "as shall be taken in," more than the straight line; besides "the 3000 acres." Also that the place of the village meeting-house should be "above the head of the old bounds, near against Robert Cutler's." This agreement from the Charlestown records was assented to in part, but "afterwards denied." It was the action of the committee of thirteen, originally chosen to conduct the affair of establishing the bounds "betwixt Charlestown and the Village, and to appoint the place for the village."

The foregoing matter calls for a few words of—

Explanation.—The "partition of the ponds." Mistick Pond, in its division or separation from the upper ponds, such as Wedge, Winter and Horn Ponds. This line was also the "head of the old bounds," and the line of division between Woburn and Charlestown till 1842. It was a little north of the Winchester and Arlington line (1850 to present time), a part of West Cambridge, now Arlington, being taken to form the town of Winchester.

Reading bounds. The line here turned at Charlestown headline, or uppermost bounds, and continued by a straight line, which is in part the bounds between Woburn and Reading to-day, across the present Wilmington, till five miles were accomplished in a northwesterly direction, and Andover line was reached. This line was to be located half a mile from the nearest lots, the space between being reserved as common land; and such land as should be taken in, more than the straight line allowed, should be added by the village to the common lands.

Robert Cutler's lot, near where the meeting-house was to be, being above the head of the old bounds, or the bounds before the new grants were made, would be near, and the meeting-house where the present Common is at Woburn Centre. This lot was a large one, just north of that spot, according to the map of the Waterfield grants of 1638. The present Common is included apparently in George Bunker's lot on that map. Bunker afterwards gave his lot, a very large one, to the town, and this gift was the origin of the town's title in part to the Common, to Meeting-house Hill and other lands adjacent. He was the person after whom Bunker's Hill on the Charlestown peninsula was named, and we think that Common street in Woburn should be changed to the name of Bunker street, in honor of this early benefactor. The phrase, moreover, that the location of the meeting-house should be "near against" Robert Cutler's lot, which it would certainly be in the position on the present Common, further confirms the idea that its location was intended to be on an adjacent lot, which lot, as we have shown, happened to be Bunker's lot, on which it was eventually built and stood till 1672. This site was also the choice of Sedgwick and his committee, and the spot where the meeting-house stood was also the location of the village of the town.

The matter of the Woburn line not coming within a mile of the Shawshin River in Billerica, is treated in the lately published history of that town, whose author infers that Woburn was eager to obtain for herself the tract between the line and the river; but his inferences, we think, were not those of the founders of the two settlements.

The "great swamp," mentioned in the early grant,

212; Paige's *Cambridge*, 544; Wyman's *Charlestown Genealogies*, 346, 927, 930.

was the great Cedar Swamp in Wilmington; and the "pond" was Horn Pond. Both were to lie in common, or in other words, to be public property from the beginning.

The 3000 acres at the head of the new grant, so called, were located in Wilmington. This remote territory bore the name of "Nod," or the "Land of Nod," and though belonging to Charlestown, was under the jurisdiction of Woburn. Frothingham, *Hist. of C.*, under the subject of Woburn, gives a history of this tract, which was appropriately named, as it was neither remarkably fertile nor valuable.

Coytemore's grant of 500 acres was laid out against the Billerica line, and was eventually added by purchase to the Wymans' farm in the same locality, which, containing the same amount of land, was a source of agitation to the Wymans and their neighbors in Billerica; the Wymans being forced, from the nearness of their situation to that town, to pay dues for the maintenance of Billerica as well as for their own town of Woburn. Cf. Sewall's *Woburn*, 35, 36.

Cambridge line, which was "not to be crossed," embraced in 1640 the lines in the direction of Woburn of the present towns of Billerica, Bedford and Lexington.

Lynn Village of 1640 was soon called Reading, and, so far as the present bounds of Woburn are concerned, is the present Reading. The town of Wilmington, incorporated 1730, was formed of parts of Woburn and Reading. The former boundary line extended through it in a northwesterly direction, and about two-thirds of its territory was originally included in Woburn.

The position of Charlestown head-line. This was the limit of Charlestown's boundary, and her 3000 acres were located outside it. The position was determined by the fact that Charlestown's lines or bounds should extend eight miles into the country from the Charlestown meeting-house (1635), or eight miles into the country northwest-northerly, from their old meeting-house. This line was sometimes mentioned as the eight-mile line, and its termination showed the position of the head-line. This head-line, as thus determined, was at the limit of the two-mile grant; and to this the four-mile square grant was added; and 3000 acres additional were laid out at the head of that, adding another two miles to the six already granted. The head-line was an extension of the head-line of present Stoneham across the original territory of Woburn. The head or eight-mile line, however, came a little above or beyond the present centre village of Woburn, in passing across the town from east to west. It would include, therefore, all the lots shown on the map of the Waterfield lots; and the two-mile grant would with propriety be called Waterfield, and be the Waterfield of the fathers.

In the description of the bounds between Woburn and Lynn Village, now Reading (1644), they were to begin at the little brook in Parley Meadow, where it begins to turn upward toward the northeast, and so (or thus) it says, to abut upon "Charlestown head-line;" and thence the line ran north and by west into the country (*Col. Rec.* ii. 75). The 3000 acres of land "out of the bounds of Woburn," *i. e.*, at the northern extremity of the four-mile grant, were to begin (1650) "at the uttermost corner northerly next Reading line, and so to run southerly along two miles deep on the east side of Shawshin line, till the full extent of the 3000 acres be out."—*Charlestown Records*, i. 91; see also Sewall's Woburn, 28–30, where the agreement from those records, i. 90–91, is reproduced entire.



A. The two-mile grant of Waterfield.
B. The four-mile square grant.
C. The 3000 acres, or "Nod."
a—b. Charlestown head-line.
c—d. Original bounds. Two miles (2 M.): The two-miles boundary line of the 3000 acres grant.

FIG. 1. Woburn and its relation to Charlestown, from Osgood Carleton's map of Massachusetts, published by order of the General Court in 1801.—See *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 8, 9. The section also shows the towns formerly a part of Charlestown. Medford, located in their midst, was never a part of Charlestown. The appearance was much the same in 1839. The change in the relation between Charlestown and Woburn boundaries occurred in 1842.

N. B.—The upper number in each town is the distance from Boston, the lower the distance from the shire town.

In 1642 a committee of the General Court was appointed to take the length of Charlestown eight-mile line by exact measure and to set the bounds between the two villages, which were afterwards named Wo-

burn and Reading. See MISCELLANY. These facts all go to show its exact location, which is given on the accompanying map. (See Fig. 1).

In 1642, also, Governor Winthrop writes: "The village at the end of Charlestown bounds was called Woburn."[1]

The heavy lines on this map of 1801, the earliest general map we have found, represent the two-mile grant and the four-mile square grant and the 3000 acres grant of 1640; also the position of Charlestown head-line, so called, in that year.

THE STORY AS TOLD IN THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE WOBURN RECORDS.—These records have already been published, and our citizens, therefore, have an idea of their nature and value. The volume contains an account of the early settlement of the town, and the facts there given illustrate our previous statements.

May 14, 1640. The "true record" of the proceedings of the committee "chosen by the church of Charlestown," for the erection of a church and town, now called the town of Woburn, commenced, their duty in establishing the church and town having been performed "by great labor." There is internal evidence in this paragraph that the original was written after the period to which it relates, or probably in 1642.

In 1640, also, was granted by the General Court, the "two miles of land square, to be added at the head-line of Charlestown, which accordingly was granted, and afterwards was increased to four miles square." The evidence of this paragraph would lead to the belief that the two-mile grant was included in, and a part of the four-mile square grant, based on the Charlestown head-line, which extended from the northerly bounds of present Stoneham head-line across Woburn to present Lexington line. See map (Fig. 1). We believe that the position taken in the map is right, for the following reasons:

The exact language of the record is this: Charlestown is granted their petition, that is, two miles at their head-line, provided it fall not within the bounds of Lynn Village, and that they build within two years" (*Col. Rec.* i. 290). "Charlestown petition is granted them the proportion of four-miles square, *with their former last grant*, to make a village, whereof 500 acres is granted to Mr. Thomas Coytemore, to be set out by the Court, if the town and he cannot agree, in which they shall not cross Cambridge line, nor come within a mile of Shawshin River, and the great swamp and pond to lie in common" (*Col. Rec.* i. 306). The italics are ours. It will be noticed that the two-mile grant was *at* the Charlestown head-line; and that nothing is said about its being beyond or this side that line; also that the second grant was the proportion of four-miles square, "with their former last grant," making a grant of six miles (4+2) of land; and also that nothing is said in the record about the first grant being a "two-miles square" grant.

May 15, 1640, seven citizens of Charlestown, with an artist or surveyor, examined the land lying within the "two-miles square," whatever that meant, evidently the two-miles wide grant, where the village was afterwards located. We do not wish to appear wiser than the fathers, but there was evidently some confusion on this point of dimensions and bounds even in their day.

Sept. 6, 1640, Captain Sedgwick and others went to view the bounds between Lynn Village (Reading) and this town. Like Jacobites [Gen. 28:11] when night drew on, laying themselves down to rest, they "were preserved by the good hand of God, with cheerful spirits, though the heavens poured down rain all night incessantly." On this occasion they were subjects of a "remarkable providence—never to be forgotten." Some of the company lying under the body of a great tree; it lying some distance from the earth; when the daylight appeared, no sooner was the last man come from under it—when it fell down, to their amazement; the company being forced to dig out their food, which was caught under it; the tree being "so ponderous," that all the strength they had could not remove it.

Sept. 30, 1640, the parties aforesaid met at Lynn, and remained there all night; and, on the next day, when accompanied by Lynn men to the "confines of their bounds," they endeavored to point out to those persons the divisional line between their "new town" (Reading) and "this." On Nov. 9 the discoverers were lost "in snow:" having gone to discover the land about the Shawshin River, the party, being lost, were forced to lie under the rocks, while the rain and snow did "bedew their rocky beds." Dec. 18, 1640, after certain details of municipal action, the first regular meeting of the company to accomplish the settlement was held, when Edward Johnson was chosen their recorder, and town orders were adopted; a day of fast was held on Dec. 22, at the house of one of their number, the wives of the members of the company also being present. Other meetings follow-

[1] *History New England* (ed. 1853), ii. 109 (volume paging). James Savage, the editor, in a note illustrating the text, gives a considerable account of Thomas Carter, the first minister, and the church. The same, ii. 310, contains a reference to Mr. Carter's abilities in a letter of 1642. On April 30, 1660, a committee was appointed to settle the "North and by West line" between "Reading lands and the lands of this town of Woburn." They agreed "to run five miles from the corner bounds at Parley Meadow, according to the order of Mr. George Cooke and Mr. John Oliver, to run the north and by west point;" accordingly the committee of both towns "run the five miles, want fifty poles;" which fifty poles were afterward "run out" by Captain Edward Johnson and others, "and so completed the five miles."—*Woburn Records*, i. 25.

For some time uncertainty appears to have existed as to the precise position of the bounds, and in 1665 John Sherman, a surveyor employed by the town, certified that he had measured the bounds of their grant of four miles square, and stated that he could not affirm that they had any more land in quantity than the circuit of "four miles square;" not accounting in it "the 3000 acres on the north side of Reading;" and a committee from the town had accordingly settled the bounds of Woburn on the sides of Andover, Reading and Billerica.—*Woburn Records*, i. 31. The bounds with Charlestown had been settled on another occasion, after considerable delay (1650).

ed, and the details of the settlement were soon under way.[1]

[1] A word in relation to these "town orders," so called. J. A. Doyle, M.A., in his *English Colonies in America* (New York, 1887), vol. iii. (ii. of the Puritan Colonies) p. 10, gives an account of the settlement of Woburn, under the general title "Creation of a Town," in which he has selected Woburn as an example. "The author of the Wonder-Working Providence," he says, "has left a minute account of the manner in which his own town, Woburn, came into being. A tract of four miles square was set off by the General Court, and vested in seven men on the understanding that they would build houses and create a town. To this end they were empowered to grant land to individuals. Sixty families were soon gathered together. The seven grantees were allowed to exercise a certain amount of choice, excluding all who were 'exorbitant and of a turbulent spirit, unfit for civil society.' Each inhabitant received two plots of land—one, the home lot of meadow in the neighborhood of the meeting-house; the other, of 'upland,' further off, to be cleared and tilled. Nearness to the meeting-house was held to enhance the value of a home lot, and those who were less favored in this matter received a larger share. The corporation, as represented by the seven trustees, acted as a landlord and received from the original settlers a rent of six pence per acre, and from those who came in afterwards a shilling. The town itself was not allowed to spring up according to the fancy of the inhabitants, but was methodically laid out in streets by the trustees."

This is the substance of the important articles of the "town orders," and Johnson's description of 1652 very properly and correctly stated by this Oxford writer. He continues:

"In this case civil union came before ecclesiastical. But before the trustees took any steps towards acting on their powers as a corporation, a minister was chosen, a meeting-house built at public cost, and a church formed under a covenant binding its members 'to walk together in the ordinance of the Gospel and in mutual love,' and 'to renounce all errors and schisms and by-ways contrary to the blessed rules revealed in the Gospel.' The seven trustees formed the nucleus of the church as of the township. But the two corporations were distinct. The church never professed to be co-extensive with the town, but only received from time to time such citizens as of free choice attached themselves to it."

The "town orders," without the preamble, were as follows:

[May 13, 1640. First order. For sixpence an acre.] "For the carrying on common charges, all such persons as shall be thought meet to have land and admittance for inhabitants, shall pay for every acre of land formerly laid out by Charlestown, but now in the limits of Woburn, sixpence; and for all hereafter laid out, twelvepence."

[Second order. To return their lots if not improved in 15 months.] "Every person taking lot or land in the said town shall, within fifteen months after the laying out of the same, build for dwelling thereon, and improve the said land, by planting, either in part or in whole, or surrender the same up to the town again; also they shall not make sale of it to any person but such as the town shall approve of."

[Third order. About fencing.] "That all manner of persons shall fence their cattle of all sorts either by fence or keeper; only it is required all garden plots and orchards shall be well enclosed, either by pale or otherwise."

[Fourth order. About inmates.] "That no manner of person shall entertain inmate, either married or other, for longer time than three days, without the consent of four of the selectmen; every person offending in this particular shall pay to the use of the town for every day they offend herein, sixpence."

[Fifth order. About timber.] "That no person shall fell or cut any young oak like to be good timber under eight inches square upon forfeiture of five shillings for every such offence."

[These persons subscribed to these orders.] "Edward Johnson, Edward Converse, John Mousall, Ezekiel Richardson, Samuel Richardson, Thomas Richardson, William Learned, James Thompson, John Wright, Michael Bacon, John Seers, John Wyman, Francis Wyman, Benjamin Butterfield, Henry Jefts, James Parker, Mr. Thomas Graves, Nicholas Davis, Nicholas Trarice, John Carter, James Converse, Daniel Bacon, Edward Winn, Henry Baldwin, Francis Kendall, John Tidd, Henry Tottingham, Richard Lowden, William Green, John Russell, James Britton, Thomas Fuller."

NOTE.—Of the 32 subscribers to the town orders of Woburn, 1640, twenty-seven had died before 1700. Two died in 1700—Richard Lowden, at Charlestown, in his 88th year, and Henry Jefts, at Billerica, aged about 94—and three survived that year. One of the latter, James Parker, died at Groton, in 1701, aged 83; another Francis Kendall, died at Woburn, 1708, aged 88; and the last survivor, James Converse, died at Woburn, 1715, "in the 95th year of his age," according to the record upon his gravestone still standing in our first burying-ground.

A striking connection of the period of 1640 with the present is made through the person of a lineal descendant of the last named—the centenarian, Joshua Converse, of Woburn. The latter individual was born in Woburn in 1767, and died in his native town in the year 1868, aged 101 years and 16 days. A brother of his, Jesse, died in 1864, when he lacked but a few months of being 100 years old. By means of the lifetime of an individual who knew both Joshua Converse and his ancestor, James Converse, the last survivor of the subscribers of 1640, a connection may be formed through three or four persons between that period and the present. When the modern centenarian, Joshua Converse, had attained the age of twenty-four years, Mrs. Rebecca Russell, a granddaughter of Francis Kendall, died in Woburn (1791) aged 96½ years—the records say 99 years, and another authority "about 98 years." She was 20 years old in 1715, the year when James Converse died, and 13 years old in 1708, the year when her grandfather, Francis Kendall, the next longest survivor of the subscribers to the original orders, died. She, therefore, was old enough to have known both these men well, and to have heard intelligently the story of the original settlement of Woburn from their lips. She also could have received an account from them had she asked, of the personal appearance of Captain Edward Johnson, and the other leading worthies who took part in the first settlement, and this she could have communicated in her old age, had he wished, to Joshua Converse, and he, had opportunity occurred, could have communicated the facts of such interesting nature, to some of us. But the connection, such as we have mentioned, was never known to have taken place, and the opportunity is now forever lost!

Another person, a grandson of John Carter, one of the subscribers to the town orders of 1640, died in Woburn in 1787, aged 92, or 96 according to the records—the year when Joshua Converse was twenty years old. This was Samuel Carter, generally known as Captain Samuel Carter, and who, residing on the Winchester Hills in the westerly part of the town, was a comparatively near neighbor of James Converse, the last survivor of the subscribers of 1640. As he belonged to a family of considerable prominence in this vicinity, he must have been well known to Joshua Converse, and from the nearness of the neighborhood an intimate acquaintance of the veteran, James Converse, who died in 1715, when the above said Samuel Carter was 20 years old.

The same remarks made in the other case apply to this. But the opportunity is lost.

After 1774, when Joshua Converse was seven years old, no less than 70 persons died in Woburn who were alive in 1715, the year when James Converse died. Of this number more than a dozen had reached their majority in that year. Many of the latter died at a great age. Four of them, containing the names of two of the oldest, do not bear the long-standing Woburn names, and died here during the war of the Revolution, being probably brought here from other places during that period. What traditionary information these persons might have imparted is probably now all lost or scattered, and this loss magnifies the importance of the publication of the records.

A final curious instance of longevity in the person of one who was alive apparently in 1715, but too young then to have known the elder Converse intelligently, may be cited in the case of Prince Walker, a black man, who died at the almshouse in Woburn, in 1825, at the age of 115 years. His birth is not discovered on the records, but the fact that he was thrown on the town of Woburn for support in his latter days, shows that he originated in Woburn and was probably a native of the town. He had been a slave of the Rev. Timothy Walker at Concord, N. H., and having obtained his freedom about 1784 went to Andover, Mass., to live, and eventually returned to Woburn again. That he was interviewed by the local antiquaries is evident from the fact that one of them, the late Colonel Leonard Thompson, was told by him, that he (Prince) remembered the Rev. Edward Jackson (of Woburn, 1729–1754) hearing him repeat the catechism. [See *Woburn Journal*, June 13, 1884, and *Hist. of Woburn*, p. 518.]

Between 1640 and 1642 the following public works were accomplished by the community: Feb. 10, 1641 [1640–41], the first bridge was laid over Aberjona River, at a spot "over against" Edward Converse's house: This bridge was called Cold Bridge, and its location was at the present Winchester Centre. Feb.

16, following, there was more laying of bridges, forty persons coming to the place where the new village had been located on the Feb. 8, previous. These persons spent their time in marking trees and laying bridges, but with many of them—"the way being so plain backward—divers never went forward again." On Feb. 8 a place for the village had been selected "on the east end of the land" granted to the town. This had been accomplished after a two days' search. The decision was the selection of a majority, but not a unanimous choice; on the 10th the laying out was finished. Two of the principal men, Sedgwick and Johnson, were evidently opposed to the site. On Feb. 29 a committee, by Charlestown appointed, consisting of Nowell, Sedgwick and others, advised "to remove the house-lots and place for the meeting-house" to the place where the village has been ever since. March 6, 1641 [1640–41], lots were first laid out in the place thus appointed, or at the present centre village; and on May 13, 1641, more lots were laid out.

In August, 1641, while things were "going heavily on," and many obstacles were in the way, on the 26th inst., a bridge, called Long Bridge, was made over Horn Pond River; and in spite of the boggy condition, and the absorption of much wood before it could be made passable, it was finished and named, as above said. The location of this bridge has been a matter of controversy [*Winchester Record*, ii. 426, iii. 16]; but it may reasonably be supposed to have been at Winchester, near Cutters' Village, where a bridge existed previously to 1660, crossed by a highway in use in 1646, if not before 1641.

First Sermons.—On November 21, 1641, the Rev. Zachariah Symmes, of Charlestown, preached his first sermon—if not the first sermon—at this town, from Jer. 4: 3. Mr. Carter, first minister, preached his first sermon in Woburn, December 4, 1641, from Gen. 22: encouraging to trust in the Lord for the means.

Other Events.—On March, 1, 1642 [1641–42], the minister's house begun by the people—"means very weak." The church was gathered August 14, 1642, and on November 22, following, the first minister was ordained. [The precise time when the first meeting-house was built, has not been transmitted; the probability is that it was finished about the time of Rev. Thomas Carter's ordination in 1642.—Sewall's *Woburn*, 77.]

After this period the entries are of the nature of a regular town record.

Incorporation.—The town was incorporated September 27, 1642.[1]

Two remarkable events, exciting public interest, occurred at this period.

[1] *Note on the incorporation of the town.* On September 27, 1642, Charlestown Village was called Woburn.—*Col. Rec.* ii. 28. The date was September 27, O.S., or October 7, 1642, N.S., or according to the present style of reckoning. Sewall, by mistake, p. 23, gives this last date, October 6th. Chickering, *Disc.*, 1809, p. 15, gives the original date wrong (May 18, 1642), the manuscript records not being so clear on the subject, as the more recent printed ones. Sewall, *Amer. Quar. Reg.* 1839, xi. 187, perpetuates the error, and it was continued till 1888, in the manuals of the General Court. The error in the date assigned for the incorporation of the town was noticed by Frothingham, *Hist. C*, 1846, p. 107. He gets nearer to the truth, but gives the wrong date, or September 8, 1642. Poole, *W. W. Prov.* introd. xci. 1868, corrects the date, referring, as does Sewall, *Hist. Wob.*, 1868, p. 23, to the *Colony Records*, Bost., 1853, ii. 28. There is no reference to the date of incorporation in the early Woburn records.

Description of Woburn in 1652, by Captain Edward Johnson. From his *Wonder-working Providence* (Lond., 1654). Ten years had now elapsed since the incorporation. "The situation of this town is in the highest part of the yet peopled land; near upon the head springs of many considerable rivers or their branches, as the first rise of Ipswich River and the rise of the Shawshin River, one of the most considerable branches of the Merrimac, as also the first rise of Mistick River and Ponds. It is very full of pleasant springs and great variety of very good water, which the summer's heat causeth to be more cooler, and the winter's cold maketh more warmer. Their meadows are not large, but lie in divers places to particular dwellings, the like doth their springs. Their land is very fruitful in many places, although they have no great quantity of plain land in any one place, yet doth their rocks and swamps yield very good food for cattle; as also they have mast and tar for shipping, but the distance of place by land causeth them, as yet, to be unprofitable. They have great store of iron ore. Their meeting-house stands in a small plain where four streets meet. The people are very laborious, if not exceeding, some of them."—*W. W. Prov.*, quoted in Sewall's Woburn, 32–35.

Again, "this town, as all others, had its bounds fixed by the General Court to the contents of four miles square, beginning at the end of Charlestown bounds."—*Ibid.* The balance is abridged. The grant was to seven men, having power to grant lands to dwellers in the precinct without respect to persons. Such as were unfit, they rejected. The seven ordered and disposed of the streets. Those nearest the place for Sabbath assembly had a lesser quantity of land at home, and more further off for corn. Men were not refused for their poverty, but were aided, when poor, in building their houses and in the distribution of land, according to the ability of their helpers. The poorest had six or seven acres of meadow and twenty-five of upland or about. "Thus was this town peopled to the number of sixty families." Not till they came to hopes of a competent number to maintain a minister, did they establish themselves as a separate community; "it being as unnatural for a right New England man to live without an able ministry, as for a smith to work his iron without a fire."

"Not rashly running together, to gather themselves into a church, before they had hopes of attaining an officer to preach the word."

The people having provided a dwelling, built at the charge of the town, welcomed their minister with joy. By 1652 the church had increased from seven (1642) to seventy-four.

Description of Woburn in the year 1660. From Samuel Maverick's *Description of New England* (1660). "Woburn," says this writer, "is four or five miles above Malden, west," and is a "more considerable town," where "they live by furnishing the sea towns with provisions," such as "corn and flesh," and also "furnish the merchants with such goods to be exported." Item extracted from an official report to the British government, on the condition and resources of all the New England towns in 1660. The distance of the village from Malden is not correctly stated, while the direction is given more accurately. The particulars as to its size, and the principal occupation of its inhabitants may be better relied upon. The impression given is that of a prospering and enterprising agricultural town; furnishing the "sea towns," or the home market, with fresh provisions, and raising also a sufficient quantity for exportation. A spirit of thrift evidently prevailed, and since the statements are derived from a source unfriendly to the principles of the puritan settlers, they are probably devoid of exaggeration. A phrase of Captain Edward Johnson's, at this period, was an allusion to early New England as a wilderness, and he brings in various changes of this sentiment, such as "may it please this honorable court to vouchsafe some help to our town of Woburn in dividing a lump of this wilderness earth;" "Helping on in this wilderness work;" "this vast wilderness;" the "wilderness condition," etc.; but the descriptions of the state of the town in 1652 and 1660 show that a reasonable growth, had occurred, and that the "wilderness condition" was in a fair way of being appropriated to the advantage of the settlers and that its original rigors had sensibly diminished.

1. The Petition of the Church and Town of Woburn, 1653, entitled the Memorial for Christian Liberty.—The petition to the General Court, dated Woburn, August 30, 1653, and signed by twenty-nine persons, and called by antiquaries the "Woburn memorial for Christian liberty," appeared in print in 1825—see *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 3d ser. i. 38, reprinted in 1846. No allusion to this is made by the town historian, and the document is remarkable now, mainly for the display of courage it evinced on the part of a number of the early citizens in taking a stand, contrary to current opinion, on a question of little, if any, present consequence. The question had reference to the privilege of a lay brother to conduct public religious services in the absence of a regular minister, a privilege pertaining to the sparsely-settled districts of the country, where the services of a regular minister were with difficulty secured; the petitioners sensibly pleading that if such "as exercise at such beginnings," be brethren approved by the church of which they were members, and which best knew "their abilities," that there was no practical difficulty in the case. The petition is lengthy, and the subject one of greater interest to the fathers than to the present generation. It shows, however, that a courageous disposition prevailed in the young town towards independency in religious, as well as in secular concerns. The petition was the production probably of John Russell, afterwards a lay preacher or elder among the Baptists.

The petition begins: "We, the humble petitioners of the church and town of Woburn, with such whose names are underwrit [ten], do show," etc. The signers' names, alphabetically arranged, are as follows: Daniel Bacon, James Britton, Thomas Chamberlain, Allen Converse, James Converse, Josiah Converse, George Farley or *Farlow*, Thomas Fuller, Ralph Hill, Francis Kendall, John Knight, Joseph Knight, Isaac Learned, John Mousall, Miles Nutt, Abraham Parker, James Parker, John Parker, Bartholomew Pearson, John Pierce, Robert Pierce, John Russell, John Seers, Richard Snow, James Thompson, Simon Thompson, John Tidd, Henry Tottingham, John Wyman. Some of these names were of persons who settled at Chelmsford, about 1653, and the petition might have had reference to the plan they desired to adopt there, regarding religious ordinances.

These persons have been called the "bold petitioners for liberty of prophecy." Scientifically stated the position was this: August 30, 1653, "Woburn inhabitants and church members petition the General Court in relation to an order, 'that no person within this jurisdiction shall undertake any course of public preaching or prophesying without the approbation of the elders of four of the next churches, or of the county court.'"—(*Cf.* Savage, *Gen. Dict.*, 2nd chron. table, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 3d ser., x. 253). The petition was unsuccessful.

Note.—Mr. Sewall, *Hist. Woburn*, chap. v., gives an account of the early Baptists in Woburn. The date he assigns for their appearance is 1671. The principles enunciated in the petition above would show that their views had weight in 1653. The denial of the petition probably fostered the troubles which later arose regarding the citizens who became Baptists, and may account for some of the "troubles" in the Woburn Church, alluded to at that period by cotemporaries. The early records of the church are lost to posterity. A remembrance also of the difficulty experienced in procuring their first minister, might have influenced some who signed the petition. There were two John Russells, a senior and junior. They are confounded by some writers. Both were Baptist elders, and the junior a pastor of the Boston Baptist Church. —Sewall's *Woburn*, 158–61; *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 3d ser., i. 44, note. Palfrey's *Hist. N. E.*, iii. 91, refers to the controversy with the Baptists, about 1670, and mentions John Russell, of Woburn, where there were five Baptist brethren near, that could meet with him, "a first days," when they could not attend the regular meetings at Noddle's Island, or Boston; more converts at Woburn then were expected to join them. "The new Woburn church, it seems, had its share of threats and vexations, but still not of the most aggravated kind." This so-called "persecuting spirit" was, as this writer justly observes (*ibid.* 92), a "pet prejudice" of the age, and the sect were not long in living down their ill-repute. Another matter in connection with this controversy was this: John Russell, the preacher, being a shoemaker, Samuel Willard, a distinguished minister of the day, wrote a tract, entitled, "Ne *Sutor* ultra Crepidam"—Let not the shoemaker go beyond his last. Referring to the estimation he placed upon the performances of such a man as a preacher and expounder of doctrines.—Palfrey, iii. 92; Sibley, *Harv. Grad.* ii. 17; Frothingham, *Hist. of C.*, 172.

Among the events of the year 1653, Captain Edward Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence* was in the course of publication at London. Nathaniel Ward, a distinguished minister, from whose writings a preamble to the Woburn town orders was adapted, died.

2. Edward Converse and his Trouble Concerning the King's Letter, 1662. In other words, "Edward Converse acquitted of disrespect to the King." A tempest in a tea-pot of other days (*Cf. Mass. Col. Rec.*, iv. (ii.) 72–74; also Palfrey, *Hist. N. E.*, ii. 531; Frothingham, *Hist. of C.*, 155.)

A constable and a selectman of Woburn were presented for having refused to "publish the king's majesty's letter," and "spoken of said letter to be popery, etc.;" but the court did not find sufficient evidence for their conviction.

May 27, 1663, act of the Council, the secretary made his return of what he had done, in obedience to order, Boston, March 5, 1662. Several informations being given that Isaac Cole, constable of Woburn, "had refused to take and publish the king's majesty's letter, and also to serve attachments in his majesty's name, and that some one of the selectmen is informed to have spoken of said letter to be popery, etc., the council judgeth it meet to order that the secretary send forth his warrants by order of this council to convene the accuser and witnesses before him, and, on due evidence, to send for the accused, binding the accuser to prosecute, and the accused to answer for his high misdemeanors to the next General Court, taking security for the same."

Dutton complaint against Isaac Cole. Warrants issued March 12, 1662, and on March 19th, Thomas Dutton, as accuser, was bound, and Isaac Cole, constable, and Edward Converse, one of the selectmen, as accused, were respectively bound to prosecute and make answers, as the order above directs. The warrants and bonds were on file at the time the

parties appeared before the General Court, who "having heard what Thomas Dutton could say in way of accusation against the said Isaac Cole, constable of Woburn, for his refusing to take and read his majesty's letter and serve attachments, and considering of the evidences produced, which are on file, ordered as underwrit, etc."

Idem against Edward Converse. The court having considered what the said Dutton could say against Edward Converse, etc., it was put to the question, "whether there be anything contained in the testimonies of Thomas Dutton and William Simonds against Edward Converse which doth reflect on his majesty's letter." It was resolved in the negative.

The court granted the said Thomas Dutton his bill of costs (sixteen shillings) to be paid by the treasurer of the country, and also ordered that Isaac Cole be dismissed home at present till the court ordered his appearance again.

Note.—Frothingham says, "Some feeling was manifested at Woburn on reading this letter. Isaac Cole refused to read it, and Edward Converse openly declared," etc. The letter was read in the town-meetings

Thomas Dutton was a party in a difference between Captain Edward Johnson, Ensign John Carter and himself, 1658–59, about land. The case was decided against him, and he was subjected to the payment of money; and for "clamorous abuse" of Ensign John Carter, was required to make public acknowledgment in a full meeting on the Lord's day, that he had "wrongfully abused said Carter." In default, he was to pay £10 fine.—*Col. Rec.* iv. (i.) 353, 373, 407–8.

There is also in the records above cited the following reference to Captain Edward Johnson in connection with His Majesty's letter:

Committee about His Majesty's letter. The court on long and serious debate of what is necessary to be done in reference to His Majesty's letter, and there having been much time already expended thereabouts, the court intending to break up speedily, in answer to His Majesty's pleasure, for the satisfaction of all persons concerned, ordered that certain gentlemen, including Captain Edward Johnson, be a committee to consider said letter, and prepare an answer to be presented at the next session of the court.

Contribution from Ireland in 1676.—In 1676 the Massachusetts Colony received from Ireland a contribution in aid of the sufferers by the Indian war. This was named the "Irish Charity," and was distributed through the towns in proportion to their losses. In a list taken January 22, 1676–77, Woburn is named as a recipient from this benefaction of £6 9*s.*, to be distributed among eight families numbering forty-three persons. *Cf.* Frothingham's *Charlestown*, 180.

Great Comet of 1680.—"The middle of December, 1680, appeared a very great blazing star, to the wonder of the world."—*Woburn Records*, i. 105. This was the great comet of 1680, commonly called Newton's comet, the most remarkable for brilliancy, probably, of any of which there is accurate account. It is described by Increase Mather, of Boston, *Discourse concerning comets, wherein the nature of blazing stars is enquired into* (Bost., 1683). Its first appearance was on the evening of December 10th, when the blaze only, and not the star, was visible. On December 12th the blaze was red and fiery. Its head was discerned December 14th. On December 16th its appearance was "terrible," and the blaze ascended above sixty degrees, "almost to its zenith." It grew continually broader from its head, was brightest at both ends, and the middle was considerably darker than "either of the sides." It became smaller soon afterwards, and about the middle of February vanished "out of sight." *Cf. Mem. Hist. Boston*, iv. 491, for mention of I. Mather's researches on comets.

Miscellany.—An examination of the Colony records reveals some facts of special interest concerning Woburn. For instance, in 1636 the churches gathered were placed during the initial ceremony under the control of the magistrates, which accounts for the presence of Increase Nowell, magistrate, as the presiding officer when that ceremony was first performed at Woburn, 1642. Early in the founding of the Colony cavalry corps were encouraged by a rebate on taxes, etc.; the town was well represented in that arm then and afterwards. On June 14, 1642, legislation of a minor character occurred on account of Woburn. A committee on the "difference" between Charlestown Village and Lynn Village was appointed to view the place, and to take the length of Charlestown eight-mile line by exact measure, also to set the bounds between those two villages. Our village is mentioned in connection with the grant of Shawshin (or Billerica) to Cambridge. On September 27, 1642, the town was incorporated (ii. 28). On May 10, 1643, Edward Converse, Ezekiel Richardson and others were appointed to lay out the highway from Cambridge to Woburn. A "partition agreement" was made between Woburn and Lynn Village (called Reading) on May 29, 1644, the line to begin at the "little brook in Parley Meadow," and extend northwesterly into the country (ii. 75). In 1659 the town was regarded by the General Court as somewhat "remote" (iv., pt. i. 382). In the same year the answer of the court was given to the petition of three Carters—Thomas, Joseph and Samuel—in relation to the orphans of William Green (iv., pt. i. 404), action having been taken at earlier date (1653) on the petition of Mary Carter and that of the brothers, Thomas, Samuel and Joseph, her sons, relative to her grandchildren's inheritance (iii. 329). In 1664, at the beginning of the troubles with the home government about their charter, which the colonists resisted as infringements on their liberties, a manifesto to the General Court, from Woburn and other towns, subscribed by "very many hands," was received and noted. This was a testimonial of the people, signifying their "content and satisfaction" in the "present government," and offering the services of the towns in assisting and encouraging it. In 1664, in answer to petition, 2000 acres of land were granted to Woburn.[1] From 1666 to 1668 the difficulties respecting

[1] In the State Archives, vol. 5, p. 6, is a plan of these 2000 acres granted to Woburn, entitled, "This plan contains 2000 acres laid out for the town of Woburn, lying about N. by W. from Lancaster, joining to the North corner of Nashaway new grant, *Uncaepevolonk* Pond excluded. Being about eight or nine miles from Lancaster town. Taken by Joseph Burnap, surveyor, May 23, 1717."

the Woburn and Billerica bounds were adjusted, and those respecting the two Wymans' farms near the Billerica line; also the long standing grant of 500 acres to Thomas Coytemore or his heirs, in Woburn, was adjudicated and located at the farm of the two Wymans—Francis and John—near the Billerica line, in Woburn bounds, and next adjoining their land, "where their houses stand." Much concerning the two Wymans and their farm and troubles on its account is found, *Col. Rec.*, iv. pt. ii. *Cf.* Hazen's *Billerica*, Sewall's *Woburn*, 36. In 1667 an order was passed by the General Court about Woburn's common lands. An investigation having revealed some disorder touching the manner of keeping their records, the entries in their town-book concerning the common lands not being clearly expressed, the court confirmed the grants already made and settled the matter. In 1672 the Mistick Bridge question appeared. Previously, in 1662, in a case between the artillery company of Suffolk, plaintiff, and Michael Bacon and William Simonds, both of Woburn, defendants, in an action of trespass on land of the said artillery, the court found for the defendants, costs of court. See *Genealogical Sketch of William Simonds*, by E. F. Johnson, p. 14. In 1684 Israel Reed, desiring the favor of the General Court to grant him a license to keep an ordinary or inn in Woburn, in answer to his petition the license was refused, the number appointed already being considered sufficient (v. 460).

A list of all the heads of families in Woburn in 1680 is preserved in the records (ii. 153–54). The names are grouped under their respective tithingmen (*cf.* i. 108). The list was printed in connection with the publication of the first volume of records in the *Woburn Journal*. *Cf.* Sewall's "*Woburn*," 49, note; *Winchester Record*, i. 276–77. The leading names are Richardson (with six families); Carter, Converse, Pierce, Snow and Walker (four families each); and Brooks, Johnson, Reed, Simonds, and Winn (three families each). Further are Cleveland, Green, Hamlet, Houghton, Kendall, Knight, Polly, Wilson, Wright, and Wyman (two families each); and Bacon, Baker, Baldwin, Blodget, Brush, Buck, Burbeen, Butters, Clarke, Cragin, Dean, Farrar, Flagg, Fowle, Fox, Glazier, Hall, Henshaw, Jaquith, Lepingwell, Locke, Mousall, Rice, Roberts, Sawyer, Seers, Stevens, Summers, Thompson, Tidd, and Waters (one family each); the number of families in all being ninety-two. This number shows an increase in 1680, over the number of sixty families reported in 1652. A rough enumeration by families comprises all the statistics of population we have of that early period. The increase of the names in the tax rates and the number of men enrolled for military service show a corresponding growth in the town; but the actual population can only be guessed at. The grouping of the families under the names of their respective tithingmen also conveys an idea of the locality of their residence, so that it can be readily determined whether they lived in Winchester, or Woburn, or Wilmington, or Burlington. For this feature our readers are referred to the list as printed in the *Woburn Journal* (Woburn Records, i. 108, note).

The births exceeding the number of deaths would also, to some extent, show the rate of increase. Th number of births recorded in Woburn from 1641–170[illegible] was 1313; and the number of deaths recorded for the same period (1642–1701) was 340. The effects of immigration and emigration during the same period on the town itself were probably small, in view of the main cause of the growth of population being the large birth-rate, and the small death-rate above mentioned. It is known that the birth-rate is high in new countries, owing to the large proportion of young men there, and an unusually large number of the women there being young also, or of the child-bearing age. Old people being the exception in such communities. Sewall (*Hist. Wob.* 241) has undertaken to show that the rate-payers of 1700 were only 187, against 305 in 1725. He also shows that in 1708 Woburn was the fourth town in Middlesex County in the point of numbers and wealth. Charlestown, Cambridge and Watertown exceeded her, and Concord and Medford were behind her. The number of her polls in that year was 225, and her real estate was estimated at £22 8*s.* 3*d.*

Occurrences before 1700.—The captain of a military company at Charlestown was ordered (Aug. 22, 1686) to impress twelve men from the two companies of that town "to appear at Woburn," at noon, "the 28th." There was trouble at that time with the Indians. About this period a farmer of Woburn was called to an account by the authorities for his wife's extravagance in dress,—the powers that be having vainly endeavored to suppress the love of dress inherent to the female sex. This honest farmer answered, "That he thought it no sin for his wife to wear a silk hood and silk neck [? neckerchief]; and he desired to see an example before him!" Frothingham, *Hist. of C.*, 226. The anecdote is given by Frothingham, *ib.* 210, who refers to Rev. Samuel Sewall as his authority for it.

The First Church Records of Roxbury [*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.* xxxiv. 301; rept. in 6th *Bost. Rec. Comr.'s Rept.*], kept by Rev. S. Danforth, mention "a sad accident at Woburn" about Nov., 1670, where three men who were digging a well were met by a calamity in the earth's caving in, and burying two of them alive; the third hardly escaping the same fate. This one was dug out; his head fortunately not being covered with earth. Under date of Sept. 8, 1671, this

The northerly side of the grant measured one mile, sixteen poles; the easterly side two miles, twenty-eight poles, and one length on the westerly side was one mile, 212 poles. The name of the pond on the map itself is spelled "Uncachewolenk Pond." The proper spelling of this name would appear to be *Uncachewalunk*. *Cf. Early Records of Lancaster*, index; and this pond is now in the limits of Lunenburg.

statement was entered in the same records: "An Indian executed and hung up in chains for murdering an English maid at Woburn." Fixing the year of a murder, which is described in Sewall's *Woburn*, 120, being one not committed in a time of war, as was usually the case. The diary of Samuel Sewall, of Boston, mentions a few items, such as, there being a considerable quantity of snow, a warm rain swelled the waters, so that Woburn and other places suffered by the damage done, Feb. 9, 1682–3. There is a maid at Woburn possessed by an evil spirit, Jan. 21, 1685–6, a rumor. The Woburn church is "under much disquiet," another rumor, Aug. 19, 1687. One year afterwards, Aug. 19, 1688, the lieut.-gov. "goes" to Woburn to secure some Indians engaged in gathering hops. This severe measure was caused by the news of the slaying of five English persons by Indians at the westward. Before their arrest, it appears that these Woburn savages had met together for religious worship, and were "praying" when secured, or shortly before. Dr. Increase Mather, *History King Philip's War*, ed. 1862, 160, relates an incident occurring at Woburn, which he regards as a solemn providence upon certain people for holding opinions partial to the sentiments of the Baptists, if such opinions were not influential among the causes which brought on that war as a judgment upon them for that sin. The incident he relates was the birth of a child, accounted a monstrosity, to the wife of Joseph Wright, at Woburn, Feb. 23, 1670, which was born without a breast and back-bone, and with other serious deformities of body, the head and shoulders being natural. The event occasioned some excitement, and a description was testified to, before Deputy-Gov. Francis Willoughby, on March 2d following, by a number of persons belonging to Woburn, all of whom had seen the child. These were Mrs. Johnson, the mid-wife, Mary Kendall, Ruth Blodgett, Lydia Kendall, Capt. Edward Johnson, Lieut. John Carter, Henry Brooks, James Thompson and Isaac Cole. This misfortune to some apparently worthy people, Mather believed, "bore witness" against the "disorders of some in that place," meaning Woburn, and the activity of those who had imbibed the principles of the Baptist sect, of which there were several in the town, including the Wrights. This theory was imparted to Mather's editor by the Rev. S. Sewall, the historian of Woburn, and Wright had been presented by the grand jury to the court, with others, Dec., 1671, for his connection with the practices of the Baptists. The wife of Joseph Wright was Elizabeth Hassell, and though a married woman with a husband living, and apparently well able to support her, she taught school in Woburn in 1673. One of her eleven children was Sarah, born Feb. 25, 1669–70, according to the Woburn records, and of this child we find no further date, and it appears to be the one referred to by Mather. The father, Joseph Wright, afterwards became reconciled to the tenets of the Woburn First Church, of which he was a deacon, 1698–1724, and signer of a declaration of principles by that church, 1703. He was a selectman, a soldier in Philip's War, a lieutenant of the militia, 1693–1700, and held other offices. *Woburn Journal*, Jan. 12, Feb. 16, 1883; Savage's *Gen. Dict.* iv. 658; Sewall's *Woburn*, 151–56, 175; *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.* xxxvii. 76–7; also Mather's *Hist. Philip's War*, 160, already cited.

The accident to Samuel Converse, son of Edward Converse, who was killed by the water-wheel of his father's mill, February 20, 1669–70, was an event the mention of which was omitted in the local records, but a full account is found in the Middlesex Court Records, file 20, 1670, No. 3, in the "verdict on his death." Two persons—Isaac Brooks and James Thompson—being in the corn-mill belonging to the Converses at Woburn, on a sudden heard a voice at the mill-wheel, saying, "Stop the wheel." Thompson ran to the mill-gate, and looking towards the wheel, saw, as he thought, a man thrown down; and being related to the victim of the accident, cried out, "My uncle is killed!" Brooks also, in the meantime, ran to the water-wheel, and found Samuel Converse, the victim, with his head fastened between the water-wheel and the water-wall. Thompson having shut the gate, came running to the said Brooks, and the wheel being turned backwards was raised upwards sufficiently to release his head. The two then took him up alive, but bleeding excessively, and carried him into his house, where, soon after he was brought in, his bleeding stopped; but in about half an hour, as his bearers conceived, he was dead.

The verdict of the jury of quest on his death calls him by the title of Sergeant, and speaks of his "sudden and untimely death," and conceives that he was cutting some ice off the water-wheel of the corn-mill, and overreaching with his axe, was caught by his coat in some part of the wheel, and the coat being rent to the collar and that not giving way, his head was drawn down until it was sucked in between the water-wall and the water-wheel. In all probability, decides the jury, he received his mortal wound soon after he spoke to stop the wheel. They saw much blood in the place where he was thought to stand, and there was blood upon the snow from the place to the house where he was carried alive. Being set in a chair his blood quickly settled within him, and wholly prevented him from speaking, and in about half an hour he was dead. The jury found the backside of his head greatly bruised, and the gristle of his nose broken, as they conceived, and the "said Converse, his head lying as before expressed," they judged came to his death by means of the "water-wheel of the corn-mill" (verdict dated February 22, 1669–70). See article by the discoverer of this item, Arthur E. Whitney, in the *Winchester Record*, i. 257–259. For genealogy of Samuel Converse's descend-

ants, see Hill's *Family Record of J. W. and E. S. Converse* (1887), 95–177.

NOTE—The first volume of the town records being in print, it is thought best to omit making any special extracts in illustration of further topics from them. The original entries are more full and explicit than any abstract we might make from them. Before leaving them, however, we would like to refer to the second recorder or clerk of the town, William Johnson. He was the son of Captain Edward Johnson, and a faithful town officer. His career as such may be carefully traced in the records. He was a prominent military officer, and these features are noticed more particularly under MILITARY HISTORY. He was noted for his zeal for the old charter, or order of things in New England, in opposition to the changes brought about by the administration introduced by Sir Edmund Andros. His course in that matter was attended by some danger. On July 30, 1686, he was sharply reproved by the council for his carriage on a fast day, when he staid at home out of disrespect to that occasion, and had besides a dozen men with him at his house. He was told he must take the oath of allegiance; and desiring an hour's consideration, then said he could not take it. A *mittimus* was then written, or in the process of writing, for his committal to prison, when he considered the order again, and took the oath, rather than go to prison. He objected, says the diary of Samuel Sewall, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 5th ser. v. 145, to the clause of "acknowledging it to be lawful authority who administered," and would see the seals. He was deprived of his civil offices until the overthrow of the Andros government in 1689.

THE EARTHQUAKE OF OCTOBER 29, 1727.—A discourse by the Rev. John Fox, entitled on cover: *Mr. Fox's Sermons on the Earthquake*; but on the title-page, "God by his Power causes the Earth and its inhabitants to tremble: the substance of two sermons on 1 Sam. xiv. 15, preached soon after the earthquake, at *Wobourn*; by John Fox, A.M.; and now printed at the earnest request of many of the auditors for their own particular use; Boston: printed for N. Belknap, at his shop near Scarlet's Wharf, at the North End, 1728. 58 pp. 16°. The earthquake, which was the subject of this discourse, is called "a work of God," and caused such a trembling of the earth and such a trembling among the people, that its effects were felt for hundreds of miles, causing mountains to shake, and the firmest artificial buildings to totter. Such a trembling as this, says the sermon, "we have lately been sensible of, to our great consternation and astonishment." The awful trembling night, October 29th—"a night never to be forgotten"—appeared to threaten a sudden and terrible destruction. The houses and beds trembled and shook. It was a dark and dismal night indeed—a night that might be called *magormissabib*, fear and terror round about. The timber in the buildings, the stones in the walls were shaken; the people were awakened in a surprising manner as their beds rocked under them like cradles; the quake was "loud to the bodily senses," and the people were brought into a sudden and great consternation by this "new and unusual voice." The preacher had delivered an impressive discourse to his people on the day preceding the evening when they were surprised by this earthquake. From this published discourse the Rev. John Fox would appear to have been an able preacher, as able as the average ministers of his time; not brilliant or sensational, but painstaking, solid and faithful. Professor Williams, who made a study of earthquakes felt in New England, *Mem. Amer. Acad.* i. 260, writes, about 1783, of the great earthquake of October 29, 1727, as follows:

After an interval of sixty-four years, there came on another very memorable one, October 29, 1727, O. S., about 10 h. 40′ P. M., in a very clear air and serene sky, when everything seemed to be in a most perfect calm and tranquility, a heavy rumbling noise was heard; at first it seemed to be at a distance, but increased as it came near, till it was thought equal to the roar of a blazing chimney, and at last to the rattling of carriages driving fiercely on pavements. In about half a minute from the time the report was first heard the earthquake came on; it was observed by those who were abroad that as the shake passed under them, the surface of the earth sensibly rose up, and then sunk down again; the violence of the shock, like that of other great earthquakes, was such as to cause the houses to shake and rock as if they were falling to pieces; the doors, windows, and moveables made a fearful clattering; the pewter and china were thrown from their shelves; stone walls, and the tops of several chimneys were shaken down; in some places the doors were unlatched and burst open, and people in great danger of falling. The duration may be supposed to have been about two minutes. The limits of this earthquake extended from the river Delaware, in Pennsylvania, southwest, to the Kennebeck, northeast, and at both these places it was sensibly felt, though the shake was but small. Its extent must at least have been 700 miles; it was felt by vessels at sea, and in the most remote westerly settlements (1783), and several springs of water and wells, never known to be dry or frozen, were sunk far down into the earth, and some were dried up.[1]

There are no remarkable events of civic character after this, till the period of Samuel Thompson's diary [*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, xxxiv. 397–401]. This writer records a number of incidents from the year 1755 and onward, connected with Woburn or with other places, *e.g.*, a great earthquake, 1755; a violent wind, 1761; a remarkable storm, 1770; two remarkable freshets, 1771; twenty persons in Woburn were frozen on a very cold day, 1773; in 1777, August 15, a hurricane tore off nearly all the roof of Woburn Second Parish meeting-house (the one at Burlington), and parts of other buildings were destroyed, together with Joshua Jones' barns; a great many apple trees were blown down, many large and strong trees turned up by the roots, and almost all the limbs were blown off some, leaving their naked trunks standing, some five or seven, and others eight or ten feet high; the devastation reaching two or three miles in length. The account of the Dark Day, May 19, 1780, is a plain statement of that occurrence. It began to grow dark between nine and ten o'clock in the forenoon, and the darkness increased by degrees till after twelve, when it was darker than usual on a starlight night. Candles were lighted at mid-day, and the people were astonished and affrighted, calling to

[1] The catalogue of the American portion of the library of Rev. T. Prince, by W. H. Whitmore, assigns another publication to our Woburn John Fox. As the Prince library is now a part of the Boston Public Library, Honorable M. Chamberlain, the librarian, has kindly furnished a verbatim copy of its title:

Time and the end of time, in two discourses; The first about *Redemption of Time*: The second about *Considerations of our latter end.* By JOHN FOX. Psalm 90: 12. So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts to wisdom. Lam. 1: 9. Her filthiness is in her skirts, she remembereth not her last end, therefore she came down wonderfully. Non pudet te reliquias vitæ tibi reservare, et id solum Tempus bonæ menti destinare quod in nullam rem conferri possit! Quam ferum est, tunc vivere incipere, cum desirendum est? *Seu* de brev. vit. Boston, in New England. Reprinted by B. Green and J. Allen, for Samuel Phillips, at the Brick Shop, 1701. 234 pp. 24°.

mind passages of sacred writ, namely, the sun shall go down at noon; the sun, his shining shall be clothed with sackcloth. The darkness departed gradually, and the natural day revisited the earth about three o'clock in the afternoon. In 1784 Meeting-House Hill was surveyed, the town having decided on its sale. In 1793 Independence Day (July 4th) was celebrated by about eighty Woburn inhabitants and a number of other gentlemen. A singing exhibition and a lecture occurred this year—unusual events. The era of Middlesex Canal commenced by a preliminary survey. In 1794 a new burying-place was provided in the First Parish of Woburn. On July 4, 1796, one citizen raised a spire-vane or weather-cock — *Independence having been declared twenty years past.* In 1798 there was a school exhibition—another unusual occurrence. In 1799 a hearing occurred on the floor of the new State-House about dividing the town of Woburn, and on January 16, 1800, Dr. Morse, of Charlestown, addressed the people of Woburn on occasion of the public services of the town on the death of General Washington; and on February 22d, following, Mr. Oliver, then preaching in the town, delivered a funeral sermon on Washington. Thus Woburn closes the century with prospects among the people of greater enterprise and hopes of future prosperity.

NOTE.—From 1755 to 1800 the town had its share of accidents and lesser calamities. A few are here cited: Henry Reed's wife was burned to death, 1768—a strange event. Benjamin Brooks, was killed while felling a tree, 1769. Moses Noyes having injured Peter Alexander in a scuffle, 1771, who soon after died, Alexander being infirm at the time of the struggle, Noyes was tried, but acquitted; the jurors finding that Alexander died a natural death. In 1774, Thomas Jones, the pastor of the Woburn Second Church, or Burlington Church, was stricken with paralysis in the pulpit, and died the same day. Nathaniel Kendall died of injuries inflicted by Benjamin Edgell's stallion, 1775. There was a great stir about the small-pox 1775 and 1785. Riots stop certain courts in the State, 1786, and troops are collected and marched off to the scene of trouble, 1787. The Rev. Samuel Sargeant's house in Woburn was on fire on a Sabbath in 1788. The shed of Jonathan Kendall was blown down, and in its fall injured William Tay, by breaking his thigh, and otherwise bruising him, 1789. The influenza prevailed in 1789 and 1790, and many aged persons died. Cyrus Baldwin, who was drowned at Dunstable, was brought to Woburn and buried, 1790, and a strange malady, consisting of a swelling over the eye and then of other parts of the head and throat, occurred 1791. Luther Simonds was killed by a log that rolled on him at his saw-mill, 1792, being found dead under it, and his father's wife was killed by the kick of a horse, about ten years previously, or in 1783. The small pox prevailed and inoculation was permitted in Woburn and other towns, 1792. A young man, Benjamin Edgell, Jr., died suddenly while dancing at a ball, 1793. Lightning struck Bartholomew Richardson's house, and hurt his daughter Phebe, 1794. The schoolhouse was on fire, but was put out soon, 1796. Benjamin Simonds's house was burned down, 1797.

Of all these casualties, but one only, and that the most important, we have found to be the subject of newspaper notice: the strange death of Henry Reed's wife was the subject of a notice in the *Boston Weekly Newsletter* for March 31, 1768. This was a mysterious affair, and occurred in the Precinct, or Burlington part of Woburn, January 18, 1768. The woman was found burned to death. Her husband went to do a day's work for a neighbor, leaving her as well as usual, and three of her neighbors had called to see her, leaving her about sunset as well as ever, also; the husband returned home about 9 P.M., and on opening the door saw a candle burning on the table; the fire on the hearth was secure, but the room was filled with smoke. The man concluded that the house was on fire, and on looking around thought at first that the wife was in bed, but afterwards to his great surprise found her body fallen backward on the floor some six or [illegible] having two windows of the The clothes on the forepart of h[illegible] singular to relate, neither her [illegible] another store of lesser value, arms were burned above the "t[illegible] Winchester, and this building feet below the ankles. Imprude[illegible]," without a jury of inquest. This act [illegible] There was a store at among a number of people who feared that viol[illegible]diah Wyman, as ill-minded person might be the cause of the woman [illegible] and not in a such a shocking manner. Her husband thereupon des[illegible]tances. body might be dug up, which was done on March 18, 1768, or nea[illegible] weeks after burial, and a jury of inquest sat on the case. After a strict enquiry, it appeared that no violence had been offered her—two suspected persons, Mr. Reed and Mrs. *Howard* or Hayward, laid their hands on her body and declared their innocence, as the great God was their judge!—and the jury agreed that she came to her death by her clothes catching fire. After this verdict some were better satisfied, while others were not so well; but here the matter ended. The fact that an attachment was discovered between Reed and the Mrs. Hayward of the above statement, whom he married on September 22, 1768, she being the widow of Thomas Hayward, led to suspicions that the first wife had been foully dealt with, and the two, according to the customs of the times, were forced, as above stated, to undergo the ordeal of touch; the belief being that if the murderers were made to touch the murdered body, there would be some demonstration, possibly miraculous, of guilt. In the Reed case, it is said, there was no such demonstration. The house where the event happened was near Billerica line, and also near Wilmington line, in present Burlington. See Reed's *Hist. Reed Fam.* (1861) 69.

The list of casualties from 1768–1826, is the subject of articles in the *Woburn Journal*, July, August, 1870.

The diary (1755–1814) of Samuel Thompson, Esq., is extant, and copied and annotated, 1755–1805. It is full of particulars for the period covered.

ANCIENT PUBLIC BURIAL-GROUNDS.—Those in Woburn proper are two in number; the first and oldest is on present Park Street, Woburn Centre, and is probably coeval with the first settlement of the town (1642), and the second burial-ground—that on Montvale Avenue—and also like the other near the Common, was opened first as a parish burial-ground in 1794, and purchased later by the town in 1824. As the city has arranged to publish the matter prepared under this head, it is omitted here.

THE CENSUS OF 1800.—From a volume containing the census of four towns—Woburn, Burlington, Lexington and Bedford—prepared under the direction of Samuel Thompson, Esq., assistant to the marshal, containing the names of the heads of families, the number in each family by age and sex and color, Woburn's total was 1228. Houses, 156. The first total obtained was 1217, but an omission of eleven persons increased the total to 1228. The details of population on the basis of 1217 inhabitants are made up as follows:

	Males.	Females.
To 10 years,	174	138
" 16 "	109	75
" 26 "	122	100
" 45 "	107	115
Above 45 years,	100	104
Total	612	532

Negroes and mulattoes, male and female,	18
Male whites,	612
Female whites,	532
Laborers on the Middlesex Canal, some foreigners, and some from the neighboring States,	55
Total,	1217

Omissions.

Elisha Clapp and wife,	2

Samuel Eames Wyman and family,	9
Total,	11
Previous total,	1217
No. returned to marshal,	1228
Woburn,	1228
Burlington,	534
Lexington,	1006
Bedford,	538
Whole number,	3306

PROFESSIONAL MEN.—*The Ecclesiastical Profession.*—Sketches of the lives of the members of this profession in Woburn are given under the heading of Ecclesiastical History.

The Educational Profession.—The Rev. Leander Thompson wrote an elaborate historical sketch of the schools of Woburn, Mass., for the century closing 1876, which was published in the annual town report of that year, pp. 131–185. He expresses his indebtedness to the *History of Woburn* by the late Rev. Samuel Sewall, for items of interest regarding the schools previous to 1775, and gives the substance of all to be found on the subject in that work. Little is left unsaid, and the account for the period covered (to 1876) is very full and complete. There is not known to exist any record or notice of schools prior to 1673. In that year mention is made of Allen Converse's wife and Joseph Wright's wife as teaching school, and in the following year (1674) the selectmen agreed with Jonathan Thompson to teach the bigger children, and with Allen Converse's wife to teach the lesser children. Jonathan Thompson, therefore, was the earliest schoolmaster mentioned in the records of Woburn. Other teachers of this early period were Samuel Carter, a son of the first minister, Mrs. Walker, the Rev. Jabez Fox and the Rev. John Fox, his son, Timothy Wadsworth, of Boston, or his son, John Tufts, and many others, most of them young men who had been connected with the college at Cambridge, and some of them natives of the town. Others were schoolmasters by profession and natives of Woburn, such as the three Richardsons, Adam, Isaac and Jabez, and the two Fowles, James and John—the latter a teacher of eminence—and Ebenezer Thompson. The schools were originally kept in private houses. In 1713 a school-house was erected by private subscription. The grammar school, kept by law by the town, was for a period of thirty-five years movable or rotary, or, in other words, kept for a while each in a number of different neighborhoods. In 1775 and 1776 a grammar school was kept in each of the two parishes. In 1792 the people of Woburn appear to be aroused from a long lethargy in relation to their schools, and active steps were taken to improve them. Soon afterwards nine new school-houses were built.

It seems needless to go over the same ground so well and so ably covered by this report concerning the period covered by the schools of the nineteenth century. A High School was organized and commenced in 1852. The Warren Academy was founded in 1827 and incorporated in 1830. The sketch closes with a valuable list of a number of the male teachers in the town during the earlier part of the present century; to this list we would add two names of schoolmasters of the last century whose names are not there given, viz.: Joseph Burbeen, died 1794, sometimes styled *Rev.*, a graduate of Harvard College, 1731, a schoolmaster and occasionally preached, but was never settled in the ministry, and Jacob Coggin, a graduate of Harvard College, 1763, a schoolmaster by profession and occasionally preached. His gravestone in the second burying-ground calls him "a preacher of the gospel." He died in 1803, in his sixty-fourth year. Like Joseph Burbeen above, he was a native of Woburn. Jacob Coggin, A.M., and Abigail Blanchard, both of Woburn, were married by Rev. John Marrett, July 3, 1777.

A list of teachers of the grammar school in Woburn till 1771, with explanatory notes, is given in Sewall's *Woburn*, 586–87. See also *ib.* 545–46 for an original document; also *ib.*, chaps. ii., vii., xiii., xvi.

This subject is also amplified in articles in the *Winchester Record.* Cf. vol. ii. 64–69, 304–15, 463. According to a statement in one of these articles the town had but one school-house till 1760, certainly in the part now Woburn and Winchester. School districts as such were first established in 1792, and these districts were not much changed till 1845.

The Medical and Legal Professions.—The material on this subject comprises a chapter by itself, covering the colonial, provincial and later periods.

The Military Profession.—The material on the subject of the military history of Woburn is comprised in chapters by themselves, covering the colonial, the provincial, the revolutionary and later periods.

SOCIAL LIBRARY.—The history of a social library existing in Woburn prior to 1800 is included under the subject of LIBRARIES.

Catalogue of some interesting documents of the provincial period that have been preserved in the *Wyman Collection* in the Woburn Public Library :

Giles Alexander, house formerly licensed for an inn or tavern, purchased by Noah Wyman March 21, 1761, who petitions the General Court for an innholder's license on that date.

Samuel Blodget, letter to James Fowle, Aug. 26, 1771.

Nathaniel Felton and Joshua Hammond, heirs of the Rev. Edward Jackson, receipt to James Fowle, Dec. 30, 1755.

Thomas Fleet (printer in Boston), undated letter to, from Samuel Coolidge.

James Fowle, unsigned receipt to, for a horse to Cambridge commencement, *killed by a chair.* Receipt dated July 2, 1760. (A chair, more recently called a "gig," was a two-wheeled vehicle, or chaise without the top. The body resembled a chair.)

Nathan Richardson, letter, Feb. 18, 1765.

Draft of a petition to the General Court by inhabitants of Woburn, and others, in behalf of the "fowls called pigeons," April 4, 1771.

CHAPTER XXV.

WOBURN—(*Continued*).

CIVIL HISTORY FROM 1800 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

THE opening of the present century witnessed a very different Woburn in the general appearance of its buildings and dwellings than the one to be seen at the present time. The town then embraced all the territory which had been formerly included within the limits of the old First Parish, and both were, in the effect of much of their action, practically one. The number of houses in the town at this period was 156, scattered over the area now included principally in the towns of Woburn and Winchester. The population of Woburn at the beginning of the century was 1228. An unfinished description of real estate in Woburn First Parish (October 1, 1798), intended practically to show the condition at the opening of the new century beginning with 1800, conveys an idea of the character of the houses and of the business resources of the inhabitants, and the extent of their property. From this description it would appear that the buildings, with scarcely an exception, were all of wood; that the greater portion of the dwelling-houses were of two stories, a goodly proportion of the number being of the kind described as "two stories in front and one in rear," a number of which yet remain. A small number (21) are mentioned in the unfinished description as one-story houses, and in some cases the number of stories is not specified. As a general thing they were unpainted structures, with small pretensions to beauty. In the extant list, eighteen are described as "old houses;" five as "very old houses;" three as "old and poor;" five as "not tenanted or tenantable;" three as "very poor;" two as "out of repair;" one was "part brick and part wood;" one was "half old and half new, and unfinished;" one was "in good repair;" three were new houses; one was "almost new;" another was "not finished," while one only is spoken of as painted. The condition of some of the barns and out-buildings in the town would appear to be even worse than some of the dwellings we have described. We have not space to go into an enumeration of further details concerning them, but the number of shoemakers' shops would give that business a rank next to agriculture in the general occupations of the inhabitants. At the opening of the century there were, at least, twenty-two of these shops on the estates of those owning them. They generally stood near the dwelling-house, and were small buildings, their average area being eleven by eleven feet. There were at that time two buildings used as currying shops, the area of the largest being only 16x14 feet; one tanner's shop, 16x12; two tan-houses, the largest 30x22; and one bark-house, 24x20 feet. There was certainly one store, kept in an unfinished building, 24x18 feet, and having two windows of the largest size. There was another store of lesser value, in the present limits of Winchester, and this building was styled a "trading shop." There was a store at the Centre Village, kept by Zebadiah Wyman, as early as 1796, in his dwelling-house, and not in a building separate from it, as in the above instances. A store of the same kind was kept by Major Abijah Thompson at North Woburn, or New Bridge, in his dwelling-house. In 1802 Colonel John Wade, who died in 1858, began business in a store at the Centre, with a capital of $170. These appear to be all the stores then in the town.

Of shops devoted to mechanic trades, other than the leather trades, are the following: Wheelwright shop, 1; blacksmiths' shops, 5; saddlers' shops, 2; coopers' shops, 6; joiners' shops, 2; other workshops, 5. The saw-mills in the town were 3, and the grist-mills, 7. There were one cider-mill, three cider-mill houses, a bakehouse, a malthouse, and ten chaise or "shay" houses, for a vehicle of some note at that period. The saw-mills had one saw each, and each grist-mill had one pair of stones.

The situation was probably but little changed till after 1825, about which time more houses were built around the Common at the Centre, and the village began to grow in that quarter. After the opening of the Woburn branch railroad, in 1844, the village in this part of the town received a second impetus in the way of increased building, particularly in the neighborhood of Academy Hill. A view of Woburn from that height in 1820, by Bowen Buckman, Esq., gives a good idea of the appearance of the centre village at that date, before the marked changes of a later period had occurred. The Common at that date would appear to be destitute of trees, and in the immediate foreground no houses exist on the level tract easterly of Pleasant Street and southerly of the Common, except a blacksmith shop of E. W. Reed. The other buildings shown in the sketch are less than thirty in number, and several of these are at some distance from the central point. One or more houses near the Common are not included in this pictorial representation, but the whole, we have been told by one who remembered and who was present with Mr. Buckman when the sketch was made,[1] gives a good illustration of the buildings near the Common as they were from about 1809 to 1820, and, with the exception of the large meeting-house in the foreground, and, perhaps, one or two other buildings, the same as they were in 1800, when the town meeting-house stood on the Common, and a town school-house stood on the spot where the large meeting-house stands, as shown in the illustration of 1820.

ANNALS.—Embracing some events of general importance. 1801, "New Century," writes Esquire Thompson. The same writer mentions the following

[1] The late Colonel Leonard Thompson, of Woburn.

important incidents: Jacob Eames's house was struck by lightning July 3, 1801. Deep snow in February, 1802, "very difficult to pass the great roads." A boat and a large raft were afloat on the Middlesex Canal, at Wilmington, April 22, 1802, and on July 5th following, two hundred to three hundred people sailed on the canal, showing that its construction was progressing, and the manner in which some celebrated the anniversary of American independence, July 4th that year being Sunday. On May 29, 1803, Sunday, the diarist went to meeting in a boat by way of the canal, which appears to be open from North Woburn to Woburn Centre at that time. The canal was opened its entire length in this year. In February, 1804, the roads were obstructed with large snow drifts, and the traveling continued bad throughout March. In June, 1804, there was a conference with young people, probably on the subject of religion, for, in August, 1804, near twenty persons offered themselves to the local church. Mary Ann, child of Zebadiah Wyman, was burned to death, Sunday, January 5, 1806. The almshouse is mentioned in 1806. The mail stage, 1806. Esquire Clapp's house, July 14, 1807, was raised and fell, killing three and wounding twenty or more persons, some very badly. On the day following were three burials of victims of this disaster—John Lyman, Samuel Wright and Joshua Richardson. On July 19th following, another victim, Nathan Parker, died of his wounds by his fall off this tumbling house-frame. An account of this distressing accident appeared in the *Columbian Centinel*, Boston, July 18, 1807. The frame of a house belonging to Major Jeremiah Clapp, of Woburn, was raised on Tuesday, July 14, 1807, a day fair and warm, and when the raising was nearly completed, the whole frame fell, carrying down with it all who were upon it. Two persons were killed outright and another died the night following. The newspaper sets the number of wounded at sixteen, and some, it feared, of these were "wounded mortally." One of the latter, Nathan Parker, died of his wounds on Sunday, the 19th instant, the day after the publication of the above newspaper notice, and was buried on the 19th. It was a sad disaster to all the participants, and made a profound impression on the community. Long and curious and quaintly eulogistic inscriptions on the gravestones of three of the dead victims of the accident are to be seen in the old second burying-ground, on Montvale Avenue, and all state the cause of death to be "the fall of a house-frame." These were Parker, Wright and Richardson, no stone to the memory of Lyman being found. Jeremiah Clapp, the owner of the house, was also buried in the same burying-ground. His gravestone there standing gives the date of his death as November 11, 1817, at the age of fifty-five. The late Colonel Leonard Thompson, in some facts published by the present writer in the *Woburn Journal*, February 6, 1869, states that the number of persons on the frame at the moment of its fall was thirty or more. The house was to be a large, square mansion of three stories, and when afterwards completed, stood a well-known object at Central Square till within thirty years. It was on the westerly side of Main Street, near the junction of Wyman Street. Mr. Charles Flagg's present house is near its former site. When it was erected it was the fashion to raise the frame of a side complete from the ground, and "raisings," as the performances of putting together a frame of this sort were termed, were popular, and a general entertainment of refreshments was provided for all persons present. The attendance on this occasion was unusually large, the house to be constructed being of more than ordinary dimensions. Two sides were to be of brick, to be put in after the frame was erected. These, in this case, were not sufficiently provided with braces and occasioned the fall. Hence, when the framework for the crown-roof was put in place, the weight, with the large number of men upon it, was too great for the rest of the structure to sustain, and the frame was first noticed to lean, it then leaned more, and soon fell with a loud crash, followed by a cry of agony from the injured. The spectators were aghast. Then followed a rush to extricate those buried in the ruins. The confusion baffled description. The ruins had fallen in a westerly direction. The hour when the disaster occurred was six P.M., when the raising was supposed to be about completed, and an entertainment was to be enjoyed. But instead of that occurred this fatality! All efforts to avoid the result failed. The bodies of the killed were removed, horribly mangled. Lyman, of North Woburn, after excruciating suffering, died that night. Parker, residing near by, on the Black House estate, died, as we have before said, during the week. Thirty or forty of the "strong men" of the town were wounded in a variety of ways. Some of them lingered months and even years, even till death, before they were relieved of pain. Some were made cripples for life. Jonathan Tidd, of North Woburn, had his back broken, and never walked readily afterwards. Many recovered gradually from their hurts. Among the names of those injured were Captain Ishmael Munroe, of Burlington, Deacon Benjamin Wyman, Captain John Edgell, Josiah Parker, Jonathan Thompson and Jacob Converse, of Woburn. Colonel Thompson said the funeral of Richardson, Wright and Lyman was held in the Third Meeting-house, which stood on Woburn Common. The pastor, Joseph Chickering, delivered an appropriate discourse on the occasion to a large and sorrowing audience. The text was Job i. 19. Richardson and Wright were both about to be married, and their bereaved ladies appeared with the chief mourners at these funeral ceremonies.

The next event of importance which occurred in Woburn was the burning of the town meeting-house on June 17, 1808—the anniversary of Bunker Hill

Battle. On this date, "Woburn meeting-house was burned to the ground, at eleven o'clock at night; thought to be purposely done." After the burning of the meeting-house, religious services were held in the school-house at the Centre. On July 17, 1808, occurred a storm of thunder and wind, very tempestuous in its character. Stables were blown down, chaises were broken, glass windows also were broken in pieces, the destruction being the greatest in Wilmington, Reading, etc. At a town-meeting on the afternoon of August 1, 1808, it was voted to set the next meeting-house where the school-house then stood, or on the spot now occupied by the Unitarian Church edifice. A month later, on September 1, the timber for the new meeting-house arrived at Woburn from New Hampshire, by the Middlesex Canal, and on the 2d and 3d of that month it was drawn out of the canal and carried to the training-field, or to the open spot easterly of the present Unitarian Church, now traversed by Winn Street. On the 23d, 24th and 25th of October, 1808, etc., the raising of the Woburn Meeting-house was in progress. On June 19, 1809, the meeting-house pews were sold, and on the 28th inst., following, the new meeting-house was dedicated. This was a great occurrence for Woburn, The chronicler devotes the following paragraph to it:

"June 28, 1809. Woburn new meeting-house dedicated. Ministers and people from the adjacent towns attended and assisted. A fine day, and all parts of the services were performed decently and in order."

On July 2, 1809, "Mr. Chickering," the parish minister, "preached in the new meeting-house the first Sabbath," or the first Sunday after its dedication.

In December, 1809, there was some legal difficulty about the town common lands. In January, 1810, Joseph Brooks and Benjamin Brooks were both frozen and found dead in the woods; both were buried the 23d of January. On January 18 the two went into the woods to cut wood, a little before noon, the weather then being very mild. In the evening it became excessively cold and they were supposed to have perished on that day, or the night following, from its effects. They were found on the 20th. One was fifty, and the other was forty-five years old. Cf. *Woburn Journal*, August 6, 1870; *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, xxix. 156. The weather on the 18th, was "fine morning, fair; cloudy, P. M."; on the 19th, Friday, "severe cold, fair;" this was the memorable "cold Friday" of that year, concerning which much has been said and written by the people of that day; the 20th was "fair and excessive cold;" Sunday, the 21st, was "fair and very cold;" the cold had "some abated" on the 22d, and the cold weather continued till the last day of the month. Asa G. Sheldon in his book (Woburn, 1862), has some account of the events on this "cold Friday" (January 19, 1810); the day before was unusually warm for winter, he says, but the next morning brought a great change—"the cold was intense." Cf. *Woburn Journal*, for January 16, 1885.

December 25, Christmas, was called by that name for the first time in these annals in the year 1810. February 2, Candlemas day, is named as such in 1811. On February 4, 1811, was a deep snow with great drifts ten feet deep. On the 11th of February the sun had not been seen for ten days past. On the 21st there was much snow on the ground. On June 30, 1811, there was a contribution in Woburn for Newbury (port), destroyed by fire.

In 1812, Esquire Thompson, the diarist, was eighty-one years old, and though his items are continued till 1814, there is a dearth of incident. In 1815 occurred an event of considerable interest to a large portion of the community, namely, the death of the wife of Mr. Chickering, the Congregational minister. Three of their children also died about the same time as their mother. Her age was thirty-one years. There has been preserved a paper containing the order of the procession at the funeral of Mrs. Chickering, which occurred on Monday, November 6, 1815. The procession was to move from the house of the Rev. Joseph Chickering, precisely at half-past two o'clock P.M., to the meeting-house, in the following order:

First marshal. Members of the Female Reading Society. Second marshal. Corpse. Mourners. Neighboring ministers with their wives. Members of the church. Members of the society. Strangers. Third marshal.

A marble slab in the second burying-ground covers her "earthly remains" and those of her three children who died at nearly the same time as she did. She was Betsey White, of Concord, Mass.

At this period also was issued a license to a manufacturer of leather, namely, to Abijah Thompson, afterwards General Thompson, to conduct a tannery of twelve vats in Woburn, owned by himself, for the tanning of leather for the term of one year. This license was given in conformity to a law of the United States, and was dated October 21, 1815. In 1815 occurred the famous September gale.

In 1815, also occurred some interest in the matter of public vaccination of the inhabitants. One Doctor Fansher proposed to vaccinate all in Woburn who needed it at the different school-houses at an expense to the town of seventy-five dollars. He would attend also to see that each had the genuine "kine-pock" and insure their safety from the small-pox. The doctor called this a "general vaccine inoculation." He signed his name S. Fansher. He had the support of the two village doctors and the Congregational minister. There is extant a petition to the selectmen, dated Aug. 9, 1815, for an article in town warrant, to see if the town will accept the proposals of the above doctor, "for a general inoculation of the *kine-pock* throughout the town," signed by Drs. Sylvanus Plympton and Francis Kittredge and the Rev. Joseph Chickering, and others. Again, in 1823, Dr. Francis Kittredge and nine others petitioned for an

article in the town warrant concerning the purchase of one or more "bathing tubs" for the public use of the town. This was a species of sweating-box, or bath, used in connection with cases of malignant fever, particularly the *spotted fever*, a disease which raged with great fatality in this region in the earlier part of the present century.

In 1815, Mr. John Brooks Russell, a native of the town of Arlington, Mass., went to school in Woburn a couple of weeks to one Hall J. Kelley, who had started a school of half-a-dozen scholars at New Bridge. Mr. Russell says "I boarded with a Mr. Thompson in a house where Count Rumford was born." His impressions of Woburn in 1815 are given in the following brief recital: "I recollect Woburn only as a terribly dull farming town, partaking largely of the depression that was pretty general after the war of 1812." It may be inferred that, at the time Mr. Russell describes, those who pursued mechanical trades, or even exercised their skill in the learned professions, combined with those employments the occupation of agriculture, which was one of the main sources of their support. Even the most well-to-do exercised themselves personally in the various duties of farming, such as haying, laying walls, planting, gathering crops, caring for cattle, cutting wood, etc., etc., and the situation remained apparently unchanged in 1837, when the shoe manufacture was an important business in the place, as it had been at the beginning of the century, and the tanneries were only four in number. After the opening of the Lowell Railroad in 1835, which passed to the east of the main village, a community grew up at what was then called East Woburn, now called by the name of the village of Montvale, and here an India rubber factory was established and other business, with an attempt also to establish a "silk farm" for the prosecution of the silk industry, a subject then attracting considerable attention in the country at large, and also a building enterprise, the whole proving less of a success than its projectors expected. At the time of the opening of the Lowell Railroad the south village in Woburn, now the town of Winchester, began to show signs of growth, particularly in the vicinity of the railroad. Here a village grew up which was soon dignified with the name of South Woburn. The population of the whole town in 1837 was only 2600, of which number 383 males and 320 females were employed in the manufacture of shoes. The number of hands employed in the tanneries was 77. In the door, sash and blind manufacture were employed 17 hands in three factories. The number of hands employed in the India rubber manufacture is not given. The Middlesex Canal, which ran a little to the west of the main village, was in operation, and added an element of variety and enterprise, but it was soon destined to fail, because of the superior advantages of the railroads. The main village was described, at that date, as consisting of about "70 or 80 dwelling-houses, a number of mechanic shops and mercantile stores, with 4 churches,—1 Congregational, 2 Baptist and 1 Universalist, and an academy." Horn Pond at that time was also a place of considerable resort, and in the warm season a house on its shore was well patronized by visitors, who came by boat on the canal, which had six locks at this place, the whole spot being made attractive by summer houses, bowling alley (on the island in the pond), boat-houses, fountain, groves and beautiful scenery.

In 1846, according to a writer in that year, after the Woburn Branch Railroad, two miles in length, to Woburn Centre, had just been constructed, Woburn was essentially a manufacturing town; pleasant villages had sprung up in various parts; the principal manufacture was of shoes and of leather; besides these were manufactories of doors, blinds and sashes, mahogany veneers and knobs, furniture, tin and cabinet-wares, India rubber goods, sewing silk, files, saws and lasts. The houses of public worship were then 2 Congregationalist, 2 Baptist and 1 Universalist. Warren Academy, opened in 1828, was flourishing, and delightfully situated near the centre on a beautiful eminence. The town contained some beautiful farms. Horn Pond was still remarkable for its rural beauties, and numerous visitors were still attracted to it from a distance. The hills, dales and woods of the town were exceedingly pleasant. To this period the inhabitants had been mostly of the original stock. The Rev. Mr. Bennett, in 1846, whose career as minister of the first Congregational Church in Woburn covered the period from 1822 to 1847, speaks of them as a peaceable people, as a stable people,—not changeable nor fickle,—their habits were country habits; like Mr. Bennett himself, they were born and brought up in the country, and were accustomed to industry, economy and plain manners. He was, he said, brought up to saw his own wood, to make his own fire; in a word, to wait upon himself; and in Woburn he was among a plain country people of similar habits and customs. With the opening of the railroads and the increase of manufacturing came persons who were natives of other parts of New England, and settled down among them, and with them also, in large numbers, came a body of foreigners, principally of Irish extraction, who readily found work in the shops and soon became an important element in the population of the place. This race was strong and willing to work, and became the owners, in time, of their own dwellings and of much real estate. They have furnished the community with many sober, industrious and patriotic citizens, and have borne well their share of the burdens imposed upon the community. The presence of this large body of strangers modified many of the customs and peculiarities of the older citizens, making them more cosmopolitan in their views and manner of life, and the contact of races, it may be said without prejudice, has been mutually beneficial, —the strangers adopting some of the better qualities

of the older stock in modes of business and life, in education and refinement.

In 1850, after the loss of the village of South Woburn, which in that year was incorporated as the town of Winchester, a miniature directory of Woburn was published, which contains some valuable particulars regarding the amount of business then performed in the town and the names of those conducting it. The leather manufactories were then thirteen in number, conducted by Abijah Thompson & Co., in two yards, J. B. Winn & Co., in four yards, John Cummings, Jr., & Co., Bond & Tidd, Charles Tidd & Co., Cyrus Cummings, G. L. Ingerson, William Tidd, Henry Tidd, Harris Munroe, Warren Fox, John Shepard and Joseph Dow. The shoe manufacturers were Nichols, Winn & Co., John Flanders, Grammer & Brother, John Tidd & Son, D. Buckman & Son, F. K. Cragin, William Flanders, Luther Holden, Oliver Green, Jeduthun Richardson, S. Caldwell, Frederick Flint, Alvan W. Manning, James D. Taylor, Daniel Cummings, S. T. Langley, Harris Johnson, Augustus Roundy, C. H. Thwing, A. S. Wood, William Leathe, A. P. Smith, Nathan Hyde and H. H. Flanders,—twenty-four concerns. The boot manufacturers numbered two concerns—Winthrop Wyman and S. R. Duren, Jr. Of stores there were six English and West India goods stores, kept by Nichols, Winn & Co., Thompson & Tidd, William Woodberry, Martin L. Converse, William S. Bennett and Thompson & Flagg; two dry goods stores, kept by John Fowle (2d) and Nathan Wyman, Jr.; merchant tailors' establishments, two, kept by Gage & Fowle and Philip Teare; West India goods alone, four stores, proprietors, L. P. Davis, William Beers, The Protective Union or Union Store and J. S. Ellis; hats, caps and shoes, B. F. Wyer & Co.; millinery, M. A. Teare, J. Brainard and Betsey Roundy; clothing, Amos Bugbee; hardware, Kimball & Ladd and E. Trull; books and stationery, G. W. Fowle; jewelry, W. M. Weston; drugs and medicines, E. Cooper & Son and E. Trull; paints and oils, Cutter & Otis; lumber, Richardson & Collamore. There was the usual number of professional men for a population of nearly 3800 persons, viz., clergymen, lawyers and physicians. The number of dwellings in 1850 was 617; shops of all kinds, 279; tan-houses, 8; ware-houses and stores, 21; mills, 8; barns, 241.

After 1850 the era of the weekly local newspaper commenced, which has continued regularly without cessation to the present time. Many of these enterprises had been started, and the existence of some of them was of brief duration only; others have had a well-nigh continuous existence from the time of their commencement, particularly the *Woburn Journal* and the *Woburn Advertiser*, in both of which a much fuller account is given of the current local events than could be in any manner attempted here. The *Woburn Journal* began in 1851, and has continued under various names, such as the *Middlesex Journal*, 1854, and the *Woburn Journal* again in 1873, to the present time. The *Woburn Advertiser* began in 1871, and continued till 1889, when, by the death of its editor and proprietor, who had published it from the first, its existence ceased. Its place is now filled by the *Woburn City Press*, which has entered upon its second year. Two papers of ability and note—the *Woburn Budget*, 1857–1863, and the *Woburn Townsman*, 1864—were published during the years mentioned, but were abandoned on account of their projectors and managers entering the army during the American Civil War.[1] The period between 1850 and 1860, in Woburn, might be called a money-making period; mechanics made good livings, store-keepers accumulated money, and professional men and manufacturers accumulated wealth. The financial troubles of 1857 did not make any great impression here. Indeed, the period might be termed the halcyon period of Woburn, when contentment and manufacturing prosperity reigned supreme. In 1860 the Lynn strike of shoemakers made some impression in Woburn, and the writer remembers one procession of so-called strikers connected with that movement marching in the streets of this town. But the War of the Rebellion, 1861–1865, created an enormous demand for leather—Woburn's staple product—and the growth of business and of the town itself was very marked—much greater than it had ever been before—and the impetus of that period has continued to the present. From 617 dwellings in 1850, the number had increased to 988 in 1860, to 1074 in 1861, to 1323 in 1870, to 1691 in 1880, and to 2007 in 1887, and 2145 in 1889. The most marked civil events of the period from 1850 to 1889 were this rapid growth, the action of the town during the civil war, which belongs more especially to the military history of the place; and an extensive fire in the month of March, 1873, which destroyed one church edifice and several business structures; and the gift of a large sum of money from one of the citizens for a free public library; the construction of a loop of the former Boston and Lowell Railroad, now the Eastern Division of the Boston and Maine Railroad, through the place in 1885; the extension of the horse

[1] Other newspapers in Woburn were *The Sentinel*, 1839; *Woburn Gazette*, 1842–44; *The New England Family*, 1844 or 45; *Gazette* again 1846–47; *Weekly Advertiser*, 1846; *Guide-Post*, 1846–48; *Young Independent*, (amateur), 1872; *Our Paper* (Unitarian), 1875–78; *Church at Work* (Baptist), 1875–76; *The Silent Worker* (Methodist), 1876; *Weekly Independent*, 1878; *Woburn Item*, 1879; *Grattan Echo*, 1881–82; *Woburn Courier*, 1882–84; *Union Weekly*, 1884–85.

Under the topic of "All About Woburn" the publishers of the *Woburn Budget* began a series of articles Oct. 14, 1859, entitled, Newspapers, Military, Woburn Bands, Firemen, Saw-Manufacturing, Gas-Works, Hat Manufacture, Woburn Tract Society, Leather Manufacture, etc., subjects of interest to the people of that time. A parish newspaper called *Our Paper* (1875–78), contained articles of a similar kind, *e. g.*, Woburn in England, Liberal Christianity in Woburn, The Water Supply, The Press, and Library.

The *Herald of Truth and Evangelical Messenger*, a religious periodical, was published and edited in Woburn by Mark Allen, vol. i. to vii. 1867–74

railroad from North Woburn to Winchester and the construction of another horse railroad from Woburn to Stoneham; the introduction of electric light in addition to gas, etc., etc.; the incorporation of the town as a city in 1888; the increase of institutions and facilities which accompany the growth of a large place—these are the evident features, to be observed by all comers, of her present prosperity.

NOTE.—The description of real estate in Woburn First Parish in 1798 was designed to serve as a basis for the valuation required by the assessment of the United States direct tax of that year. The original volume belongs to the Woburn Public Library, and a copy in manuscript has been made from it. All the details given are now very valuable to conveyancers and antiquaries. In the original there is an attempt at alphabetical arrangement The copy is indexed. The description gives the dimensions of the houses, the number of their windows, the amount of glass, the number of their stories, the names of their owners, and the value of the houses and the land on which they stood. The other property is treated in a similar manner. The original book was prepared under the direction of Samuel Thompson, Esq., of Woburn, the "principal assessor" of the district, and the handwriting is supposed to be that of Jeduthun Richardson, "assistant assessor" for Woburn First Parish, for the most part. An introduction to the copy above mentioned contains considerable information which we cannot give here. The description was not completed, because a portion of the act authorizing the tax was soon repealed, and the specifications in relation to dwelling houses, their situation, their dimensions or area, their number of stories, the number and dimensions of their windows, and their building materials, were no longer required. A description of some of these houses, by Leander Thompson, is published in the *Winchester Record*, i. 131–147, and extracts from the above description of real estate are given in articles in the *Winchester Record*, i. 147–161.

Some interesting plans of the Academy Hill lots, so called, of date 1846, are found in the Thompson Collection in the Woburn Public Library. These were based on a previous plan of the Coolidge lots, so called, laid out by Luke Fowle in 1827. The names of the owners of lots are quite fully given on the plans, as well as in a copy of Luke Fowle's field-book, made June 18, 1846, by Benjamin Cutter, and preserved with them.

The particulars of the death of Mary Ann, child of Zebadiah Wyman, are told more fully by her father in the family MSS. The accident occurred at 3 o'clock P.M., on the Sabbath. Her mother and herself were at home, while the rest of the family had gone to meeting. The child undertook to kindle a fire in the house, when her clothes caught fire. By shaking them to put it out a blaze was created and instantly she was wrapped in flames. Her mother's exertions were unavailing; the child died in twenty-four hours after. At the moment of the accident, Mr. Chickering, the minister, was relating the deaths of the year past in the parish and entreating the people to consider the uncertainty of life. "At that moment," writes her father, "the fatal scene opened on Mary Ann!"

Nathan Wyman in a Bible (edition of Isaiah Thomas, Worcester, 1801) made the following entry in regard to the dedication of the meeting-house of 1809: "June 28, 1809, Woburn new meeting-house dedicated. Rev. Mr. Osgood made the first prayer and Mr. Joseph Chickering preached the sermon from Acts 7: 48. Rev. Mr. Marrett made the last prayer." This Bible was the property of Nathan Wyman as early as 1805. Mr. Chickering in his printed dedicatory discourse, 1809, gives a number of particulars concerning the new house and the burning of the old one. The building was the fourth meeting-house which had been erected by the church and parish. The house was decent and becoming their circumstances; it united simplicity with elegance. After the former meeting-house was discovered to be on fire near the hour of midnight, June 17, 1808, in less than an hour it was reduced to ashes. Several circumstances evinced a design on the part of some one to destroy the house. Mr. Chickering recites them, but says nothing had transpired to justify a suspicion of any individual. It had been customary to keep the town's stock of powder in the tower of the house, but the explosion of this was so inconsiderable on the night of the fire, that most of it must have been removed. The house which was destroyed was raised in 1748, and finished in 1752. Zebadiah Wyman (the 2d), in his family MSS., speaking of that house, says, "Our *new* meeting-house was erected in the first week in December, 1748; the steeple (or tower) was put up in June, 1749." The edifice of 1809 cost $7911, and the building was ornamented with a handsome steeple. A fund of $3000 was acquired by the sale of pews, the income of which was intended to be applied towards the annual expenses of the society.

An interesting illustrated article on the Middlesex Canal appeared in the *Boston Globe*, May 12, 1889. The principal writers on the subject of the canal are Eddy, Vose and Sherburne. The stock ledger of the canal company belongs to the Woburn Public Library. Cf. *Woburn Journal*, Jan. 30, and Feb. 13, 20, 1885, for sketches of a trip on the canal and its history.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE LEATHER BUSINESS.—John and Francis Wyman, brothers, and early settlers, were tanners, and had their tanning establishment near the corner of Main and the present Wyman Street, where the tan vats are still said to be buried up in the hollow spot directly south of the junction of these two streets. Another early tanning establishment was that of Gershom Flagg, to the north of Woburn Common, on a spot now traversed by Winn Street. Here, in 1673, he had one dwelling-house, a bark-house, mill-house, beam-house, and tan vats with an acre of land belonging, being situated, according to the description, in High Street, near the meeting-house, and bounded west on the lands of the Rev. Thomas Carter, the town minister, and east by the town burying-place, now the ancient cemetery on Park Street, and south by the training-field, or the present Common or its original limits. This land and house-plot was some of it bought and some of it was given by the town. As the proprietor of this tannery was killed in battle with the Indians in 1690, and as nothing further is heard of it, it probably was allowed to go out of use, and it is probable that none of these early establishments were conducted upon anything more than a small and very limited scale. The Wymans appear

to be followed in their business in the original place by a later member of their family, Jonathan Wyman, and still later David Cummings, Jonathan Tidd, Jeremiah Clapp and Jesse Richardson, the fourth, were engaged in the leather manufacturing business in buildings of small size in various parts of the town. David Cummings, the ancestor of the present Hon. John Cummings, of Woburn, came to Woburn from Andover, about 1756, and here engaged in the business of tanning and agriculture on land employed by Hon. John Cummings for the same purpose at a more recent date. This land was purchased by David Cummings of Israel Reed, about Nov. 12, 1756, and contained about thirty-six acres. In 1770 David Cummings purchased a farm in Woburn of Abijah Smith; that farm contains the old Cummings homestead, and has always been in the possession of the family since the date of purchase from Smith. The deed was recorded on Aug. 30, 1770. The farm contained about 127 acres, with a way across it. In his day the winter was devoted to tanning and the summer to farming, and the tanning business was conducted on a very small scale indeed. John Cummings, his grandson, followed David, by beginning business as a tanner about 1804, and about 1830 took up the manufacture of "chaise leather" as a specialty, and succeeded in acquiring a wide reputation for that article. He next manufactured enameled leather, and was the first, or among the first, to use the splitting-machine, and was subsequently the almoner of the fund contributed by the leather interest for the benefit of the inventor of that useful machine.[1] He relinquished in later life his business to the management and control of his eldest son, the present Hon. John Cummings, and it was this business which built up the village of Cummingsville in Woburn. General Abijah Thompson, who became an apprentice in the business of tanning and currying leather, in 1810, and served four years, began with two dollars capital, in 1814, in Woburn, in a small tannery in the west part of the town, near the junction of the present Cambridge and Russell Streets. At this time he had two apprentices. He continued in this way for about ten years; then he bought a tract of fifteen acres with a small water privilege near the centre of the town. It was a rough place, but he commenced clearing it, built a dam, erected a building and put down twenty vats, enlarging by degrees his business as he gained in capital, till he was one of the largest and most successful leather manufacturers of the time. Thus the village of Thompsonville was commenced, and with the advent of General Thompson's factory increased the leather manufacture in Woburn till it assumed very important proportions. Benjamin F. Thompson, a brother of General Abijah, commenced business in Woburn on a small scale in 1823, in a long and narrow building, still standing in that part of the town now known as Cummingsville, and lived in one end of the same building that was also his manufactory. He was prospered, removed also his business to the centre, where he built a manufactory, and later removed to Winchester, and there built another. Such was the history of the beginning of the leather business in Woburn.

MISCELLANY.—A printed report of the first annual meeting of the directors of the Woburn Agricultural and Manufacturing Company (1836) contains an account of the enterprise known as the Woburn silk farm, and the matter was made the subject of an article by H. F. Smith in *Boston Globe*, July 15, 1883. A few of the mulberry trees set out at the time are said still to remain. The company expected to raise oranges also on their land, and this feature of their enterprise is preserved in the name of Orange Street, at Montvale.

An interesting article on the houses shown in Bowen Buckman's picture of 1820, and others, was published by the Rev. Leander Thompson in the *Woburn City Press*, Feb. 6, 1890.

A lithographic plan of the building lots owned by Sylvanus Wood and J. E. Littlefield, in 1845, in the present populous Highland District in Woburn, shows that in that year there was only one house on that tract—the house now occupied by the Hon. Joseph G. Pollard. The first person to live in the house was Mr. Littlefield, followed by Mr. Daniel Kimball, and later on by his brother, John R. Kimball. At the date of 1845 there was a stopping-place on the Woburn Branch Railroad at the Green Street crossing.[2]

THE MISHAWUM HOUSE.—Besides the Horn Pond Hotel there was another resort of some celebrity

[1] There is preserved in the Woburn Public Library (*Wyman Coll. MSS.*, index, p. 129), a paper of date 1811–12, entitled, "Account of my time and expense attending to the concerns of the proprietors of the patent machine for splitting or shaving leather," but to whom it refers is not evident. The inventor of the machine was evidently Samuel Parker, of Billerica, who obtained patents on leather-splitting machines in 1808, 1809, and 1813. He was a poor man, and was helped by Jonathan Tidd, of Woburn, at the outset, and was the person to whom John Cummings, Sr., was almoner, as noticed in the text. He died at Billerica in 1841. Cf. Hazen's *History*, 281; Davis' *Manufacture of Leather*, 383. Woburn inventors who have obtained patents for improvements on these machines are John B. Tay, 1855; George Reynolds, 1874; J. D. McDonald and W. Beggs, 1883; E. Cummings, 1883–85. The machines of John D. McDonald and William Beggs, and of Eustace Cummings are described at length in Davis' *Manufacture of Leather*, pp. 375–8, 380–83.

Other Woburn names connected with inventions used in the manufacture of leather are the following: F. W. Perry and J. H. Pierce, 1866; J. W. McDonald, 1878, '79, '81; E. D. Warren, 1881–82; C. H. Taylor, 1881; J. Maxwell, 1874; J. Parker, 1866; J. H. Hovey, 1882; W. Ellard, 1861, 74; C. A. McDonald, 1872; E. B. Parkhurst, 1878; J. Champion, 1870; C. B. Bryant, 1883; J. T. Freeman, 1885–86; William H. Wood, 1884. Cf. Davis' *Manufacture*, pp. 235, 334, 335, 408, 439, 440, 466, 467, 551, 615. James W. McDonald's invention of an unhairing machine is mentioned in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., suppl., vol. iii., p. 577.

[2] Of some interest in this connection are lithographic plans of house-lots, belonging to Jeduthun Fowle, in this same neighborhood, of date 1849 and 1855. These plans show adjoining tracts of land and streets, besides the location of dwelling-houses, etc. These, with the original drafts, are to be found with the Thompson plans in the Woburn Public Library.

in Woburn, known as the Mishawum House, which, though on the line of the main stage routes, was also approached by way of the Middlesex Canal. This house was advertised as a "Hotel in Woburn" as early as the year 1813, in which year Thomas Murphy from Concord had taken it, describing it as a "pleasant and commodious house, lately owned by Ichabod Parker." It was at that time "half a mile north of the [Woburn] meeting-house, and only nine miles from Charlestown bridge." Pains had then been taken to beautify the garden, to prepare walks and bowling-alleys, and there was also a large fish-pond near, and a variety of game in the neighboring woods and fields; the place was also said to afford many charms to persons fond of exercise and sports. The proprietor, in 1813, had a large hall and could accommodate companies for balls, fire-clubs, canal parties, etc., at the shortest notice; the canal, he said, at its season, afforded a romantic and charming ride. The house was only thirty rods from the canal banks. Small parties could take the packet boat, which arrived from Boston and Charlestown at one o'clock, afternoon, dine, spend the afternoon and the morning of the following day in fishing and gunning, and return at one o'clock, the second day, in the same conveyance, or they could be accommodated with a carriage, if desired. The house was on the direct road from Boston to Billerica, Amherst, N. H., Andover and Haverhill, Mass., and Portsmouth, N. H. The distance from Boston was just far enough to ride without stopping, and boarders were accommodated on liberal terms. The house stood on Main Street, near corner of New Boston Street, on the estate now owned and occupied by Griffin Place. A portion of the building now stands on Kilby Street. Many years before, in 1775, Woburn was on the upper stage route from Boston to Portsmouth, and in 1812 the almanacs speak of the town as being on the road from Boston to Amherst, N. H., all of which coincides with the statement given in the advertisement of the Mishawum Hotel of 1813. In 1828 the hotel was the half-way house between Boston and Lowell for the line of stage-coaches running between these two places, and fourteen stages each way are said to have made this house their frequent stopping-place. Cf. *Woburn Journal*, August 21, 1885.

EVENTS FROM THE GUIDE-POST.—The following list of notable events was prepared at our request by Mr. J. Cushing Richardson, from the files of the *Woburn Weekly Advertiser and Guide-post*, 1846–1848. No. 1 of the former paper was dated Sept. 3, 1846. Vol. I, No. 1: Town-meeting, N. A. Richardson, moderator. Phalanx parade. Notice of Woburn Debating Club meeting and Episcopal services at the town-hall, Sept. 6. Advertisements of the Marion brass band, and of cemetery lots at auction, Sept. 24. No. 2: The daughter of Mr. Hood drowned in the canal near Hon. William Sturgis's. [Mr. Hood was butler for Mr. Sturgis.—*J. C. R.*] No. 4: A son of Mr. B. Collins found drowned in a barrel of water. No. 5: Mr. Symmes buried in a well he was digging at South Woburn. No. 6: Rev. Mr. Sewall engaged for one year to preach at North Woburn (*New Bridge*). No. 7: Decision in cock-fighting case.[1] No. 8: New brick block (Wade's block) built. Debating club. Notice of lecture by Rev. Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois. No. 9: Fire, Isaac Shattuck's house, Richardson's Row entirely consumed. No. 11: A highway robbery, also a burglary. No. 15: Unitarian service. No. 17: Advertisement for volunteers for Mexican War. Volunteers from the town. 1847. No. 28: Notice of a meeting for forming a Liberal Society. No. 31: Notice of lecture by Rev. Mr. Sewall—a lecture on Woburn. No. 37: Change of proprietors of the *Guide-post*. No. 48: Notice of Mr. Sewall, of Burlington, in relation to records of births, marriages and deaths. No. 50: Robbery of the A. and M. Association. Vol. II, No. 1 (Oct. 7, 1847): Mr. L. Cox, Jr., ordained minister of the Second Baptist Church. Advertisement of man lost. No. 2: Complimentary letter to A. H. Nelson, Esq., from the grand jury of Essex County. Married in Nashua, N. H., Rev. Joseph Bennett to Miss Caroline Esty, of Nashua. No. 3: Dr. John Nelson appointed justice of the peace. Card of Dr. T. Rickard. No. 4: Letter from grand jury of Middlesex County to A. H. Nelson, Esq. Notice of military muster. No. 5: Notice of a course of lyceum lectures. No. 6: Fire at New Bridge village. No. 8: The death of the Rev. Joseph Bennett; also notice of his funeral. 1848. No. 16: At a town-meeting held Jan. 18, voted to grant leave to fence the Common. No. 18 (Feb. 27): Mr. John C. Stockbridge installed pastor of the First Baptist Church. No. 19: Mr. Joseph Richardson buried with military honors. No. 23: Town-meeting doings. No. 25: The First Cong. Church call Rev. Jonathan Edwards, of Andover, to be their pastor.

The articles on local historical topics in the paper called *Our Paper* are found by the following references: Woburn in England (references already given in the first part of this article); Liberal Christianity in Woburn, vol. i. (1876), pp. 65, 77, 85; vol. ii. (1876), pp. 1, 9, 17, 29, 37, 39, 57, 65, 73, 85, 86, 90; the Woburn Water Supply, vol. ii., p. 41; the Woburn Press, vol. ii., pp. 54, 62; the Woburn Library, vol. ii., pp. 54, 62, 71, 78, 91; also the issue for 1878, p. 2.

Beginning with the first volume and first number (Oct. 18, 1851) the *Woburn Journal* published the town records of births, marriages and deaths, completing the publication July 5, 1856. The compiler (Nathan Wyman) was also a frequent contributor of obituaries and historical articles to that paper; the last efforts of his pen were eleven articles entitled, "Material for History," on such subjects as tithingmen, bells, strollers, old receipts and bills, Jack Rand, the poetry of Zebadiah Wyman, oration by Abijah Thompson, unpublished letters of members of Count Rumford's family; the first article appeared July 6, 1883, and the last Nov. 23, 1883. The present writer's first piece for the *Journal* appeared twenty-one years ago, on Feb. 6, 1869, and a large number from his pen on historical subjects have appeared since. The Rev. Leander Thompson has also contributed many papers on historical subjects to the *Journal*, and the Hon. E. F. Johnson has been an occasional writer, a unique production of his pen being the "Story of a Hearse," which appeared in the *Journal* on Sept. 10, 1886.

The principal historical writer in the *Woburn Advertiser* was the late

[1] Cf. *Woburn Journal*, Aug. 5, 1881, for an account of the affair.

Alfred A. Newhall. His most notable contribution was on the houses in Woburn in 1832, first published in 1871, and again, with additions, in 1881–1882, or fifty years after 1832. At that date the taverns were Benjamin Wood's, Marshall Fowle's, John Flagg's, Ira Glover's,——Haines', the Tay Tavern, Daniel Mixer's and the Black Horse. The stores were kept by Bowen Buckman, James Bridge, John Fowle, Zebadiah Wyman, Martin L. Converse, Stephen Nichols, S. T. Richardson, William Grammer and Joel F. Thayer. For population in 1832, churches, schoolhouses, shoe-manufacturers, bakery, tailor, painter and harness-maker, tin manufacturer, leather manufacturers, physicians and lawyers, see his article in *Advertiser*, Nov. 3, 1881. The people, the academy, the canal and Horn Pond are the subject of that for Nov. 10, 1881. The Young Men's Society, the Selectmen and the ministers that for Nov. 24, 1881. The mills, the use of wood and peat, the town meadow, the first shoe-store (about 1838), and the stage to Boston that for Dec. 1, 1881. The streets, Horn Pond Mountain, Rag Rock, the places where town-meetings were held, the questions of temperance and anti-slavery form the subject of an article, Nov. 17, 1881. These were followed by a series of articles entitled, "Observations About Town."

Mr. Charles K. Conn has written some local historical articles for the *City Press*. Mr. Nathaniel A. Richardson, a well-informed authority, has also written some characteristic articles for the *Journal*.

The principal writers on the paper called *Our Paper* were the Rev. William S. Barnes and Librarian George M. Champney.

Ned Kendall.—A reminiscence of the Horn Pond resort is found in an article by a recent writer on the subject of Ned Kendall, the famous Boston bugler (1808–1861). This writer says of Kendall: "In his palmiest days he frequently went to Woburn with military and other organizations, as well as with his own 'Boston Brass Band.' The 'Horn Pond House,' near a charming lake and in the midst of delightful scenery, was a place of great attraction to parties of pleasure and recreation. At the tables after the cloth was removed, Kendall's Band would intersperse the speaking with the most choice and enlivening music. Without announcement, without baton and beating of time to lead or to show that he was leader, he and his compeers would intermix the most mellifluous strains that graced the occasion; and drew boys and, perhaps, birds to hear the marvelous music." There is to be seen in the antique department of the Woburn Public Library, the picture of one of the encampments of these military organizations near the Horn Pond Hotel. The picture is entitled, "Encampment, Woburn, Mass.," and was drawn by C. Hubbard and lithographed by T. Moore, Boston. The organization encamped was the New England Guard (or Guards), of Boston, with a Boston brass band. Two small cannon are shown in the illustration, though the organization itself is drilling as infantry in the foreground. The field was in rear of the Horn Pond Hotel and on the top of the Academy Hill, and was an open space, the only one, perhaps, on the hill; the remainder of the hill being then covered with woods. It was on Warren Street, and to the south of present Sturgis Street. The time was the last week of June, 1838. Cf. *Woburn Journal*, Feb. 23, 1883. The Salem corps of cadets were accustomed to encamp in a field adjoining Horn Pond, being a part of the Josiah Richardson farm, till a comparatively recent date.

One who remembers those days,[1] says of one of these military jollifications at the Mishawum House, that the boys outside were entertained by parties throwing out oranges from the upper windows of the hotel among them, to see the boys scramble to get them. Our informant was one of the boys who witnessed the performance, and was a party with them. The wanton extravagance and drunken carousals of these organizations, on these occasions, no doubt, brought the military into disrepute among the sober-minded citizens of Woburn, and did much to lower the true military spirit which should exist in all communities for the safety of the commonwealth and nation.

Other Matters.—We have no desire to describe the various *isms* which have affected the community in the years since the beginning of the century. Whatever has been sensible in them has been appropriated by the common-sense of the community. Nor will we describe the various political contentions that have arisen and excited unusual attention from time to time. In 1834 and 1835 occurred some trouble about the election of some representatives, and two publications have been preserved which were issued concerning it,—one was a remonstrance against the election of John Wade and others as representatives, 1834, and the other a report of the committee on elections, case of J. Wade and others, returned as members from the town of Woburn, 1835. Mr. Nathaniel A. Richardson, of Winchester, who was in public life at about that time, probably knows more of those exciting days, and their inside influences, than any one now living.

In 1842 the original first church of Woburn celebrated its two hundredth anniversary; and the town, coeval in its organization with the history of the church, took no particular notice of its own bi-centennial anniversary. In 1845 was opened a new cemetery on Salem Street. An original printed programme of the exercises at its dedication is to be seen in the antique department of the Woburn Public Library; and a copy of the original printed programme of the two hundredth anniversary of the church, in 1842, is in the present writer's possession, and another copy of the same programme was given by him to the Winchester Historical Society. Such prints are now scarce. The new cemetery was dedicated October 30, 1845. The ceremony consisted of an invocation by Rev. Webster B. Randolph, voluntary by the Marion Band, reading of the Scriptures by Rev. Silas B. Randall, original hymn by Mrs. Mary L. Bennett, address by Rev. Joseph Bennett, consecrating prayer by Rev. Luther Wright, hymn, Old Hundred, and the benediction by Rev. Silas B. Randall. The day was Tuesday, and the weather fine. The ceremony commenced at one o'clock, afternoon, and continued about one hour. It was interesting to the one thousand or more persons present,—a large out-door audience for Woburn at that time. The original section of the enclosure was designed

[1] Dr Ephraim Cutter, born 1832.

by Amasa Farrier, and laid out under the direction of a committee composed of Abijah Thompson, Oliver C. Rogers, Moses F. Winn, Samuel T. Richardson and Nathaniel A. Richardson. The last-named gentleman is the only survivor of that committee at the present time. The area has been enlarged, and now contains entrances on Salem, Charles and Beach Streets. By the donation of $5000 by the will of Sewall Flagg, in 1866, a tract of eleven and three-quarters acres was acquired, which was added to the original yard, and is now laid out into lots in general use. Another section of over six acres being added by purchase, the whole area is twenty-eight acres. In 1873 a plan of the whole was made by J. R. Carter, C. E., and in 1874 a new receiving tomb was built. Cf. *Woburn Journal*, Jan. 9, 1875. The first one buried in this cemetery was Jephthah Munroe—Larch Path, near receiving tomb. A manual of Woburn Cemetery, containing lists of the lots and their owners, with a historical sketch, the by-laws, town votes, etc., was published in 1877. An account of its funds was published in the town report for Feb. 29, 1888, pp. 94–105.

Another cemetery was opened by the Roman Catholic sect, at Montvale, in 1856.[1]

The great fire at Woburn Centre, loss estimated at first accounts at $75,000, occurred March 6, 1873. It was the most destructive fire which ever occurred in Woburn, was discovered at half-past six o'clock in the evening, and at seven o'clock it was apparent that the town fire apparatus could not cope with it, and help from other places was sent for. Boston sent two engines and a hose-carriage, and Stoneham and Winchester an engine each. The aid which they were ready to render was frustrated by the lack of water. The fire was occasioned by the explosion of a kerosene lamp. The burned district covered an area of nearly four acres, on Main, between Everett and Walnut Streets. This plot was occupied by two wooden blocks of two and a half stories each, owned by Joseph Kelley, the edifice of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a two-story furniture store, belonging to G. W. Pollock, a small wooden building occupied as a shoe-store by C. W. Nute, all on the street, and the Methodist parsonage house in the rear. At eleven o'clock that night not one of these buildings remained standing. The losses were Strout's photographic establishment, in the upper story of Mr. Kelley's building, the building itself, the Methodist Church and parsonage, Barrett's barber establishment, Still's confectionery store, Philip Teare's tailor shop; Frank Flint, shoe-dealer's supplies; S. F. Thompson, civil engineer; C. W. Nute, boots and shoes; G. W. Pollock, furniture; the Literary Institute, fixtures, etc.; Cyrus Tay, grocer, and Leonard Thompson, Jr., hardware. Several accidents occurred during the fire, but none of them serious. The fire, in its progress, threatened other buildings, such as the Lyceum Hall and Bank Block and others, whose occupants prepared for removal. It was considered remarkable that the fire did not extend further. The day of the fire was Thursday, and the ruins were smoking lively Friday forenoon, but the danger was then passed. No water had then been let into the water-supply pipes which had been laid in the streets, by reason of the pumping-engines not being completed. Mr. Kelley's block, known as Knight's building, was erected in 1840, and in it several newspapers had been published. The High School was first begun in it and the Methodist Society. The Methodist Church edifice was built in 1843 by the Universalists, and was afterwards owned by the Unitarians, being bought by the Methodists in 1867, and remodeled and enlarged. The parsonage had never been occupied and was just completed. But one family, that of Mr. Still, the confectioner, lost their home by the fire. The want of water on this occasion showed the desirability of completing in haste the water-works then in preparation.

Several years ago, July 8, 1886, an account, with illustrations, appeared in the *Boston Globe*, of the Walnut Hill shooting range, which was established in Woburn by the Massachusetts Rifle Association, in 1876. The range is near the line of the Boston and Lowell Railroad (now the Eastern Division of the Boston and Maine), in the easterly part of Woburn, between the Walnut Hill Station and North Woburn Junction. The targets are in the neighborhood of the Buck Meadow of antiquity, and are in sight from the cars, but the shooting-house is about half a mile from the railroad, and is reached from the Walnut Hill Station by a waiting barge. This building is located at the ancient Button End quarter of Woburn. The shooting-house and its uses are fully described in the article referred to. The riflemen are civilians and military, and the place is in frequent use. The land belonging to the range extends about two-thirds of a mile parallel with the railroad, and its width is about a quarter of a mile. The first shoot at these grounds occurred November 16, 1876, a 200-yards range being then completed, and about thirty members of the Rifle Association participated. Later in the month, November 28th, a second shoot occurred, and a target for 800-yards range was ordered. The by-laws and shooting rules of the Massachusetts Rifle Association, with a list of officers and members, was printed at Boston, 1877, 30 pp., the number of members being then 131.[2]

[1] Daniel B. Measures, weaver, for $400, conveyed to Michael Ferrin, Hugh Kenney, Patrick H. Claffy, Patrick Calnan and Patrick F. Brown, executive committee of the Woburn Catholic Cemetery Association, land in East Woburn, Jan. 30, 1856. Michael Harney's child was the first person buried in the place. The child died March 12, 1856.—E. F. J.

[2] Directories of Woburn were published by John L. Parker, 1868, 1871, 1874, 1877; by Lemuel G. Trott, 1881; by Mark Allen, 1883, 1886, and W. A. Greenough & Co., 1889. These useful publications contain a great deal of information regarding other matters in the town than the list of the residents merely, and can be consulted with profit by any one wishing to know about the business performed in the town, etc.

Mr. Johnson, first mayor of Woburn, will here give an account of Woburn as a city, and present some observations and facts not alluded to heretofore.

CHAPTER XXVI.

WOBURN—(Continued).

WOBURN AS A CITY.

BY EDWARD F. JOHNSON.

As early as 1872 the incorporation of Woburn as a city was looked upon as an event of the near future. In the ten years preceding that date the town had increased in population from 6500 to 9350. The number of its polls in May, 1872, was 2891, as compared with 1760 ten years before, while its valuation during that period had increased from $4,653,000 to $8,718,000. This decade was indeed the most prosperous one in Woburn's history, and it is certainly a remarkable fact that the valuation of the town on May 1, 1872, should be greater than it was sixteen years later, when it received its charter as a city, and when its population was twenty-five per cent. larger. This decrease in valuation, however, is attributable to the loss in assessed personal property, a loss which has exceeded the gain in assessed real estate during the same period. From 1862 to 1872 the assessed valuation had increased nearly 100 per cent., and, assuming that the future might safely be judged by the past, the selectmen at that time estimated the taxable valuation of the town in 1892 at $32,000,000! Resting on this happy financial hypothesis, they felt warranted in incurring debts for posterity to pay.

In their report for the year ending March 1, 1873, the selectmen make the remark that "another year or two will give us a population entitling us to incorporation as a city." In their next year's report the selectmen refer to the same subject in the following language: "Unfortunately just now our population is too large for the proper management of local affairs under our present system and too small to come under such restrictions and regulations as a city charter gives for the control of affairs of large communities. With our present population town-meetings are likely to be for the next three or five years fine specimens of parliamentary tactics and legislative wisdom."

This last sentence, it is almost needless to remark, is somewhat ironical. Since the days of the war our town-meetings had degenerated from a deliberate and orderly assemblage of a few hundred citizens or less, into a noisy, turbulent gathering of seven or eight hundred men, pushing and jamming one another to secure a seat, or even standing-room, in Lyceum Hall which could not accommodate one-third of the voting population of the town. It was, therefore, always within the power of a few hundred citizens, by securing an early admittance into the hall, to effect a practical disfranchisement of their fellow-citizens. With the increase in population these evils became more apparent and less easy to avert or control, and with the great mass of conservative and thinking citizens the sentiment in favor of a city charter grew rapidly.

Another ten years had to elapse, however, before Woburn's population was such as to give the advocates of a city charter an opportunity to petition for a change in the form of government. The population in the town on May 1, 1882, as ascertained by the assessors, was 11,759, or within 241 of the required 12,000. Moreover, the annual increase in population since 1878, had been almost uniform, and for the five years ending May 1, 1882, it had averaged 265 a year. If this ratio of increase continued the population of Woburn on May 1, 1883, would be 12,024.

Relying on these statistics, a petition was presented to the selectmen on January 2, 1883, signed by Hon. John Cummings and fifty-four others, asking that a town-meeting be called "To obtain an expression of opinion relative to petitioning the Legislature for a city charter." The town-meeting was held January 18th, when it was voted *viva voce*, and almost unanimously, to petition the General Court for a city charter; and the selectmen and ten other citizens were appointed a committee to prepare such petition and take such other action as might be found necessary. The selectmen were also authorized to take a census of the town if deemed necessary to establish the fact that Woburn had the requisite 12,000 inhabitants to entitle it to become a city.

A town-meeting was subsequently held on February 9, 1883, when the opponents to a city charter rallied in sufficient numbers to have laid on the table for two years a motion which was made to the effect that the expense of taking the census of the town authorized at the previous meeting be paid out of the Miscellaneous Department. The committee having the question of a city charter in charge thereupon decided to ask the General Court for a charter to be granted on condition that Woburn had the requisite number of inhabitants, leaving the question of population to be determined afterwards. This course of action was therefore adopted, and a hearing was had at the State House before the committee on cities. As no one appeared before this committee to object, it was much to the surprise and disappointment of the petitioners that the committee voted to refer the matter to the next Legislature, for the reason, as alleged, that there was no record of a count of votes to show that a majority of those present at the town-meeting had voted to petition for a charter. The reason thus assigned by the General Court for its adverse report was looked upon as a mere pretext, but the petitioners were doomed to disappointment in any event; for the result of the census which was taken by the assessors in the following May showed that the population

of the town, instead of increasing in the ratio of preceding years, had actually fallen off 305; so that the population was then only 11,454. These figures settled the question of a city charter for the time, although some enthusiasts proposed that Burlington be annexed in order to secure the requisite number of inhabitants.

The State census of 1885 gave Woburn a population of 11,750, and the enumeration of the inhabitants made by the assessors in May, 1887, showed an increase to 12,760. The matter of population thus being settled, a town-meeting was held on July 27, 1887, when a committee of twenty-one was appointed to prepare a city charter for the acceptance of the town. This committee reported a printed draft of a charter to a meeting held October 31, 1887, which charter, after some discussion, was adopted by a vote of 280 to 9. It was further voted to apply to the next Legislature for an act of incorporation as a city. In pursuance of this vote application was made to the General Court in January, 1888, and on May 18, 1888, the charter submitted by the committee on behalf of the town was enacted by the Legislature with some slight amendments. It came up for acceptance or rejection by the voters of the town at a special meeting held June 12, 1888. The polls remained open all day, and the charter was accepted by the decisive vote of 966 to 32. As soon as the result was announced, twenty-five blows on the fire-alarm alternated with an equal number of peals from the cannon to emphasize the verdict of the citizens in declaring Woburn to be the twenty-fifth city in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The charter thus adopted by the town provided for a city government, consisting of a Mayor, seven Aldermen, eleven Councilmen and a School Committee of nine elective members with the Mayor chairman *ex officio*. The town was to be divided into seven wards, three of which were represented by the villages of Montvale, North Woburn and Cummingsville. The Mayor and School Committee were to be elected by the voters at large, while the Aldermen and Common Councilmen were to be chosen by and from the voters of each ward. In its general features, and in the distribution of powers and privileges, the charter was in other respects a substantial embodiment of the charters of most Massachusetts cities.

At the first election held December 4, 1888, the following officers were chosen: Mayor, Edward F. Johnson; Aldermen, Squire B. Goddard, Julius F. Ramsdell, William C. Kenney, John S. True, Michael Golden, Andrew R. Linscott, John A. Doherty; Common Councilmen, William H. Bradley, Thomas G. Beggs, Charles W. Bryant, Stephen H. Bradley, William Beggs, Joseph M. Gerrish, Edward E. Thompson, Griffin Place, William McDonough, Henry M. Eames, William A. Lynch. On January 7, 1889, these gentlemen were sworn into office, the inaugural ceremonies taking place in Lyceum Hall in the presence of a large gathering of citizens.

Woburn was, in reality, the twenty-seventh town in Massachusetts to become a city, although the annexation by Boston of the cities of Charlestown and Roxbury makes her stand twenty-fifth in the roll of cities existing at the time of her incorporation. In population and valuation Woburn's rank on January 1, 1889, was below that of her sister municipalities, but in extent of territory she exceeded ten out of the other twenty-four cities, containing a larger assessed acreage than the neighboring cities of Somerville, Cambridge and Chelsea combined, and being two and one-half times larger than the city of Malden.

Her valuation on May 1, 1888, was $8,575,000, and her net debt on January 1, 1889, was $461,746.74, or about 5.4 per cent. of the valuation. Her dwelling-houses on May 1, 1888, numbered 2085, and her male polls 3672. Such, in brief, was the status of the municipal corporation of Woburn when the administration of its affairs was transferred from a town to a city form of government.

CHAPTER XXVII.

WOBURN—(Continued).

THE MEDICAL AND LEGAL PROFESSIONS: COLONIAL, PROVINCIAL AND LATER PERIODS.

BY W. R. CUTTER.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION.—The earliest practitioner of medicine or of the science of healing, of which there is any record in Woburn, was a woman; and as it is known on indubitable testimony that she was very skillful in the art, she was no disgrace to the profession. Most of the practice, particularly in certain branches, was in the hands of members of the female sex. The employment of regular physicians from Boston or from adjoining towns was occasionally resorted to in the early period of the town's history, as instanced in the records or in the inventories of the estates of the more well-to-do citizens. The name of a physician of the sterner sex does not appear with the accustomed title till seventy-five or eighty years after the town's incorporation, as will be noticed in the appended list. The stay of some of these doctors appears to be of brief continuance. Others were young men just starting in their medical career. Others were members of the Woburn families by birth or marriage connection. One was of enforced residence, viz., Dr. George Bruscowitz, the French Neutral, from Nova Scotia. Several died comparatively young. A few only appear to have received a liberal education. Doctor John Kittredge, of Billerica, is the earliest non-resident physician named by his title in the tax-lists, being taxed in Woburn, 1712. He died in 1714, and there is evidence in the records that the town authorities em-

ployed him on one case in their charge.[1] Other non-resident physicians named in the tax-lists previous to 1800 are David Fiske, of Lexington, 1781–1782; William Bowers, of Billerica, 1787–1794; John Hale, of Hollis, N. H., 1784; Amos Putnam, of Danvers, 1784. These may have had a connection more or less intimate with the town and its people, as the old records show. Fiske's father, likewise a physician, had been a resident. Other names, perhaps, might be added to the list, and some well known to Woburn residents we defer till later on. This is not the first attempt to write a history of Woburn's early physicians. The father of the present writer, Doctor Benjamin Cutter, began the task many years ago, and collected a number of names. More than forty years ago, or about 1843, he began a list of the early physicians of Woburn, which list is still extant. His list includes the names of Lilley, Brewster, Prince, Boscoitz (Bruscowitz), Hay, Flagg, Blodgett, Poole and Plympton, the eldest, covering a period from 1720 to 1783, and he appears to have depended upon the First Parish records for his principal source of information. He was then interested in collecting some material for a brief history of the First, now the First Congregational Church, and for the history of the town, which had then passed its second centennial. This material was much of it incorporated into a printed church catalogue issued at that time (1844). To Doctor Cutter, also, we owe the recovery of the following lengthy statement regarding the skillful performance of a remarkable cure by the earliest known physician of Woburn residence of which we have any knowledge. In 1847 he copied the following extract—his copy being extant—regarding the performance of GOODWIFE BROOKS in a medical way upon the head of a poor Indian child, who had been scalped and badly injured in a foray of hostile Indians.

Extract from Gookin's *Historical Collections of the Indians in New England*, chap. 4, § 7. From *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. 1, p. 163. "These Maquas, as I said before, are given to rapine and spoil; and had, for several years, been in hostility with our neighbour indians; as the Massachusetts, Pawtuckets, Pennakooks, Kennebecks, Pokomtakukes (living at Deerfield), Quabogs, all the Nipumek Indians and Nashaway or Weshakim Indians. And in truth, they were, in time of war, so great a terror to all the Indians before named, though ours were far more in number than they, that the appearance of four or five Maquas in the woods would frighten them from their habitations and cornfields, and reduce [induce?] many of them to get together in forts; by which means they were brought to such straits and poverty, that had it not been for relief they had from the English, in compensation for labour, doubtless many of them had suffered famine. For they were driven from their planting fields through fear, and from their fishing and hunting places; yea they durst not go into the woods to seek roots and nuts to sustain their lives. But this good effect the war had upon some of them, namely, to turn them from idleness; for now necessity forced them to labour with the English in hoeing, reaping, picking hops, cutting wood, making hay, and making stone fences and like necessary employments, whereby they got victuals and clothes.

"These Maquas had great advantages over our poor Indian neighbours, for they are inured to war and hostility; ours, not inured to it. Besides, the manner of the Maquas in their attempt gives them much advantage and puts ours to terrour. The Maquas' manner is, in the spring of the year, to march forth in several ways, under a captain and not above fifty in a troop. And when they come near the place that they design to spoil, they take up some secret place in the woods for their general rendezvous. Leaving some of their company, they divide themselves into small companies, three or four or five in a party; and then go and seek for prey. These small parties repair near to the Indian habitations and lie in ambushments by the pathsides, in some secure places; and when they see passengers come, they fire upon them with guns; and such as they kill or wound they seize on and pillage, and strip their bodies; and then with their knives take off the skin and hair of the scalp of their head, as large as a satin or leather cap; and so leaving them for dead, they pursue the rest and take such as they can prisoners, and serve them in the same kind; excepting at sometime, if they take a pretty youth or girl that they fancy, they save them alive; and thus they do, as often as they meet any Indians. They always preserve the scalps of the head carefully, drying the inside with hot ashes; and so carry them home as trophies of their valour, for which they are rewarded.

"And now I am speaking of their cruel and murtherous practices, I shall here mention a true and rare story of the recovery of an Indian maid, from whose head the Maquas had stripped the scalp in the manner before mentioned, and broken her skull, and left her for dead; and afterward she was found, recovered, and is alive at this day. The story is thus.[2]

"In the year 1670, a party of Maquas, being looking after their prey, met with some Indians in the woods, belonging to Naamkeek, or Wamesit, upon the north side of Merrimak river, not far from some English houses; where, falling upon these Indians, that were travelling in a path, they killed some and took others whom they also killed, and among the rest, a young maid of about fourteen years old was taken, and the scalp of her head taken off and her skull broken, and left for dead with others. Some of the Indians escaping came to their fellows; and with a party of men, they went forth to bring off the dead bodies, where they found this maid with life in her. So they brought her home, and got Lt. Thomas Henchman, a good man, and one that hath inspection over them, by my order, to use means for her recovery;[3] and tho' he had but little hope thereof, yet he took the best care he could about it; and as soon as conveniently he could, sent the girl to an ancient and skillful woman living at Woburn, about ten miles distant, called GOODWIFE BROOKS, to get her to use her best endeavours to recover the maid; which, by the blessing of God, she did, though she were about two years or more in curing her. I was at Goodwife Brooks' house in May, 1673, when she was in cure; and she showed me a piece or two of the skull that she had taken out. And in May last, 1674, the second day, I being among the Indians at Pawtuckett, to keep court, with Mr. Elliott,[4] and Mr. Richard Daniel,[5] and others, with me, I saw the maid alive and in health, and looked upon her head, which was whole, except a little spot as big as a six-pence might cover, and the maid fat and lusty; but there was no hair come again upon the head where the scalp was flayed off. This cure, as some skillful in chirurgery apprehend, is extraordinary and wonderful; and hence the glory and praise is to be ascribed to God, that worketh wonders without number."

This GOODWIFE BROOKS was Susanna, wife of Henry Brooks, of Woburn [see Brooks family in *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.* (April, 1875), vol. xxix., p. 153]. She died September 15, 1681. Her husband married again, and died April 12, 1683. She had been first the wife and widow of Ezekiel Richardson, one of the first settlers of Woburn—Vinton's *R. Mem.*—and for proof of this see that work, p. 37; and for other facts concerning her, see *ib.* pp. 32-37. The Lieuten-

[1] Cf. Woburn Records, v. 220.

[2] The Maquas were the well-known Mohawk Indians. See further treatment of the subject of this extract in its relation to our local Indians, in *Woburn Journal*, Jan. 5, 1883.

[3] Lieut. Thomas Henchman was connected with the Richardson family of Woburn, through a daughter's marriage—Vinton's *R. Mem.* 41-43. Of the family in which this marriage connection was formed Goodwife Brooks was the mother—see mention beyond under her name. Henchman was an able officer of repute.

[4] The well-known apostle to the Indians.

[5] Gentleman, of Billerica.

ant Henchman named in the text was connected indirectly with her family by marriage, Bridget Henchman, his daughter, having married Lieutenant James Richardson, a son of the above Goodwife Susanna, so famous in her day for her extraordinary medical or surgical skill.

PHYSICIANS.—Of physicians resident in the place, named in the records, are the following before 1850.

DOCTOR PETERS, 1719-1720.

DOCTOR REUBEN LILLEY, 1722-1723, son of Reuben and Martha, born February 24, 1696-97. Died October 17, 1723, in Woburn, at the age of twenty-six.

DOCTOR ISAAC HILL, 1723. "Doctor" on gravestone in Woburn first burying-ground. Died January 9, 1723, aged twenty-nine. Supposed to have been the Isaac, son of Isaac Hill, born December 1, 1693, mentioned in Savage's *Geneal. Dict.* He does not appear to be long a Woburn resident. The suggestion is offered that he may have belonged to Stoneham, originally and then a part of Charlestown, and that dying before a burying-ground had been established in Stoneham, his interment, as that in another case, was effected at Woburn. This would account for the want of mention of him in Woburn records.

DOCTOR JONATHAN HAYWOOD or HAYWARD, 1736-1749. "Doctor" per inscription on gravestone in Woburn first burying-ground. Died August 13, 1749, aged 45. Taxed in Woburn, 1736-1748. He graduated at Harvard College, 1726; married Ruth Burbeen, of Woburn, 1735. Was a selectman, 1741. *See* Sewall's *Woburn*, pp. 590, 595. A son of the same name graduated at Harvard College, 1756, and died a pauper in Woburn, 1812, aged seventy-three.

The following relic of this family has been preserved, having reference to Prince Walker, a negro slave and centenarian of Woburn origin, an account of whom is given elsewhere:

"WOBURN, July 10, 1751.

"For value received, I have this day sold to Mr. Timothy Walker, a Negro boy, named Prince, which I have owned for some time past.

"RUTH HAYWARD."

—See *Diaries of Rev. Timothy Walker*, ed. and annotated by Joseph B. Walker, Concord, N. H., 1889, p. 25, note.

DOCTOR LOT BREWSTER, 1750-1764. He died in Woburn, January 13, 1765. A parcel of curious papers is preserved in the *Wyman Coll.* (box 11), in the Woburn Public Library, relating to the settlement of his own and his wife's estate. Dying as above stated, the inventory of his estate is dated February 25, 1765. It mentions, among other articles, two volumes of practical physic, books, a leather bag, a wine-glass, glass bottles, gallipots, two cases of apothecary drawers, a book-case, small desk, chest with a drawer, a pair of tooth-drawers, two lancets, scales and weights, a pestle and mortar of lignum-vitæ. The whole inventory amounts only to £20 14*s.* 6*d.* His widow Lucy, died, according to her inventory, June 12, 1765. Her property consisted principally of debts and woman's clothing, with a little jewelry. Her goods were sold at vendue at house of the widow Phebe Richardson, in Woburn, proprietress of a tavern which stood on the site of the late Daniel Richardson's house, and known by the name of the Ark Tavern. This house had been kept previously by Noah Richardson, husband of Phebe, whose ancestors, being Walkers, had previously kept the house before her time and that of her husband. Her ancestor, Captain Samuel Walker, who died in 1684, was the first person licensed in the town of Woburn to keep a tavern in the place. The widow Lucy Brewster appears to have died at Mrs. Richardson's house, and Mrs. Richardson brings in a bill against the estate for nursing in her last illness, and for furnishing refreshment (punch, etc.) for the funeral.

The following memoranda, from one of the documents above cited, is interesting to show the state in which the affairs of this poor doctor's family were left.

March 4, 1765, the judge of probate gave all Dr. Lot Brewster's estate to his widow forever.

The widow before her death disposed of, and spent and lost, the value of £8 3*s.* 4*d.*, and £12 11*s.* 2*d.* remained and was added to the inventory of her estate.

Some of the articles she sold and lost were the books, the leather bag ("took off" they said), bottles, the two cases apothecaries'-drawers, the book-case, a "bow-fat," one pair tooth-drawers and a lancet, a silver spoon, which did not belong to the estate; a cow, a saddle, etc. All these, says the memorandum, were sold and lost after the judge gave it (her husband's estate) to her. There is also a son, William Brewster, of these parties mentioned.[1]

Where this Doctor Lot Brewster came from before his settlement in Woburn does not appear. There was a Lot Brewster, born March 25, 1724, son of William, of Duxbury, mentioned in Winsor's *History of Duxbury*, p. 237, who may be the same. He was possibly an apothecary. He does not appear to be a college graduate. What his first success may have been, his end would seem to show that doctors in his time did not flourish in such a country place as Woburn then was, and that the profession did not then, outside of urban districts, furnish a very abundant support.

DOCTOR ROBERT FISKE, 1752–62, son of Robert Fiske, a physician of Lexington. In 1760 he was in the French War. In 1764 he returned to Lexington, where the entry is found: "Doctor Fiske and family came last from Woburn." *See* Hudson's "Lexington." *Doctor David Fiske*, of Lexington, his son, was taxed in Woburn, 1781–82. This son was an inmate of Benjamin Edgell's family, arriving February 11, 1771. See mention under Doctor Samuel Blodgett, of Woburn.

DOCTOR JOHN PRINCE, 1754–60. A town order (Neutral French) dated May 31, 1756, in favor of Dr.

[1] A William Brewster was a soldier from Woburn in the Revolutionary War.—See Sewall's *Woburn*, 568.

John Prince, "for doctoring the French in this town" (autograph, John Prince), is about the only memorial of him extant in this place. (*Wym. Coll.*, Wob. Pub. Liby., 8–41.) Cf. Sewall's *Wob.*, 561, 562. Another specimen of his autograph is extant as witness to a deed, October 21, 1755 (*Wym. Coll.*, 11–80). His signature is a well-written one.

Doctor Wright, 1755.

Doctor George Philip Bruscowitz, 1756–57, one of the Neutral French, then resident in Woburn (Sewall's "Woburn," 558–563). His name is written variously, but his own signature extant on a town order (Neutral French) dated February 21, 1757, writes and spells it as we have given it. On this order he styles himself "Med: Doctor in Woburn." (*Wym. Coll.*, Wob. Pub. Liby., 8–59.)

Doctor Edmund Richardson, 1761, son of Noah and Phebe (Walker) Richardson. "Doctor" per grave-stone in Woburn first burying-ground. Died May 30, 1761, in his twenty-ninth year. Aside from his family we have no further information concerning this person. The statement on his grave-stone is the only warrant for calling him a physician. Perhaps he was a pupil of the Doctor Lot Brewster, whom we have already noticed.

Doctor John Hay, 1761–80. A better known name than any we have yet mentioned, from his fame as the medical preceptor of the celebrated Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford. (*See* Ellis' *Life*, pp. 31–39.) The period of the Count's pupilage was from 1770 to 1772, when the Count was quite a young man. Doctor John Hay and Sarah, his wife, were admitted members of the Woburn First Church July 8, 1765. His father was a well-known physician of Reading, and having begun his practice at Woburn, the younger Doctor Hay, after the death of his father, returned to Reading, where his death occurred, 1815, aged seventy-seven. During the Revolution he served in the American forces as one of Woburn's quota, and a town order on account of military service of John Hay, dated March 20, 1777, is preserved in the Woburn Public Library; also a bill against his former Woburn neighbor, Benjamin Edgell, dated September 27, 1783. For some particulars regarding his life *see* Eaton's *Hist. Reading*, pp. 91–92 and 398, in which is presented a silhouette likeness of the doctor and a cut from an original portrait of his father. After 1780, when his residence in Woburn appeared to end, he still appears to hold property in Woburn, for his name is mentioned in the tax-lists, as a Reading resident, from 1781 to 1786. At Woburn he resided in the house at present Central Square, known by the name of the Black House, which stood on the present Kimball place, 732 Main Street. This house, which was old when torn down, was a noted landmark and has a curious history.

Doctor John Hay was chosen to the office of a deacon of the First Church, November 17, 1777, but appears never to have held the office. His name is in the list of male members of that church on December 1, 1777. In a later hand appears the words against his name of "out of town." In 1793 the list speaks of him as of Reading and as "absent."

Doctor John Flagg, 1765–67. A native of the town, a graduate of Harvard College (1761), and after his removal from Woburn a well-known physician of Lynn, where he died 1793. Lewis and Newhall's *History of Lynn*, gives him an excellent record, p. 358, etc. He settled in Lynn in 1769, and previously, on June 21, 1769, he married, in Woburn, Susanna Fowle.[1] His father, Rev. Ebenezer Flagg, a native of Woburn, a graduate of Harvard College, 1725, was minister of Chester, N. H.

Doctor Samuel Blodgett, 1769–89. Not immediately, if remotely, descended from the Blogget (or Blodgett) family of this town, so far as yet discovered. Doctor Samuel Blodgett, from the church in Sunderland, was received to membership by the First Church in Woburn, January 5, 1772, and Doctor Samuel Blodgett and Jane Gillam, both of Woburn, were married, in Woburn, October 2, 1772. On the testimony of such an authority as the late George Rumford Baldwin the information has come down to us that the house opposite to his mansion, known in recent years by the name of the Wheeler House, was built by Doctor Samuel Blodgett toward the close of the last century, but left unfinished, and sold by him to Colonel Baldwin, father of George R. Baldwin, who finished it so far as to admit of having there a great centennial jubilee in 1800.[2]

[1] In an account-book of James Fowle, Esq., and Jr., a father and son, 1764, etc., is the following memorandum on the fly-leaf: "Augt. ye 30th, 1769, Susannah moved to Lynn." The inscription on the monument at Lynn to Dr. John Flagg, is given in full in Lewis & Co.'s *Hist. of Essex Co.*, vol. i., p. 301. (a)

[2] So much has been said about this house in its supposed connection with the proposed return of Count Rumford to this country, it having been stated that the house was built by Col. Baldwin for his occupancy, that it is well to give a few facts concerning it. In 1820 it is described as being on the east side of Main Street, that part of the street now called by the name of Elm Street, the occupant being Archelaus Taylor. In 1832 the occupant was Col. Charles Carter. The section of Main Street now immediately in front of this house was not then extant. The entrance from present Elm Street from a large central gateway was lined on either side with rows of trees, chiefly lindens, imported by Col. Baldwin from England. The fence in front was ornamented and took a circular sweep inward at the entrance. In the rear of the house was a short branch of the Middlesex Canal, which sometimes furnished a temporary resting-place for a canal-boat. "The whole picture," says the Rev. Leander Thompson in one of his interesting articles, "like that of the Baldwin mansion and grounds, was one of a quiet, well-kept and dignified English country seat, very attractive and restful." About 1811-1814, the Rev. Thomas Waterman, a pastor of the Baptist Church, taught a superior school in this house. His death occurred in the latter year in a sudden manner. A friend of the present writer, Mr. John Brooks Russell, a native of Arlington, went to school in this house in 1815, to the celebrated Hall J. Kelley, the author of one or more text books, who became noted later in his attempts to colonize Oregon.

[a] It is in the Old Burying Ground of Lynn, and from it are taken these words: "As a physician, his skill was eminent, and his practice extensive and successful. To Death, whose triumph he had so often delayed and repelled, but could not entirely prevent, he at last himself submitted on the 27th of May, 1793, in the 50th year of his age."

Benjamin Edgell, of Woburn, enters the following items of information in his accounts:

"Doct. Blodgett came June 20, 1769. David Fiske came Feb. 11, 1771—153 weeks, till July 20, 1772. Doct. Blodgett left on July 20, 1772." The two, therefore, were apparently inmates of Edgell's family. The 153 weeks may refer to Blodgett's stay, or to that of both of them, David Fiske, afterwards a doctor at Lexington, evidently standing to Blodgett in the light of a pupil and assistant. The time of Blodgett's arrival and departure from Edgell's is, however, definitely stated—1769–1772.

Again Edgell writes, "Amos Blodgett, Jr., began his year with me, June 12, 1777; Amos Blodgett engaged in the Army, Aug. 18, 1777." Now since it is known that Captain Benjamin Edgell, the recorder of these items, came to Woburn from the place of his former residence, at Lexington, about 1768, and as Fiske and Amos Blodgett were known to belong to Lexington, the supposition is expressed that our Doctor Samuel Blodgett was from Lexington originally also, and that he was a member of the numerous Blodgett family of Lexington, who descended from the old family of Blodgett, of Woburn. We therefore infer he is probably the Samuel Blodgett, born in Lexington April 30, 1727, eldest son of Samuel Blodgett, concerning whom Hudson, in his *Hist. Lexington*, makes no further statement. We also infer he was a former acquaintance or friend, or maybe a relative, of Benjamin Edgell's at Lexington, and that Edgell was the means of his introduction to Woburn. He may have lived for a short time at Sunderland, a small Massachusetts town on the Connecticut River, as his dismissal from the church there would indicate, and he appears to have been a single man when he came to Woburn. Several sketches of Sunderland that we have read make no reference to the name of Blodgett as one of the names of the early settled families in that town, so we infer that he did not originate there. Like many another young physician even in our day, he probably tried one or more places before he settled down permanently anywhere. He appears to have been a man of energy and spirit, and in the Revolution very patriotic. He was in 1773 one of a committee of nine of the town "relative to the public affairs of government" (Sewall's *Woburn*, 359), and also one of the committee of correspondence. Later he was on a committee to draw up instructions for the "committee of inspection" (Sewall's *Woburn*, 382). He was also a delegate to a constitutional convention at Cambridge in September, 1779 (*Ibid.*, 383). He was also an assessor (*Ibid.*, 368). See other references in *Sewall*, pp. 435, 568. The latest reference to him in Sewall's *History* is January 4, 1790. In a list of male church members in the First Church records, under date of December 1, 1777, the name of Samuel Blodgett appears, but he is spoken of as "out of town," "returned," "out of town" again. In a similar list in the same records, under date of 1793, he is spoken of as "absent," but it does not say where.

The fact that Dr. Blodgett was from Lexington is still further confirmed by accounts of the transfer of his real estate.[1]

There is a letter extant from Doctor Samuel Blodgett, dated Boston, April 1, 1785, and addressed to Mr. Zebadiah Wyman, Woburn. It is as follows:

"BOSTON, April 1st, 1785

"SIR,—If you will be so kind as to get an order from the Selectmen on the Town Treasurer, for the £4 10. 0, which the Town Granted me some time past, and send it to me by the first opportunity, you will oblige your friend, SAM'L BLODGET.

"MR. Z. WYMAN."

Doctor Blodgett is named in Esquire Thompson's financial accounts as late as August, 1790. He is also mentioned in the same accounts in June, 1789, and in Feb., 1786. He probably left town, therefore, about 1790.

The list of Woburn's soldiers during the Revolution includes the names of two physicians: Samuel Blodgett, and John Hay.

Physicians and clergymen were not ashamed in the earlier part of the war to shoulder their arms and parade in the ranks as private soldiers. In the diary of Rev. John Marrett, minister of the Second Parish in Woburn, is this characteristic entry: June 26, 1775, having attended the funeral of George Reed, Jr., who died of a fever occasioned by a surfeit or heat he got in Charlestown fight, the 17th inst., he says, "also appeared with military company and showed arms."

Doctor Blodgett was an active patriot. Rev. Mr. Marrett records, under date of Sunday, April 23, 1775: "Soldiers travelling down and returning—brought

Kelley married a daughter of the distinguished Baptist preacher, Rev. Dr. Baldwin. "The house," Mr. Russell said, "stood on a small canal built up to the house." The school under Kelley's management, however, was a failure. "He had," says Mr. Russell, "but half a dozen scholars, and paid it so little attention that I left after a couple of weeks and went to Westford, Mass." Mr. Russell further says, "I recollect Woburn only as a terribly dull farming town, partaking largely of the depression that was pretty general after the war of 1812."

The house we have been describing was owned by Mrs. F. C. Wheeler in 1886, when the foregoing facts were gathered.

[1] My friend, Hon. Edward F. Johnson, first mayor of Woburn, contributes the following items from the Middlesex County records:

May 26, 1777, Joseph Simonds, of Lexington, conveys to Samuel Blodgett, of Woburn, physician, for £160 13*s.* 4*d.*, two parcels of land, one of 35 ac. and the other of 10 ac., with buildings in Lexington. June 4, 1777, Dr. Blodgett sold his Lexington purchase to John and Jonathan Amory, of Boston.

Previously, on April 8, 1777, he had sold for £550, to Jonathan Amory, of Boston, 28 ac. land and buildings in Woburn, bounded west by county road, north by lands of Joshua Reed and William Scott, east by land of heirs of Eleazer Flagg Poole, deceased, and Isaac Stone, and south by land of Joshua Wyman. Also a pot-ash house standing on west side of said county road, opposite above named buildings. Jane, his wife, unites in said transfer.

The buildings of this estate in Woburn stood on the present site of the house of Dr. Harlow, on Main Street, and the pot-ash house on the site of the estate opposite, now Dr. Hutchins's; on the estate of the latter is a never-failing well, formerly connected with the potash works. —*Statement of Miss Susan Edgell.*

their arms with them to meeting, with warlike accoutrements—a dark day. In the forenoon service, just as service was ended, Dr. Blodgett came in for the people to go with their teams to bring provisions from Marblehead out of the way of the men-of-war."

Dr. John (Ebenezer?) Perry, 1772–1774.

Doctor Jonathan Poole, 1781–1782. Of Hollis, N. H., 1783. Born Woburn, Sept. 5, 1758, son of Eleazer Flagg Poole. Studied medicine with his father-in law, Doctor or Colonel John Hale, in Hollis, whose daughter Elizabeth he married, Dec. 7, 1780. He was assistant surgeon in First New Hampshire Regiment 1776 to 1780. After trying his practice at Woburn, he settled as a physician in Hollis, where he died July 25, 1797, æt. thirty-eight. *See Worcester's History Hollis*, p. 214.

Doctor Sylvanus Plympton, 1784–1836. Died in Woburn, Jan. 20, 1836, aged seventy-six. A native of Medfield, Mass., where he was born, 1757 (Tilden's *Hist. Medfield*, 462). He graduated at Harvard College, 1780. He married Mrs. Mary Richardson, of Woburn, May 12, 1785. Both joined the First Cong. Church on Oct. 16, 1791, and on Oct. 30, 1791, Luke Richardson, son of Mrs. Plympton by a former marriage, Czarina and Mary, daughters of Dr. Sylvanus Plympton and Mary, his wife, were baptized. His wife was the widow of Luke Richardson and the daughter of Josiah and Margery (Carter) Fowle, *R. Mem.*, p. 272. His wife, Mary, died Nov. 1, 1835, aged seventy-four. To the memory of Dr. Plympton and Mary, his wife, a new stone was erected in the Second Burying-Ground a number of years since. There appears to be some discrepancy in the year of his death as given by various authorities, and the same may apply to his age, but 1836 is the year given in the town records.

Through the kindness of Mrs. Ellen J. Harrington, of Woburn, a granddaughter of Dr. Plympton, we have been permitted to have the use of several very interesting papers relating to the history of her grandfather.

(1). A manuscript sheet endorsed: "Account of my Expenses while at College," the body of which is as follows:

"*A Memorandum.* Sylvanus Plympton, Junr., arrived at Dartmouth College, Sunday evening, September 22d, 1776; dined with *D.D.* Wheelock, President; 23d, examined and accepted by Messieurs Ripley and Smith, Tutors in sd. College Mr. Townsend and my Father departed from College, 26th inst. I received a letter from Mr. Townsend soon after informing me of their Journey, and desiring a favor with regard to something left behind. *D.D.* Wheelock died April 24, 1779; after which I returned to College, and took a dismission with a recommendation from that Society from Mr. Ripley afores'd, May 31st, 1779. And find my expenses since my admittance into that Society, according to the most just and critical calculation, including books with all other incidental charges, [to] amount to £277 11*s.* 6*d.* After this I went to Cambridge, and was examined by the President, Professors and Tutors; was approved and admitted, August 20th, 1779. Settled all accompts and took up all obligations at Cambridge, 23d June, 1780, and find my expenses to have been since my first admittance into Dartmouth College to this time, to have been (including books and other incidental charges) one thousand two hundred and seventy-four pounds, or £1274 7*s.* 1*d.*"

(2). The bond required by the Faculty of Harvard College on his admission as a student, dated August 20, 1779, containing the autographs of four members of his family, viz.: Sylvanus (his father), Jonathan, Augustus and Chloe Plympton. One remarkable circumstance in relation to this document is, that the words "a minor" are obliterated, the student being more than twenty-one years old. This paper is endorsed: "Mr. Plympton's Bond."

(3). A letter endorsed "Mr. Jona. Townsend's Letter and Advice," dated "Dartmouth College, Sept. 25, 1776." The letter is admonitory, written by the minister of Medfield, who, with the father, accompanied the pupil to the seat of Dartmouth College. This appears to be the letter referred to in the paper mentioned in paragraph 1. The seat of the college is spoken of as at a great distance from the house of his parents; as retired and peaceful; the faculty ingenious, faithful, kind and beneficent, as to appearance; the pupils regular and decent and pleasant and agreeable, the testimony of their teachers being in their favor. There is a tender allusion to his mother, who could not take the leave of him she wished, and at parting wished the minister "to act the part for her." It is a touching commentary on this letter that the faithful pastor who had journeyed so far to see his young friend enter college, that he should have fallen a victim to the small-pox, of which he died in the same year his letter was written.

The document of expenses presented in paragraph 1 is also printed in Chase's *Plympton Genealogy*, p. 100, which also contains a notice of Dr. Plympton and his descendants, pp. 99, 129, 169, etc.

The commission of justice of the peace of Dr. Plympton, 1816, is preserved in the Woburn Public Library, *Wym. Coll.*

The daughter, Czarina, of Dr. Plympton, the elder, married Otis Danforth, and died, 1883, in Cambridge. A daughter, Mary, married James Bridge, of Woburn.

Dr. Sylvanus Plympton had estate scheduled in the list of 1798, as follows: 1 house, 28 x 23, with 14 windows, the house two stories, with a yard in front, about 3 sq. rods of land; a shed, 30 x 10; a farm, 10 ac., with a barn on it, 30 x 22, the land being bounded E. by the road, N. by heirs of Josiah Richardson, W. on Horn Pond, S. on heirs of Nathaniel Brooks. [This land was evidently the place now occupied by Mr. Buck, near the junction of present Buckman and Main Streets.] He had also in that year 15 ac. in Rag Rock; 3 ac. bought of Jonathan Carter's heirs; 15 ac. bought of Capt. Joseph Wyman; and 6 ac. bought of Jonathan Wright, the latter being partly woodland and partly meadow. He had also ¾ ac. of salt marsh in Malden. He had 72 ac., valued at $1500, in 1801.—"Value of the Several Estates in the town of Woburn, taken by the Assessors of said Town in 1801."—*Wym. Coll. MSS.*, Wob. Pub. Liby., 7: 143.

Later he occupied the house on site of present residence of Mrs. Lewis Shaw, Main Street. The house being burned in 1836.

Augustus Plympton, a son of Dr. Sylvanus, the elder (born 1796, died 1854, M. D. Harv. 1824, Mem. Mass. Med. Soc.), was a practicing physician in Woburn; selectman, 1836, '38, '39; representative, 1837.

Dr. Augustus Plympton died of cholera, June 12, 1854, aged fifty-eight. A lengthy obituary notice, well written and containing an excellent character-

ization of his different merits, appeared June 17, 1854, in the *Woburn Journal*. It alludes to his death as sudden. It says, "He was indigenous to our soil, and there are yet many who remember his father, Dr. Sylvanus Plympton, whose skill and devotion to the laborious duties of his profession at a period when its members were comparatively few are often alluded to. The son enjoyed the benefit of the father's experience and practice, and retained many of the peculiarities, both as a man and as a practitioner, of the olden time."

There is also an account of his case in another place in the same issue of the *Journal:* On the Monday previous, about 5 A. M., he was seized with the terrible disease of cholera, which terminated fatally about half-past ten o'clock the same evening. Dr. Benjamin Cutter, who was promptly called, pronounced it to be a decided case of Asiatic Cholera. Dr. H. Bigelow, of Boston, was also called, and coincided with Dr. Cutter in his view of the case. Dr. Plympton also pronounced his case to be cholera. There was one other fatal case of the same disease in Woburn during the same week.

Sylvanus Plympton, a son of Dr. Sylvanus, the elder (born 1794, died 1864, graduated Harvard College 1818, M.D. Harvard 1822, member Massachusetts Medical Society), was a practicing physician in Cambridge.

Dr. Sylvanus Plympton, of Cambridge, had two daughters who married clergymen, and another married Prof. W. H. Niles, of the Institute of Technology, Boston. A son, *Henry Sylvanus* (1838–1863), a graduate of Harvard Medical School, 1860, and of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York, 1861, was an assistant surgeon in the army and navy, 1862–1863, and died at home in Cambridge of disease contracted in the service.

Dr. Augustus Plympton had one son and several daughters, all natives of Woburn, viz.: Hannah A.; Eliza B., deceased 1887, greatly respected for her many useful and amiable qualities; Augustus; Ellen J., married C. H. Harrington; Georgiana G., married George Sanderson. The two last-named daughters have descendants.

Doctor Silas Barnard, 1784. The Woburn Public Library has in its possession a marriage certificate, signed by Joseph Heald, town clerk of Pepperell, Massachusetts, of "Doctor Silas Barnard of Pepperell, and Miss Phebe Russell of Cambridge," dated Feb. 25, 1782. There is also extant in the same library a receipted account of his with Deacon Timothy Winn, 1784, for medicines. He was dead by 1798.[1]

Doctor John Page, 1805. This gentleman was the father-in-law of Colonel John Wade, and acquired his title as an apothecary in Boston, whence he removed to Woburn. His history is largely to be found in an immense mass of account-books and letters formerly belonging to him, and given by Nathan Wyman, lately deceased, to the Woburn Public Library. He appears to have been a man of enterprise, of wealth, and of mark. We can only select a few points from them. He was in business under the firm-name of Langdon & Page from 1775 and onwards. In 1775 to 1777 he kept a journal while in England. This was at the time of the Revolution. His headquarters were mostly at Boston during his business career, which is represented by a continuous series of account-books from 1783 to 1790, and later there are books of date, 1810–1811, and with them are books of a firm of much earlier date, which perhaps preceded him, 1759–1761. There is an account-book of his brother, Captain Edward Page, 1783–1785. Edward was dead by Sept., 1785. A few entries he made himself in his book are here presented to illustrate the history of the times:

"Pownalboro', Oct. 30, 1784. This day entered the house of Mr. John Page and Langdon.

"Nov. 1, 1784. This day John Langdon turned out part of my goods in the street, etc.

"June 8, 1785. I arrived at Boston, from Wiscasset Point, with Capt. Haskins."

Doctor Francis Kittredge, 1814–1828. Died 1828. This gentleman is still remembered by the aged among us. He belonged to a family of physicians, and had the reputation himself of being a good one. In his later life he was the partner in business of the father of the present writer, and his death occurred at a comparatively early age. He does not appear to have received a liberal education, or to have been a person of extensive culture; but he was, nevertheless, a skillful physician and had a good practice. In 1824, he built the house now owned and occupied by Dr. Graves, near the Library on Pleasant Street. This was considered quite an undertaking for the times, but his death, soon afterwards, made this expenditure a cause of family embarrassment, and resulted in an early sale to other parties. The house is substantially the same in form as it was when built. Articles of agreement between Dr. Francis Kittredge and his partner Dr. Benjamin Cutter, were entered upon in 1827, and one item was that "each party and his own family shall receive attendance and medicine of the firm *gratis*." Dr. Cutter appears to be his pupil and assistant as early as January, 1825.

From his medical receipt-books, still extant, it would appear that Dr. Kittredge originated in Tewksbury. The inscription on his gravestone in Woburn second burying-ground reads as follows:

"In memory of Doct. Francis Kittredge, who died Feb. 24, 1828, æt. 45.

"My flesh shall slumber in the ground,
Till the last trumpet's joyful sound;

[1] The wife of Dr. Barnard was Phebe, daughter of Seth Russell, of Cambridge.—Cf. Cutter's *Arlington*, 295; Paige's *Cambridge*, 650. She was born in 1760 and died in 1851. In 1798 she married for a second husband James Fillebrown, of Cambridge.—Cutter's *Arl.*, 191; Paige's *Camb.*, 545.

Then burst the chains with sweet surprise,
And in my Saviour's image rise."

Dr. Francis Kittredge and his wife Sybil were both members of the First Congregational Church in Woburn; he joining, according to the records, in 1817, and she in 1827.

In preparing the foregoing sketches of physicians the writer has been impressed by the truth of the following observation. Its truth, however, should not deter any one from performing his whole duty to the community where he is called to minister.

How little is soon known of the average physician! A gravestone in a neglected burying-ground, is, perhaps, in a few years his sole existing memorial! A few anecdotes of his prowess in combating disease, or a few reminiscences of instances of his wit, these, and even less than these, ofttimes remain, after the generation that knew him and respected him have passed off the stage of mortal existence. He may have been skillful in his profession, a scholar, a man of high mind—and self-sacrificing, kind-hearted and true—but all of these traits and characteristics are gradually forgotten with the generation that knew him, as the world moves on and others take the place that he formerly filled. Like the good Dŏctor Singletary of the Poet Whittier's tale—he is dead, and forgotten, and a very slight impression of his work and sacrifices remains, but he was a benefactor to the community nevertheless.

Doctor Benjamin Cutter, 1825–1864. Died March 9, 1864, aged sixty. Dr. Cutter, soon after his graduation from Harvard College in 1824, established himself as a student of medicine in Woburn under Dr. Francis Kittredge in the house now occupied by Messrs. Thomas and Baldwin Coolidge, in the north village of Woburn, near the place where this sketch is at present penned by his youngest son. Dr. Cutter, on the death of Dr. Kittredge in 1828, succeeded to his practice, which he held without cessation for nearly forty years, till his own death, in 1864. During his whole life Dr. Cutter was an extensive reader of general literature, and a close student of the literature of his profession; he was fond of history, and especially so of local history and genealogy, and while the duties of his profession were extensive and exhausting, he found time to prepare considerable material on the subject of the history of his native and adopted towns, and upon the genealogy of a number of their families. Most, if not all, of this material has been published by the son on whom his mantle of local history has partially fallen—it is to be hoped not unworthily!

There are those living who well remember the time when Dr. Francis Kittredge and Dr. Sylvanus Plympton, the elder, were the two principal medical practitioners in the town. The public favor, it is said, was about equally divided between them. Dr. Plympton was, perhaps, the more distinguished of the two in the case of fevers and in those diseases which required only the offices of a physician, while Dr. Kittredge was the more distinguished in cases requiring the services of a skillful surgeon. Dr. Cutter was also distinguished in this latter respect, and it is singular that none of the three were natives of Woburn. Plympton, the eldest of the three, was a native of Medfield; Kittredge, still younger, was a native of Tewksbury, where the family had long been noted as a race of physicians of uncommon skill; while Cutter, much younger than either, was a native of West Cambridge, now Arlington, where he was born June 4, 1803. All three, in common with the custom of the time, used in those days to ride about the country on horse-back while visiting their patients. There is extant still a note-book made by Dr. Cutter while a student of Kittredge's, which is filled with the many receipts in use by the medical profession of this vicinity at that period. Some of them may now be accounted "barbarous." The receipt-book is entitled, "A recipe collect of various scarce and excellent compositions, both orthodox and empirical, 1825," and had we space we should be glad to copy some of them. This book was based on similar books of Drs. Francis Kittredge, the senior and junior, the earliest of them dated 1780. These books are still preserved and belong to the present writer. Among the receipts are some from such honored names as those of Dr. Marshall Spring and General John Brooks; others from Dr. Joseph Fiske, of Lexington; Dr. Danforth, of Billerica; the Rev. Mr. Bowes, of Bedford, and others, including receipts even from some women.[1]

It is a difficult task for a son to write satisfactorily about his father. Long sketches of Dr. Cutter have appeared in various places, particularly in the *Cutter Family Memorial*, pp. 137–142; his funeral address being printed in the appendix to that work, pp. 335–38; and an appreciative notice appearing at the time of his death in the *Woburn Townsman* for March 11, 1864. Other notices are cited in the sketch in the family memorial referred to. As we have before stated, he was born in Arlington, June 4, 1803, and graduated at Harvard College in 1824, and took his medical degree from Harvard in 1827, and from Philadelphia again in 1857. His predilection for study becoming early manifest, he was sent from home at the age of eight years to enjoy the best educational advantages he could obtain. He was sent to the academies in Westford and Andover, Mass., and in Pelham and Newmarket, N. H. In 1820 he entered Harvard College. His classmate Rev. Artemas B. Muzzey presented some interesting particulars regarding his college life, which are published in the sketch in the *Cutter Book*. In 1823 and 1824 he taught school in Medford and at Wellfleet, and also in other places. In 1826 he was commissioned sur-

[1] Cf. W. R. Cutter, *On the Sources of Early Woburn History*, a lecture, April 8, 1887.

geon's mate, and in 1829 surgeon in the militia, an office which he resigned in 1834. He was one of the School Committee in Woburn from 1845 to 1849, and held various other offices enumerated in the sketch in the Cutter work. He was devoted to his profession and his last illness was of brief duration. "A large community," says his medical brethren, "has been deprived of an experienced, able and conscientious physician, a friend long and thoroughly proved, and a citizen of eminent usefulness—ever seeking earnestly the best good of the public, and exerting through his whole life an exemplary and hallowed influence."

We cannot do better than submit the *Townsman* notices in full. They touch so many points in the character of Dr. Cutter that we think they are worthy of presentation. There is preserved also the account of the details of his expenses as a college student at Harvard from 1820 to 1824. This production has an historical as well as an antiquarian interest.[1]

[1] The following books contain the results of some of his antiquarian researches:—

(1). *A History of the Cutter Family of New England.* The compilation of the late Dr. Benjamin Cutter, of Woburn, Mass. Revised and enlarged by William Richard Cutter. Boston, 1871. Pp. xi., 364. A supplement, 1875, continues the number of pages to 432.

(2). *History of the Town of Arlington, Massachusetts.* Formerly the Second Precinct in Cambridge, or District of Menotomy, afterward the town of West Cambridge, 1635-1879. With a Genealogical Register of the Inhabitants of the Precinct. By Benjamin and William R. Cutter. Boston, 1880. Pp. viii. 368.

Various articles by W. R. Cutter in antiquarian publications have their origin in the same source. An enumeration of them will not be attempted here.

[*Woburn Townsman*, for Friday, March 11, 1864.]

DEATHS. 9th, Dr. Benjamin Cutter, 60 years, 9 mos.

EDITORIAL.[a] DEATH OF DR. CUTTER.—It is with deep regret we have to announce the death of Dr. Benjamin Cutter, on Wednesday of this week. Few men will be missed so much as he, and they are few whose death might be so truly regarded as a public calamity. He has for some time been in feeble health, but the sickness which was the immediate cause of his death was of short duration. Funeral services will be held in the First Congregational Church, on Monday afternoon next, at two o'clock.

In another column we lay before our readers a biographical sketch of Dr. Cutter, written by one who knew him well, and who but reflects the feelings of many others in this eulogy of his friend.

[Written for the *Townsman.*][b]

DR. BENJAMIN CUTTER.

MR. EDITOR: The death of Dr. Benjamin Cutter has cast a gloom over the community. He has lived so long in our midst, and his life has been one of such singular usefulness, that it naturally arrests attention, and makes us pause to ask how the large space made vacant by such a bereavement is to be filled. Dr. Cutter was born in West Cambridge, June 4, 1803, and graduated at Harvard College in 1824. He studied medicine and surgery with the celebrated Dr. Francis Kittridge, in Woburn, and settled here as a practicing physician in 1825. He married Mary, the daughter of Amos Whittemore, of West Cambridge, who now survives him.

Dr. Cutter has lived one of the most active and useful lives. He has devoted himself with untiring zeal to his profession, ever ready at the call of pain and suffering, cool, calm and skillful. Always studying to ascertain the hidden cause of disease, he was fortunate in living one of the most successful of professional lives. Aside from the arduous duties of his profession, he has found time to accumulate a large amount of minute facts in relation to the history of the town and its inhabitants. He could tell you, for he has visited them, the precise spot where nearly all the first settlers of Woburn lived, and where they died, and what became of the succeeding generations of children. With a retentive memory, a well cultivated and inquiring mind, and a familiar professional acquaintance with nearly all the families residing in town for the last thirty-eight years, his decision in relation to any genealogical fact was considered final.

For the last thirty-five years he has been one of the most active and influential members of the first Congregational society, and for many years the clerk of the church, and at the time of his death was engaged in making an historical catalogue of all the members of the church from its organization; a work of this kind from a pen like his would have been of the greatest historical value.

In social life he was an affable, true-hearted friend. His honesty was proverbial, and his character was above reproach. His modesty was akin to bashfulness, yet he was possessed with a courage that did not seek the approbation of others, nor fear their censure. He early enlisted in the cause of temperance, when to be its advocate insured to one cold looks, bitter words, and a loss of practice. He never thought of these things, however, but only asked what was the duty of a true man. The ready and cheerful manner with which he worked in all causes which tend to elevate and educate society is itself a noble monument to his memory.

He had a noble professional pride, and was not envious of his fellow-laborers in the medical profession. I do not think he ever spoke unkindly of any of them. It was not his *way* to parade the mistakes or faults of others before the world, and if he had anything to say it was *to* them, not *of* them.

No one could be more missed by the community at large than he, and many are the tears that will drop with those of his bereaved family into his newly-opened grave.

Issue for March 18, 1864, contains a notice of Dr. Cutter's funeral. Cf. also *Townsman* for April 1, 1864, and *Woburn Journal*, April 2, 1864.

The widow of Dr. Cutter died June 6, 1871. His children who lived to maturity were Benjamin L., died 1852; Ephraim; Mary W., married Samuel A. Fowle, and died 1865; William R., librarian of the Woburn Public Library and the writer of this communication.

Ephraim Cutter, son of Dr. Benjamin Cutter, was born in Woburn, September 1, 1832. He graduated at Yale College 1852, and received the degree of M.D. from Harvard in 1856, and at Philadelphia in 1857, and LL.D. from Iowa College, 1887. He is known, both in this country and abroad, for his medical writings and inventions. From 1856 to 1875 he practiced his profession in Woburn, and later in Cambridge and Boston, and now in New York City. He has been honored with a gold medal abroad.

WILLARD ADAMS was a physician in Woburn in 1842, and was here still earlier. He was connected with Marlborough, N. H. (see *History* of that town), and, returning to Woburn in later life, died here July 19, 1883.

The Middlesex East District Medical Society was organized at the house of Dr. Benjamin Cutter in Woburn, October 22, 1850, and, besides himself, Drs. Nelson, Plympton, Clough, Drew, Piper and Rickard, from Woburn, were present. All but Dr. Piper are now dead.

A miniature directory of Woburn, prepared by Nathan Wyman in 1850, contains the names of the following physicians resident in Woburn in that year: Augustus Plympton, Benjamin Cutter, S. Wat-

[a] John L. Parker. [b] By Nathan Wyman.

son Drew, John Nelson, Truman Rickard, Richard U. Piper, John Clough, Thomas S. Scales.[1]

We will not attempt a history of the physicians in Woburn since 1850. The oldest of them now living here is Dr. John M. Harlow, a native of Whitehall, N. Y., and in early life a teacher; he began the study of medicine in 1840, studied in the Philadelphia School of Anatomy, and graduated at the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia in 1844. In January, 1845, he commenced the practice of his profession at Cavendish, Vt., and remained there fifteen years, till obliged to retire from ill health. He settled in practice in Woburn in 1861,[2] where he has held a great variety of offices, and among them that of State Senator two terms.

Dr. Harlow has a world-wide reputation for a case under his treatment of recovery from the passage of an iron bar through the head. The subject of it was a young man who, while engaged in drilling a hole in a rock in Cavendish, Vt., on the 13th of September, 1848, a premature explosion of the blast drove this iron implement completely through his head and high into the air. The iron was three feet seven inches in length, round, and comparatively smooth by use. After the accident the man was carried some distance in an ox-cart, but got out of the cart himself with little assistance, and later walked up a long flight of stairs, with the help of his physician, and got upon the bed in the room where he was placed. The man spoke and said: "The iron entered there," pointing to the hole in his cheek, "and passed through my head." He hoped he was "not much hurt." The iron had passed through the brain, and the patient continued in a reasonably comfortable state, with his mind clear, saying he did not "care to see his friends," and said he should "be at work in a few days." After lingering between life and death—his friends were so certain of his immediate death that they had his coffin and clothes in readiness—he gradually improved under treatment and recovered, after which he took to traveling, visited many places near home, and in 1852 turned his back upon New England never to return. He remained nearly eight years in Chili, South America, and eventually went to San Francisco, Cal., and died there of convulsions on May 21, 1861, twelve years and six months after the date of his accident.[3]

[1] For obituary notice of Dr. Stephen Watson Drew, see *Woburn Journal*, Feb. 20, 1875; *Woburn Advertiser*, Feb. 25, 1875; for Dr. John Nelson, *Woburn Townsman*, March 25, April 1, 1864; *Woburn Journal*, April 2, 1864; Truman Rickard, *Woburn Journal*, August 10, 1861; *Woburn Budget*, Aug. 9, 16, 1861; John Clough (physician and dentist), *Woburn Journal*, Dec. 6, 1879; *Woburn Advertiser*, Nov. 27, Dec. 4, 1879; Thomas S. Scales (Homœopathic), *Woburn Journal*, June 17, 1881; *Woburn Advertiser*, June 16, 1881.

Dr. Drew was a native of Milton, N. H.; Dr. Nelson, of Milford, Mass. (Cf. Ballou's *Hist. Milford*, 928); Dr. Rickard, of Cornish, N. H.; Dr. Clough, of Sanbornton or Tilton, N. H.; Dr. Scales, of Henniker, N. H.

[2] Cf. *Woburn Budget*, Nov. 8, 1861.

[3] For a published account of this case, see "Recovery from the passage of an iron bar through the head," by John M. Harlow, M.D., of Woburn; with a plate. An address before the president and fellows of the Massachusetts Medical Society, read June 3, 1868. 20 pp.

THE LEGAL PROFESSION.—The legal profession does not have any exclusively professional representatives in Woburn till a comparatively late period. The ordinary law business that existed in the earlier time was performed by persons holding the offices of magistrates, and it may be supposed that the more liberally educated members of the community, such as the clergymen, and, even where such were to be found, the physicians, attempted some forms of that business, such as the writing of wills and deeds. There were various justices of the peace in the earlier period, specimens of whose handiwork in the preparation of legal documents are still preserved. Among these may be mentioned William Johnson, son of Edward; Samuel Carter, son of Rev. Thomas; James Converse, the major; Jonathan Tyng; Eleazer Flagg; Jonathan Poole; and, of still later date, James Fowle, whose commission is still preserved, dated November 19, 1761; Josiah Johnson,[4] Samuel Thompson, Samuel Wyman and Zebadiah Wyman; and later still, before lawyers were accounted numerous, Timothy Winn and Benjamin Wyman. Two of the above personages, viz.: Samuel Thompson and Benjamin Wyman, have left papers which are still accessible in abundance, showing the large number of actions which were prosecuted before them and the great number of estates which were settled.

LAWYERS.—JOSEPH BARTLETT, ESQ., attorney-at-law in Woburn as early as 1790, per that valuable publication called the *Massachusetts Register*, was named in Esquire Thompson's accounts in Woburn from August, 1788, to December, 1792. This Esquire Bartlett was styled "Captain" in Woburn from 1789 to 1796. In 1797 his career as a lawyer in Woburn had ended by his removal to Cambridge. He was a graduate of Harvard College in 1782, and is said to have been a native of Plymouth. He left Cambridge about 1809, and afterwards resided in Portsmouth, Saco and in Boston, in which place he died in 1827, "his sun" said to have "went down in a cloud." He had no children. The Woburn diarist, Esquire Thompson, refers to him, under date of January 2, 1789, as follows: "Cloudy and fair. At Capt. Bartlett's." This entry shows that the Esquire had settled in Woburn by that date. Again Esquire Thompson records: "August 25, 1790. Some cloudy and some fair. Mr. Bartlett's house raised." And again he records: "June 20, 1797. Went to Cambridge to Capt. Bartlett's." This shows that the captain, otherwise the squire, had then, or by that time, removed to Cambridge. His house in Woburn was known by the name of the Black House,

[4] Some of these names are recognized in Whitmore's *Civil List of Mass.*, viz., justices of the peace: William Johnson, 1692; Major James Converse, 1700, 1702; Jonathan Tyng, 1700; Eleazer Flagg; Jonathan Poole, 1727, 1729, 1731; Josiah Johnson, 1755, 1761; James Fowle, 1761.

from its color, and was called by that name as long as it stood, which was after the year 1850. It stood on the estate now numbered 732 Main Street, near present Central Square, the residence where dwells the writer of this brief sketch of the first lawyer by profession to settle in Woburn. The low, one-story building, now occupied as a dwelling at Central Square, near the junction of Main and Vine Streets, but located on Main Street, and sometimes called the Poole house by the older citizens, is said to have been erected for his law-office. This point in his day was an important business centre in Woburn, being on the line of two important stage-routes, and conveniently reached. His practice was probably as fair as the circumstances of the town would warrant. He possessed a singular taste for his time in house-decoration. In Woburn he had his house painted black, with white paint for the window-sashes and green for the doors. At Saco he is said to have built a house of a round form, and to have painted it a fiery red color. Cf. Paige's *Hist. Camb.*, 484.

Loammi Baldwin, attorney, 1803–1805. Graduate Harvard College, 1800. Died 1838. Son of Col. Loammi Baldwin. Born in Woburn, 1780. He was the distinguished civil engineer.

Loammi Baldwin, "father of civil engineering in America," is one among the leaders of industrial work in this country, to whom the community owes much. There were few works of internal improvement carried out in America during the first thirty years of the present century with which he was not connected. Two great works—the Government dry docks at Charlestown and Norfolk—stand unsurpassed to-day among the engineering structures of the country as specimens of his skill. Such is the commendation passed upon him by his biographer, Prof. George L. Vose, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Loammi Baldwin, Esq., was the son of Colonel Loammi Baldwin, and was born in Woburn, May 16, 1780. He fitted for college, and graduated from Harvard College in 1800. His inclination at that time was towards mechanical subjects, to which very little attention was paid in the college curriculum, and while in college he made, with his own hands, a clock, which kept good time, and was the wonder and admiration of his class. He commenced the study of law at Groton, after graduating from college, and signalized himself there in a mechanical capacity by the construction of a fire-engine in 1802, which is still in use. Loammi Baldwin, the subject of this notice, died June 30, 1838.

He opened an office in Cambridge, as a lawyer, in 1804, which business he pursued about three years, when he turned his attention to engineering, going to England in 1807 with that object in view, and on his return settled in Charlestown. For a fuller account of his ability as an engineer and his professional works, see *A Sketch of the Life and Works of Loammi Baldwin, Civil Engineer*, by George L. Vose: Boston, 1885, 28 pp., 8vo, with a portrait. An account of the fire-engine, "Torrent," 1802, with an illustration, is given in Dr. Samuel A. Green's *Groton Historical Series*, vol. ii. pp. 393, 394. This was the first fire-engine in Groton, and after a use of more than eighty-seven years will throw a stream of water over the highest roofs in town. Thus Loammi Baldwin's contrivance for extinguishing fires has been a very useful and effective one, and Dr. Green says, on several occasions it has prevented serious conflagrations in the town of Groton.

Abner Bartlett, attorney, 1804–1806. Removed to Medford, where his name appears 1808.

He was a native of Plymouth, and graduated at Harvard College 1799, and died in 1850, aged seventy-four. Cf. *Brooks' History of Medford*, 309. Abner Bartlett and Sarah B. Burgess, both of Woburn, were married December 21, 1806.

Wyman Richardson, Esq., attorney-at-law, in Woburn, in 1811, and still the same in 1837, was for a long period apparently the only lawyer living in the town. He died in 1841. He was adjutant in the militia, 1820, and brigade major, 1823–1836. He was born in Woburn, February 19, 1779; graduated at Harvard College, 1804; studied law and practiced in Woburn; and died suddenly in this town, June 22, 1841, aged sixty-one. Cf. *R. Mem.* 336, 337.

William C. Jarvis, Esq., attorney-at-law, 1831–1833. He represented Woburn in the Legislature in 1830, was Speaker of the House of Representatives, 1823, 1824, 1826, and 1827, and at one time a candidate for Governor. Cf. *Winchester Record*, i. 128.

"Winchester, Oct. 21, 1889.

"Mr. Cutter:—I send you some facts about William C. Jarvis, which you can use as you please. I well remember him when he lived in South Woburn, although I was a small boy when he came here in 1825 or '26. He bought the Swan farm, where the Grammers lived when they moved out here in 1822. After Jarvis moved away, about 1835, Isaac Shattuck bought the farm—the Shattuck who at one time kept the Academy boarding-house in Woburn. Jarvis, I am sure, came here from Pittsfield, Mass., where he was living in 1820, and where he wrote and published a book of 400 pages, called the 'Republican, or a series of essays on the principle and policy of free states.' I have read it, an interesting and able work. I do not know where he was born, but do know that he moved to Claremont, N. H., and in 1838, when about fifty years old, went over the Connecticut River to the town opposite and shot himself, dying instantly. He was quite a *book* farmer, a good scholar, a stout-built man. He had a law-office in Woburn, where he went daily, riding in a two-wheeled chaise, with a dog always following behind. He was round-shouldered, had a cock-eye, red face, was a high liver, hard drinker and fond of women; had no children. I think his wife died here. When he left town his furniture was sold at auction. My father bought a mahogany dining table, which I now have. It was said he bought a farm and moved here to run as a candidate for Governor. I am sure he was a candidate and ran as the free bridge candidate—to abolish the toll over Warren Bridge, which at that period was being agitated. I think he was elected Speaker of the house when a member. He was a Whig in politics and strongly opposed by Col. John Wade, but on account of his being strong for the free bridge was elected. Most respectfully yours, etc., N. A. Richardson."

Albert H. Nelson, Esq.,[1] attorney-at-law, 1842–

[1] Lawyers named in miniature Woburn directory for 1850. For obituary notices of James M. Randall see *Woburn Journal*, August 3, 1861;

Albert Hobart Nelson, Esq., of Woburn, died [illegible]omerville, June 27, 1858, aged forty-six years. He was son of Dr. John Nelson, and was born in Milford, Mass., March 12, 1812. He graduated at Harvard College in 1832, studied law in the office of Samuel Hoar, of Concord, Mass., and in 1839 entered on the practice of his profession at Concord, and in 1842 removed to Woburn. He was appointed district attorney for Middlesex about 1846, and filled the position in a most satisfactory manner. He was a member of the Massachusetts Senate for two successive sessions, 1848 and 1849; a member of the Executive Council in 1854, and continued thus till transferred to the chief justiceship of the Superior Court of Suffolk County in 1855. He sat on the bench till the spring of 1858, when he was obliged to resign because of continued ill-health, severe shocks of paralysis mastering him and carrying him to the grave. He was an able and accomplished lawyer, of cultivated intellect, popular, easy and graceful in manner. Woburn had reason to be proud of him as a citizen, for his many able qualities and his public spirit. Cf. *Woburn Journal*, July 3, 1858; *Woburn Budget*, July 2, 1858; Ballou's *Hist. Milford*, 928.

Asa Spaulding and James M. Randall,[1] 1847. Joshua P. Converse[1] (under the firm of Nelson & Converse). Gorham Parkes.[1]

The lawyers since this period have been numerous and we may be pardoned if their names are omitted. Most of those who have settled here since 1850 are still living, and their names also are given under the history of the bar in Middlesex County in another part of this volume.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

WOBURN—(Continued).

MILITARY HISTORY—THE COLONIAL AND PROVINCIAL PERIODS, 1642–1775.

BY W. R. CUTTER.

The Train-Band.—A few remarks of a general nature on this hitherto neglected subject in the history of Woburn may not be out of place. The militia of the colonial period was intended for the public defence, and the companies composing it were expected to perform arduous duty and to accomplish important military achievements. The training-day was then no "mere playing at soldiers," but a serious study for the defence of the Commonwealth. The regulations covering many pages of the Colony records, and the acts and resolves of the Province, testify to the importance attached to it [see *Mem. Hist. Boston*, ii. 481]; and the colonists placed on record their belief that their safety and peace could not be preserved "without military orders and officers." Military service was required of all able-bodied men to 1686, and such service commenced at the age of 16 years, and no limit was prescribed for its close. Men of 76, and even older, were active in the ordinary trainings, and men of 60 were always found drilling in the ranks. In the old country it had been the practice to enlist men in the train-band at 16 years and to dismiss them at 60.[2] In 1689 the term of service was shortened from 16 to 60 years, though the officers often voluntarily served till a much later period of life. The historian of Cambridge mentions several notable examples in that town, such as Samuel Green, the veteran printer, who held military office at Cambridge about sixty years, being sergeant, 1643; ensign, 1660; lieutenant, 1686, and captain, 1689, when he was seventy-five years old. He died, evidently still in office, in 1702, aged 87. He possessed, it was said, an extraordinary martial genius, and in an obituary notice of his son, in 1733, it was stated that his father took such great delight in the military exercise, that the arrival of the training-days would raise his spirits, and when he was so aged that he could not walk, he would be carried out in his chair into the field, to view and order his company. Daniel Gookin, of Cambridge, whose name is frequently mentioned in connection with Woburn affairs, was another example of a person of great age serving as an active military officer. He was captain of the Cambridge train-band about forty years, and continued to be the captain or commander of his local company, while he held the offices of a sergeant-major, or commander of a county regiment, and major-general, or commander of all the military force of the Colony; the immediate command of his company while he occupied these higher offices being exercised by a lieutenant, sometimes styled captain-lieutenant. Promotion was slow, and the practice prevailed, and continued probably till the Revolution, for a captain to be the captain of his company, however highly he might be promoted, so long as he was in office. Other instances might be cited of old men remaining long in office, such as Captain Thomas Prentice, of Cambridge, the part now Brighton, captain of the troop distinguished in Philip's War, several members of which were from Woburn; John Wyman, of Woburn, holding the office of its cornet and later of its lieutenant in that war. Edward Oakes, of Cambridge, was quartermaster of this troop in 1656, and twenty years afterwards was engaged with it in Philip's War, with the office of a cornet and later a lieutenant. All these Cambridge officers

Woburn Budget, August 2, 1861. He was born in Princeton, son of Edward and Eliza, and died of apoplexy August 1, 1861, aged forty years, one month, nine days. For similar notices of Joshua P. Converse see *Woburn Journal*, March 18, 1876; *Woburn Advertiser*, March 16, 1876. Mr. Converse was a graduate of Brown University, 1844.

[2] See a contemporary document of date 1659, printed in Paige's *Hist. of Cambridge*, pp. 401–02, on the subject why old men of sixty should not be required to train. Another example of the effect of training on old men is given in the same work, p. 402.

named were old men at the end of their service, and the youngest of them died at the age of 75, and the oldest at 89 years. Thus it will be seen that a commissioned officer in the colonial militia served practically for life; that the unit of military organization was the company otherwise called the town training-band or train-band, and that the direct maintenance of military discipline depended upon the captains. These officers were clothed with considerable power. Promotion was also systematic and regular, and long service in any office the rule. The duties of any office, however dangerous, were considered as an obligation and an honor. Revelations from contemporary documents show that some of these men possessed a severe and crusty temper, but they exhibited undoubted bravery in battle.[1]

Two-thirds of a company, to 1673, were often musketeers, or men carrying fire-arms, while the other third were armed with pikes or lances. The pikemen wore corselets and head-pieces, and those who could not afford corselets wore buff-coats, or quilted coats. The commissioned officers of an infantry company were three—a captain, a lieutenant and an officer called an ensign, who, when the company could afford to have one, carried a standard or ensign or flag. These officers had power to punish their men for military offences. A foot company had sixty-four members, besides officers, and each foot company had two drums. A cavalry troop was not allowed to exceed seventy members, and one troop was assigned to each county regiment. The commissioned officers of a troop were a captain, a lieutenant and a cornet—the last the third officer in rank, whose duty it was to bear the ensign or colors of the troop, a duty analogous to that of the ensign of infantry.

The latest instance found of the use of the term *training-band* for an infantry company in Woburn is in 1787. The term is found in a document endorsed with the title "The Train-band," containing the list of the names of the members, and an account of the arms, equipments and ammunition possessed by the company, which, on Monday, April 30, 1787, met for a review or inspection, of which the above document is a report.

The list following comprises the officers of the local train-band, or foot company, in the town of Woburn during the colonial period. All the offices held by an individual are included under his name.

OFFICERS OF THE TRAIN BAND IN WOBURN, 1642–1692.

Captains.

Edward Johnson, died 1672, aged 73; lieutenant in Woburn, 1644–49; of military company of Middlesex, 1645; captain, 1650–72.

John Carter, died 1692, aged 76; ensign in Woburn company, 1651–61; lieutenant, 1664–72; captain, 1672–92. In the General Court records is this entry: "Woburn military officers. Upon a motion in behalf of Woburn company, it is ordered that Lieut. John Carter be captain, William Johnson, lieutenant, and James Converse, ensign, to the foot company there," 1672. The inscription on his gravestone in the first burying-ground at Woburn Centre is as follows: "Captain John Carter, aged about 76 years, deceased the 14th of September, 1692."

William Johnson, died 1704, aged 74; ensign in Woburn company, 1664–72; lieutenant, 1672–88; captain, 1690–91; major, 1692–1704. There is preserved one incident of his military experience. On the night of August 23, 1695, after an alarm occasioned by the killing and capture of fifteen persons by the Indians at Billerica on the 5th inst. preceding, some 300 men assembled in arms at Billerica, from Woburn, Reading, Malden and other towns, under the conduct or command of Major William Johnson and other officers, where they were found by another officer who had been deputed by the government to command them. Their further operations, with Major William Johnson as second in command, are described in a document presented in Frothingham's *Charlestown*, 241, and in Hazen's *Billerica*, 132–33. A thorough search of the country to the northward of Billerica by this expedition failed to discover the enemy in force anywhere, and the men who had assembled for the pursuit of the foe were dismissed.

William Johnson in his time attained to higher civic office than any other citizen of Woburn. He was one of the magistrates or assistants, as they were called, of the Colony, and a military officer of the several ranks to that of major, and, at the risk of imprisonment, resisted the spirit of royal aggression in the days of Andros. He was a man of ability, and the records he has left are examples of better English than that in the famous work of his more celebrated father.

James Converse, died 1706, aged 61; sergeant in Woburn company 1674–87; ensign, 1689; captain, mainly in the Colony service, 1689–92; major, 1693–1706. His military reputation is greater than that of any other Woburn man of his period. He was in the country service, as it was termed, for three years as a captain, 1690–92, in the war against the Eastern Indians, and as an officer in the Colony forces stationed in that section commanded the well-known Storer's garrison-house at Wells. With a very small force he defended that place bravely and successfully, and with slight loss, against a much superior force of French and Indians, after a siege of several days, in 1692. For his gallant conduct on that occasion he was promoted major in 1693. His gravestone in Woburn first burying-ground presents the titles of both "Major" and "Esquire" in connection with his name.

Lieutenants.

James Converse, died 1715, aged 95, the last survivor of the signers of the original town orders for Woburn of 1640; sergeant in Woburn company, 1658–72; ensign, 1672–88; lieutenant, 1688–1715. He is styled "Lieutenant" on his gravestone in Woburn first burying-ground.

John Wyman, died 1684, aged about 63; sergeant, 1672; cornet, 1675; lieutenant, 1675–84; officer, cornet and lieutenant in Captain Thomas Prentice's troop; in active service in Philip's War; in the famous Narragansett campaign, which ended in the Fort Fight, where his son, a member of his command, was killed, and he himself was wounded during a scouting foray by an Indian arrow which hit him in the face.

Thomas Fuller, died 1698, aged 80; sergeant (Woburn), 1656 and 1685; lieutenant, 1685–86. He married the widow of Lieutenant John Wyman; resided much of the time elsewhere, and died in that part of Salem now Middleton, Mass. See *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.* xiii. 351.

Gershom Flagg, killed in battle with the Indians July 6, 1690, at Wheelwright's Pond, in Lee, N. H., aged 49; lieutenant, 1690, when killed. His captain, Wiswall, and his townsman, Sergeant Edward Walker, and others were slain at same time.

James Fowle, died 1690, aged 49; lieutenant, 1690; "Lieutenant" on gravestone in Woburn first burying-ground.

John Richardson, died 1697, aged 58; lieutenant, 1690–97; "Lieutenant" on stone in the first burying-ground.

Henry Summers, died 1724; licensed to keep an ordinary in Woburn 1682; lieutenant, 1690–94.

Joseph Pierce, died 1716, aged 67; "Lieut." in record of decease; corporal, 1690; lieutenant, 1690–1716.

Ensigns.

Samuel Walker, died 1704, aged 61; corporal, 1683–84; sergeant, 1684–90; ensign, 1690–92; became a deacon in 1692, and was styled "Deacon" on his gravestone in Woburn first burying-ground. The father of this Samuel Walker was another Samuel Walker, who was styled captain, 1683, and probably obtained that title elsewhere than in Woburn. He was the first person licensed in Woburn to keep a tavern, on site of late Daniel Richardson's place, and died in 1684, aged about 70.

Joseph Winn, died 1715; "Ensign" in record of decease; ensign, 1691–1715.

[1] A curious instance of hasty temper on the part of Major Gookin is given in Paige's *Hist. Camb.*, p. 563. John Johnson, apparently of Woburn, was one of the witnesses.

Cornet.

William Green, died 1717, aged 66; corporal of cavalry, 1675–76, in Philip's War. On June 1, 1677, Corporal William Green was appointed by the General Court cornet of the Three County Troop. *Colony Records*, v. 151.

Quartermaster.

Isaac Brooks, died 1686; appointed quartermaster of the Three County Troop, June 1, 1677, of which Corporal William Green was also appointed cornet. *Colony Records*, v. 151. Quartermaster in tax lists, 1684–85. The troop of which he was a member paraded with other militia at Charlestown on October 5, 1685. Sewall's *Diary*, cited in Frothingham's *Charlestown*, 185–86.

Sergeants.

John Tidd, died 1657; sergeant, 1646; the first citizen of Woburn named by military title in the records.

James Parker, removed from Woburn about 1652; sergeant, 1649–51; attained higher office elsewhere.

Samuel Converse, accidentally killed at Woburn, 1669; sergeant, 1669.

Thomas Pierce, died 1683; sergeant, 1669–82.

Henry Baldwin, died 1698; sergeant, 1672–85.

Increase Winn, first child born and recorded in Woburn; sergeant in record of decease, 1690.

Edward Walker, sergeant in Wiswall's company in active military service, 1690; killed on Sunday, July 6, 1690, in battle with the Indians at Wheelwright's Pond, in Lee, N. H., at same time when the captain, Wiswall, the lieutenant, Gershom Flagg, of Woburn, and others were slain also. Two companies of English, it appears, were scouting under Captains Floyd and Wiswall, when, coming upon a party of Indians, a bloody engagement ensued, in which fifteen of the English were killed and several wounded.

Corporal.

Thomas Pierce, corporal, 1683.

Of the officers mentioned in the preceding list some had been soldiers in Philip's War. This war bore heavily on the colony in taxes and men, and was the principal war of that period. A list of the men who served in this war is given in the appended notes, also an account of the killing of such persons, few in number, in the town itself, whose deaths were a result of that war; and of the killing of one person by an Indian a few years previous to that war.

So far as ascertained, Woburn's casualties in the Narragansett campaign, or the principal campaign of Philip's War, were one man, John Wyman, Jr., killed outright, and seven men wounded. The names of all these appear in the following list. The family of Wyman suffered in the persons of all its members engaged in the war, a father, son and nephew. The father was slightly wounded, the son was killed and the nephew died soon after his return. All endured the rigors of a campaign in the depth of winter. The total number of names discovered is eighty-three. Woburn furnished a noticeably large proportion of the cavalry arm—twenty-one, about a quarter of the whole. Her losses in the cavalry were one killed, three wounded. Cavalry officers furnished, one lieutenant, two corporals; and thirteen men from the town were sent in the ranks of one company of infantry to the battle-field.

NOTE.—In our researches on this chapter, we have examined the Woburn records, the printed colony records, and a valuable and scarce copy of the colony laws printed in 1672, and belonging to the Woburn Public Library; also the *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, and other works and manuscripts. Owing to the insufficiency of data, the years given do not in all instances illustrate the precise length of the service of an officer, though the rank is definitely given.

Thirty years ago John L. Parker, in *Woburn Budget*, Oct. 28, Nov. 4–25, 1859, wrote a sketch of the military history of Woburn, from 1789 to 1859, based on record-books and recollections of men formerly connected with it. The subject from the close of the Revolution to the opening of the Civil War was fairly well covered by these articles, and little can be added of value.

In the Indian wars Woburn men were found scattered throughout the settlements in garrisons, and as members of expeditions of more or less account in the country's annals. If to these the names of many natives who had found homes in other places were added, the number would be very large. The difficulty of procuring data is prodigious, and much is still hidden which the future may bring to light.

For an account of the militia at the opening of Philip's War, see *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, xxxvii. 75–76. The local companies were not sent on active service out of their towns, but men were impressed from them and placed under officers appointed for special service by the Council. Besides the commissioned officers, each foot-company had a clerk, sergeants, corporals and drummers. A less number than was required for a company was, by a law of 1652, to choose a sergeant and other inferior officers. Cavalry corps had, besides their usual officers, a trumpeter and a quartermaster, and on special service the number of men in a command of any sort was greater than the regular number. Part of the outfit of a Woburn trooper of the period is given in the inventory of William Simonds in 1672, viz., "a pair of pistols, holsters, breastplate and crouper."

An account of the early militia system of Massachusetts is also given in an article of some length in the *Proc. Worcester Soc. Antiquity*, 1888, pp. 105–27.

The theory and practice of the military art as understood by the fathers of New England is set forth with curious minuteness in Markham's *Epistles of Warre* (Lond. 1622), a work of which a copy is to be found in the Woburn Public Library. It contains a dissertation on the duties of every officer from a lance-corporal to a general; nor are the lesser positions, such as those of sentinels and rounders, clerks and harbingers, or drummers and fifers, omitted in the treatise. From this work we ascertain that the lowest of all officers was the *lanspesado*, or lance-corporal, the deputy of a corporal, the leader of a file, and in charge of half a squadron; in other respects little more than a common soldier. The companies being divided into squadrons, a corporal was appointed over the squadron, and under the corporal a deputy corporal, or *lanspesado*. The corporal commanded the fourth part of a company of 100 men, and his command was

divided into two *camarados*, or parties of twelve men each, so that a full squadron was twenty-four men, besides the corporal. This officer, says the old writer, "ought to be of reverend and grave years, thereby to draw on respect."

The sergeant would command in particular two squadrons, or fifty men or more at discretion. In the English armies he was armed with a sword and a halbert, a short and handy weapon easy to manage at close quarters, which he used to keep the band in order, and in all marching, standing and other motions, to keep the ranks and files in an "even, comely and true proportion." By turning the blunt end of his halbert toward a refractory soldier, and showing he might strike, if he would, he insisted on the maintenance of discipline.

The ensign, or "the first great officer of a private company . . . hath the guard of his captain's colors . . . weareth armor . . . [and a] fair sword by his side . . . [and hath] his captain's colors or *ensign* in his hand." He chose "four or five especial gentlemen," who, as his mates and companions in all services, should march about him to guard them . . . and when any of his company died, he at the burial trailed his colors after the body to do honor to the funeral," but when the body was in the ground, he then tossed them up and displayed them. In the absence of the captain and lieutenant he commanded as the "absolute captain," but when they were present he was "bound to obey them."

The lieutenant of a foot company was "the greatest officer in the band"—next to the captain—and commanded the ensign and all other officers below him. In the absence of the captain the entire command was upon him. His other duty was "to oversee both the officers and whole band," and that their duties were duly performed. He was armed in the same manner as the ensign, only his weapon was a gilt partisan or a kind of halberd. His place of command in the captain's presence and marching into the field, was in the rear, but in returning home, or after service, then in the "head of the battle;" but in his captain's absence, then he was as the captain, and the eldest sergeant supplied his place. He had power to commit any man under the degree of an officer, and the officers in the absence of the captain.

A captain of foot or of the infantry was the "highest of all private commanders," and yet the lowest of all "that command in chief." In relation to the weapon he should carry, some would have "nothing but a rich feather-staff, all wrought, gilt, and curiously tasselled." Others would have a pike, and others a sword and gilt target. Some would have a "fair feather staff" in time of peace, and a "fair, gilt partisan, richly trimmed," in time of war. This weapon was not to be above twelve inches of blade, but sharp and well steeled, "for it is able to encounter against any manner of weapon." This treatise was opposed to a captain's carrying a musket, which was the common practice in America in the Indian wars previous to the Revolution, and even General Wolfe, in one of his pictures, is represented as armed with a musket, minus the bayonet, in the time of battle. The captain of horse, in the general parts of his duty, has the same as those which belong to the captain of foot, "only with an augmentation of care, inasmuch as he hath to provide both for man and beast."

Of the other officers, the *Sergeant-major of a regiment* is "ever some especial captain." The *Lieutenant-colonel* of foot is the second officer in command of a regiment. The *Colonel* of foot was, like the others named, a captain; the colonel retaining the captaincy of his own "band" and electing its officers, his own lieutenant being in courtesy called by the title of captain, and "in all meetings" to take his place as the "puny" captain of the regiment. The company commanded by this lieutenant, belonging to the colonel, took precedence of place "before all other captains of the regiment." The colonel was armed at all points like the captain, only his "leading weapon," or "feather staff," was of a "much less proportion." He was mounted on horseback in the ordinary part of his duties, but in an assault he was to alight and "lead forth his regiment in his own person." The *lieutenant-colonel* and *sergeant-major* were also mounted officers in the infantry.

Further, the sentinel was the ordinary sentinel; the rounder, a gentleman discharged from humbler and meaner duties, but assigned to go the rounds at night; the clerk of a band was a penman, rather than a "sword-man," yet by no means a coward; the harbinger had charge of the billeting a foot company when drawn into garrison. Otherwise the holders of these offices were but common soldiers. The *drummes and phiphes*—drummers and fifers—hold offices of power, but not "of command," and are, though private soldiers, "instruments of direction and encouragement to others." The fife was only an instrument of pleasure, not of necessity, and to the voice of the drum the soldier should wholly attend, and not to the "air of the whistle." The work sets forth the importance of every man in a force, even the humblest, and pays high tribute to valor.

Extracts from Records.—On February 4, 1679–80, a fine was remitted in behalf of the town for not observing the law regarding ammunition, on promising to be "more observant" in time to come. This favor was granted on the petition of Lieutenant William Johnson and James Converse of Woburn.—*Colony Records*, v. 264. On March 2, 1691, the selectmen met, and, in obedience to a warrant received from the major-general, viewed the town's stock of ammunition, and finding it "not according to law," they appointed Lieutenant James Converse and Sergeant Matthew Johnson "to seek out to procure a supply of ammunition, according to law, for the town."—*Woburn Records*, iii. 148. A war (King William's War) had commenced, in which the Indians of Canada and

Maine aided the French. Later, during Queen Anne's War, the selectmen, on May 17, 1708, left at the house of Cornet Benjamin Simonds, "of the town stock of ammunition, viz., in powder, with the weight of the two barrels it is in—103 pounds; and in shot and flints, with the weight of the two small bags they were in—162, the account of which was that day entered in the town book, by order of the selectmen then present, and the said Cornet Benjamin Simonds." At the end of this statement in the original record is this entry: "Entered in this place to save paper forward."—*Woburn Records*, vi. 86.

Major James Converse.—The exploit at Wells is immortalized by Cotton Mather (*Magnalia*, bk. vii.) In 1690, in the earlier campaigns against the Indians at the eastward, Converse was under the command of the celebrated Major—afterwards Colonel—Benjamin Church. As major, Converse himself commanded the eastward forces in 1693. For allusions to him, see Hutchinson's *Mass.*, ii. 67–68, 72; Baylies' *Plymouth*, pt. iv. 116, 118; pt. v. 88, 96; Sewall's *Diary* (M. H. C., 5th series), v. 320, 358, 377; vi. 75, 93*, 132; Sewall's *Woburn*, 178–183; *Woburn Journal*, Sept. 27, 1873, etc. An echo of a petty squabble of the day in which his name was mentioned, is referred to in Savage's *Genealogical Dict.* and in the *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, xiii. 31. It was the result of a council of eight churches, called by the reverend pastor and church of *Oburn* [Woburn] and dissatisfied brethren, and convened in that town December 4, 1706. It was the question whether the oath of Major Converse, which occasioned the controversy, was really true or false. This the council determined did not belong to an ecclesiastical body to settle. They decided it was wrong for Jacob Wyman to form a charge of perjury against Major Converse, and to prosecute it as he did before the pastor, and they advised Jacob Wyman to acknowledge this wrong act to the church. They determined it was wrong for the pastor and church to bring the matter into a course of ecclesiastical proceeding, especially in their act of excommunicating Jacob Wyman, and upon his making an acknowledgment, the pastor and church were advised to restore him to their communion. After some advice on the subject of excommunication and church contentions, the result closes with some words of admonition to the "Christian brethren in *Oburn*," to be of a forgiving spirit, etc. For particular references to Converse in Mather's *Magnalia*—not indexed—ed. 1853, vol. ii.—see pp. 603, 607, 609–11, 613–18, 624, 631, 641–43. Sullivan's *Hist. Dist. Maine* (Bost., 1795), 236, mentions the location of Storer's garrison-house, as well as does Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk* (Port. 1875) 197, and Williamson, *Hist. Maine* (Hall. 1832), i. 627. Sullivan gives a brief account of the action at Wells, which he obtained from Hutchinson's *Mass.*, but does not mention Converse by name. Williamson, vol. i., chap. xxiii., gives an account of the assault, and mentions Converse, but follows Mather closely. Bourne, the local historian, in chap. xv., particularly pp. 196–97, 207–16, presents an account which closes with an eloquent tribute to the defenders of Wells and the courage of Converse.

The Engagement at Wheelwright's Pond.—An account of this action, in which two Woburn men lost their lives, is given in Mather's *Magnalia*, ed. 1853, ii. 607. The contest was an obstinate one and lasted from two to three hours. The English having adopted the Indian mode of fighting, their loss was comparatively small. Neither party could claim the victory. On the following morning, Captain Converse, of Woburn, visited the battle-ground, and brought off seven wounded, who were still alive. Cf. Drake's *Book Indians*, pt. iii., 151; Sewall's *Woburn*, 109.

Indian Murders in Woburn.—The murder of an English maid at Woburn by an Indian is referred to in Increase Mather's *Early Hist. of New England*, Drake's ed., 238. Hubbard's *Narr. Indian Wars*, Drake's ed., i. 18, refers to the same thing, and says that the murder was committed upon a maid-servant by an Indian to whom she had denied drink. The time was about 1669 or 1670. The locality where it occurred was Havenville, in Burlington, on the site of the late Miss Ruth Wilson's house. A lurking Indian having concealed himself in a hop-house near, supposing the neighbors were absent at church on the Sabbath, went to the house and asked for cider of a young woman he found there. She went to the cellar to draw some, but her murderer, on her return, taking advantage of the opportunity, killed her with his tomahawk. A cellar-door, spattered with her blood, was long preserved as a memento of the occurrence. The young woman's name was not preserved in the local records. The Indian, however, was apprehended and executed, the Rev. S. Danforth, in the Roxbury Church records, stating, that on September 8, 1671, an Indian was executed and "hung up in chains," for murdering an "English maid at Woburn." Cf. Sewall's *Woburn*, 120–21; *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, xxxiv. 301; Drake's *Old Indian Chron.*, 137–38 (and 136–37); also his *Book of Indians*, with com. of S. Sewall, 698–99, etc.; also Hubbard's *Narr.*, 7.

The death of Hannah, wife of Samuel Richardson, of Thomas, his son, and Hannah, his infant, occurred April 10, 1676, in the afternoon of the day. The father, while in his field with a young son, noticing a commotion at his house, hastened hither, and found his wife and son Thomas had been killed by a skulking band of Indians, who had robbed some gardens at Cambridge of linen articles, and, on further search, the infant daughter was found killed also. A nurse had fled with it in her arms to a neighboring garrison-house for protection, but being pursued, to save herself, dropped the babe, which the savages killed. The father, rallying a party, pursued and shot at the

Indians, as they sat by the side of a swamp, causing them to drop their bundle of linen, in which was found wrapped up the scalps of one or more of their victims. From traces of blood afterwards found in the woods, it was supposed one of the Indians had been hit when fired upon, and the body of one was found, buried with leaves, where his associates had laid him after death.

The scene of the Richardson murder was in Winchester, on the former Miller farm, in Richardson's Row. Here Samuel Richardson had his house. In 1798 the Miller place was owned by Jonathan Richardson, and Job Miller was the occupant. On the place, in 1798, was an old house of two stories, thirty-six by eighteen. The farm consisted of fifty acres. Miller died 1832, aged eighty-two, and his widow, Sarah, 1843, aged eighty-eight—gravestones Woburn Second Burying-ground. Cf. Hubbard, *Indian Wars* (1677), and Sewall's *Woburn*, 119; *MS.* Desc. of Real Estate in the First Parish of Woburn, in 1798.

The killing of an Indian on the training-field in 1675. —For a contemporary account of this occurrence, see Gookin's History of the Christian or Friendly Indians, in *Trans. Amer. Antiq. Soc.*, ii. 475. A party of Wamesit Indians, all men, thirty in number, on their way homeward from Boston, after acquittal of the charge of burning a haystack at Chelmsford, belonging to James Richardson, son of one of the first settlers of Woburn, their home being near the site of the present city of Lowell; while marching through the village of Woburn, under guard of Lieut. James Richardson, the owner of the haystack, and a file of soldiers in October, 1675, came suddenly upon the train-band of Woburn, when that body were exercising their drill. Knowing the prejudice that existed against Indians and fearing trouble, Lieut. Richardson halted his party and held out his handkerchief to the Woburn company as a flag of truce. The captain and officers of the train-band thereupon went to Richardson and examined his commission from the Council to conduct the Indians in his charge safely home. The captain and his officers returning to their company then gave strict charge to every soldier under arms not to fire a gun nor to use any opprobrious words while the Indians filed past; but, notwithstanding these strict prohibitions, a young fellow, a soldier named Knight, discharged his musket when the Indians were passing by and killed one of the Indians outright, being very near him at the moment. The person killed was "a stout young man," very nearly allied to the praying Indians of Natick and Wamesit, and whose grandfather and uncle were pious men, his father long before having been slain in a war with the Mohawks. The murderer was soon apprehended and imprisoned, and tried for his life, but was acquitted by the jury, contrary to the will of the bench. The jury alleged they wanted evidence, and the prisoner pleaded that his gun went off by accident; indeed, witnesses, says Gookin, were "mealy-mouthed" in giving evidence; the jury was sent out again and again by the judges, who were much "unsatisfied" with the jury's proceedings, "but yet the jury did not see cause to alter their mind, and so the fellow was cleared."

The training-field where the military of Woburn were accustomed to exercise was the spot at the centre village now embraced in part in the present Common. It was formerly somewhat larger, and included the open space now traversed by Winn Street. Here the timber was drawn from the Middlesex Canal when the edifice of the First Society was erected in 1809, and military companies for parade were formed in that part.—See *Woburn Journal*, Feb. 16, 1883.

The Lieutenant James Richardson named above was himself afterwards killed in battle with the Indians at Black Point, a locality in the limits of Maine. Cf. *R. Mem.* 43; *N. E. Gen. Reg.* xliii. 195–97.

Woburn in King Philip's War.—The series of articles by George M. Bodge in the *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register* add further names and facts to what is already published. Cf. Sewall's *Woburn*, chap. iv., particularly pp. 113–15, for men; 115–19 for the war; 119–21 for killed in the town itself.

List of Soldiers from Woburn in Philip's War, 1675–76.

(With references to Bodge's articles, begun in the *Register* in 1883. xxxvii. 61.)

John Baker, wounded in fight, December 19, 1675; one of Captain N. Davenport's company; impressed for that company from Woburn; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. Woburn was credited by sundry amounts, with £107 12*s.* 8*d.*, on August 24, 1677. Perhaps this was the John Baker in garrison at Marlborough. Cf. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.* xxxvii. 175; xxxix. 258, 259; xl. 320, 396; xliii. 77, 279; also 266.

Daniel Baldwin, in garrison at Billerica on Charlestown credit. *Ib.* xlii. 299; xliii. 260, 276.

John Baldwin, impressed from Woburn for Captain Davenport's company. *Ib.* xxxix. 257, 259.

John Bateman, in garrison at Chelmsford; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xxxviii. 220; xli. 409; xliii. 262, 279.

Peter Bateman, impressed from Woburn for Captain Davenport's company; died February 13, 1675–76, a result, it is supposed, of exposure in battle in the December previous. *Ib.* xxxix. 258, 259.

Nathaniel Billings, member of Captain Thomas Prentice's troop; of Woburn; wounded in the Fort fight, December 19, 1675. *Ib.* xxxvii. 281, 282.

Isaac Brooks, member of Captain Prentice's troop of cavalry; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xxxvii. 282; xlii. 94; xliii. 279.

John Brooks, xxxviii. 220; xlii. 299.

John Burbeen, impressed from Woburn for Captain Davenport's company; name not in pay lists; in garrison at Chelmsford; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xxxix. 259; xli. 409; xliii. 262, 279.

William Butters, credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xli. 409; xliii. 279.

John Carter, captain of the local military company; included in the list of impressment of thirteen men. *Ib.* xxxix. 259.

Thomas Chamberlain, in garrison at Groton. *Ib.* xli. 409; xliii. 263.

Aaron Cleveland, xlii. 299.

Moses Cleveland, in garrison at Chelmsford; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xlii. 100; xliii. 261, 279.

Samuel Cleveland, in garrison at Chelmsford and Groton; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xxxviii. 220; xli. 408; xliii. 262, 263, 279.

Josiah Clopson, or Clarson, in garrison at Chelmsford; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xli. 408; xliii. 262, 279.

John Coddington, xxxviii. 220.

James Converse, ensign of the local military company; included in the list of impressment of thirteen men. *Ib.* xxxix. 259.

Jonathan Crisp, in garrison at Dunstable and Groton. *Ib.* xxxviii. 220; xli. 408; xliii. 263, 264.

John Cutler, impressed from Woburn for Captain Davenport's company; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xxxviii. 46; xxxix. 257, 259; xli. 409; xliii. 279.

William Dean, xli. 274.

Robert Eames, xxxvii. 74.

Paul Fletcher, xxxviii. 219, 220.

Richard Francis, credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages; also credited to Hingham. *Ib.* xliii. 272, 279.

Thomas Fuller, xlii. 95.

John Green, a cavalryman; also corporal of cavalry. *Ib.* xxxvii. 284; xxxviii. 224; xlii. 94, 95.

William Green, corporal of cavalry; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xxxvii. 175; xxxviii. 224; xlii. 94, 95, 299; xliii. 279. On June 1, 1677, Corporal William Green was appointed cornet of the Three County Troop. *Colony Records*, v. 151.

Thomas Hall, impressed from Woburn for Captain Davenport's company; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xxxix. 257, 259; xli. 409; xliii. 279.

Thomas Henshaw, or Hincher, cavalryman. *Ib.* xxxviii. 66, 284; xxxviii. 219.

Josiah Hobbs, xli. 408.

Jeremiah Hood, impressed from Woburn for Captain Davenport's company; name not in pay-lists. *Ib.* xxxix. 259; xlii. 96.

John Jefts, xxxviii. 220.

William Johnson, lieutenant of the local military company; included in the list of impressment of thirteen men. *Ib.* xxxix. 259.

John Kendall, member of Captain T. Prentice's troop; also possibly a substitute; a cavalryman; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xxxvii. 74, 282; xxxix. 381, 382; xli. 278; xlii. 94, 95; xliii. 279.

John Knight, xli. 273, 409.

Joseph Knight, xxxix. 381, 382.

Benoni McDonald, or McDonnell; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xli. 273, 409; xliii. 279.

Daniel McGinnis, or Magenis, corporal; in garrison at Medfield. *Ib.* xxxvii. 66, 182; xxxviii. 42; xli. 408, 410; xliii. 267. See note at end of this list.

John Malony, in garrison at Dunstable; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xxxvii. 72; xliii. 263, 279.

John Mousall, cavalryman. *Ib.* xxxvii. 186, 284.

Richard Nevers, in garrison at Chelmsford. *Ib.* xliii. 261.

Abraham Parker, in garrison at Dunstable; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xliii. 263, 279.

Josiah Parker, xxxviii. 219.

Thomas Parker, credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xliii. 279.

Joseph Pierce, xxxvii. 66; xli. 273, 408.

Nathaniel Pierce, in the celebrated Falls Fight, under Captain William Turner; name given as of Woburn. *Ib.* xli. 210, 212.

Samuel Pierce, xlii. 299.

Thomas Pierce, member of Captain T. Prentice's troop; also in the cavalry under Lieutenant Oakes; cavalryman; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xxxvii. 282, 284; xli. 278; xlii. 94; xliii. 279.

William Pierce, impressed from Woburn for Captain Davenport's company; in garrison at Chelmsford. *Ib.* xxxix. 257, 259; xliii. 262.

George Polly, xlii. 299.

John Polly, impressed from Woburn for Captain Davenport's company; in garrison at Chelmsford; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xxxvii. 74; xxxix. 258, 259; xliii. 262, 279.

John Priest, impressed from Woburn for Captain Davenport's company; in garrison at Chelmsford; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xxxix. 258, 259; xliii. 262, 279.

Samuel Reed, in garrison at Groton. *Ib.* xli. 273; xliii. 263.

William Reed, member of Captain T. Prentice's troop; also in the cavalry under Lieutenant Oakes. *Ib.* xxxvii. 280, 284. This William Reed died by a shot fired by his brother Timothy in the woods, November 7, 1688, who unawares shot him instead of a deer. Cf. Sewall's *Woburn*, 632.

John Richardson, cavalryman; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xlii. 95, 102; xliii. 279.

Joseph Richardson, cavalryman; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xxxvii. 74; xxxviii. 441, 443; xlii. 94; xliii. 279.

Nathaniel Richardson, member of Captain T. Prentice's troop; wounded in the Fort fight, December 19, 1675; cavalryman; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xxxvii. 281, 282; xlii. 94; xliii. 279.

Samuel Richardson, cavalryman; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xlii. 94; xliii. 279.

Stephen Richardson, cavalryman. *Ib.* xxxvii. 284; xlii. 94.

David Roberts. Sewall's *Woburn*, 114.

Joshua Sawyer, xxxvii. 74; xli. 273, 278.

John Seers, cavalryman. *Ib.* xxxvii. 284.

John Sheldon, impressed from Woburn for Captain Davenport's company. *Ib.* xxxix. 258, 259.

Benjamin Simonds, in garrison at Groton; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xxxviii. 220; xli. 409; xliii. 263, 279.

Caleb Simonds, wounded; of Woburn; in fight of December 19, 1675; impressed from Woburn for Captain Davenport's company. *Ib.* xxxix. 257, 259.

James Simonds. Sewall's *Woburn*, 114.

Joseph Simonds, in garrison at Chelmsford; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xli. 408; xliii. 261, 279.

Robert Simpson, credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xliii. 279. Servant of Lieutenant John Wyman, who petitioned the General Court, May 16, 1676, that his servant, Simpson, then a garrison soldier at Hadley, and needing clothes, might be released and return to Wyman, so that Wyman's leather, then in the vats, might not be spoiled, Wyman being a tanner. Simpson had been in the country's service all that winter. Sewall's *Woburn*, 114, 115.

Zachariah Snow, wounded; of Woburn; in fight of December 19, 1675; impressed from Woburn for Captain Davenport's company. *Ib.* xxxix. 258, 259.

Cyprian Stevens, in garrison at Groton. *Ib.* xliii. 264.

Henry Summers, a member of Captain T. Prentice's troop. *Ib.* xxxvii. 280, 282.

John Tidd, cavalryman; in garrison at Groton. *Ib.* xxxvii. 284; xliii. 263.

Elijah Tottingham, wounded; of "Oborne;" at Fort Fight December 19, 1675. *Ib.* xxxviii. 442, 443.

Nehemiah Tottingham, xli. 273, 409.

John Walker, xlii. 299.

Samuel Walker, xliii. 76.

Joseph Waters, credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xliii. 279.

George Wilkinson. Sewall's *Woburn*, 114.

Benjamin Wilson. Sewall's *Woburn*, 114.

John Wilson, credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xxxvii. 174; xlii. 299; xliii. 279.

Increase Winn, member of Captain T. Prentice's troop; cavalryman; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xxxvii. 282; xli. 278; xlii. 94, 95; xliii. 279.

Joseph Winn, cavalryman; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xxxviii. 42; xlii. 94, 95; xliii. 279.

Josiah Wood, xlii. 299.

Joseph Wright, member of Captain T. Prentice's troop; cavalryman; credited to Woburn in an assignment of wages. *Ib.* xxxvii. 282; xlii. 94; xliii. 279.

Francis Wyman, member of Captain T. Prentice's troop. *Ib.* xxxvii. 280, 282. It is inferred that he served apparently by voluntary enlistment. He died April 26, 1676, a result probably of exposure in battle in the December previous. Sewall's *Woburn*, 119. Son of Francis and nephew of Lieutenant John Wyman.

John Wyman, cornet; latterly lieutenant of Captain T. Prentice's troop. *Ib.* xxxvii. 280, 282.

John Wyman, son of the above; member of same troop; killed at the Fort Fight, December 19, 1675. *Ib.* xxxvii. 281, 282.

Daniel McGinnis, variously spelled, however, Mackginnis, Magines, Mackgennyes, Maginnah, etc., appears to have been a citizen of Woburn in 1674, for in a deed, dated June 29th of that year, Michael Bacon, of Cambridge, conveyed about seventy-five acres of land in Cambridge to Daniel McGinnis, who is referred to in the deed as a resident of Woburn. At that time, however, he apparently moved from Woburn to Cambridge, as he describes himself of the lat-

ter place in a deed to John Tidd, dated June 8, 1675. In this deed, also, McGinnis first speaks of himself as being an "Irishman." Shortly afterwards our early Irish citizen seems to have returned to Woburn, for the Woburn records give his marriage to Rose Neal, February 10, 1676. His first child, Rose, was born in Woburn November 19, 1677, and can easily claim to be the first Irish-American of Woburn.

According to Billerica *History*, McGinnis was living in that town in 1678 and 1679. He next appears, April 4, 1682, at Watertown. On that date "the selectmen of Watertown stated to the Court that Daniel *Maginnah*, an Irishman, is lately removed from Medford and hired estate of Richard *Houlding*, having a poor place and considerable family of children, and they disapprove of him as an inhabitant."

After this rebuff it would seem that Mr. McGinnis again sought refuge in Woburn, for under date of October 27, 1684, he entered into an agreement with Ralph Reed and Benjamin Simonds about the fencing of some land "of the great field in Woburn, called the Simonds' field, or Mount Playnum fields," which is the large, level plain now located on Burlington Street in Cummingsville, near Burlington town line, and even now often spoken of as "The Plains." As he clearly owned land at this place, it may be inferred that he lived there also.

In December of the same year his name appears in the town rate, where he is taxed four shillings. His son Edmund was born here, March 23, 1685. About this time, however, or shortly prior thereto, he again migrated, and this time to Rhode Island, for in a deed dated February 15, 1685, he describes himself "of the King's Province in the Narragansett County in New England," and in this deed conveys his Billerica land to John Abbott. Further see *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island*, vol. iii., p. 234.—E. F. JOHNSON.

The lieutenant (Oakes) of Prentice's troop, who held office at the beginning of the war, having been assigned to another command, John Wyman, the cornet, was promoted to his place. In *N. E. Hist. Gen Reg.*, xxxvii. 281, reference is made to a petition of Lieutenant John Wyman, asking for the release of his son, who was lately married, stating that he himself had been in both the Mount Hope and the Narragansett campaigns, and in the latter had received a wound in his face; that his eldest son was killed in that campaign, and that his servant had been in the country's service all the past winter. The servant was Robert Simpson. Again, a well known character—John Seers, constable of Woburn—made complaint to the authorities that Lieutenant John Wyman and daughter, named Bathsheba, had together resisted him in the impressment of one of the horses of the said Wyman for the country's use, and for this offence they were both charged two pounds each as a fine. The date of Seers' petition was May 10, 1676, and the time of the trouble was April, 1676. Captain John Cutler, of Charlestown, marching through Woburn with several soldiers on the way to Billerica to attack the Indians, who had caused a stir at that place, having a warrant from the late Major Willard to the constable at Woburn and the constable at Billerica, to impress horses or anything desired for the service, found horses were very scarce, because on account of the stir at Billerica about twenty of the best of Woburn men and horses had already gone up to help them. Seers recites the hard words and action of resistance of Wyman, and prays for such legislation "as will prevent such abuse." "That so," he says, "I and other constables may not go in fear of our lives when we are upon the execution of our office."

A warrant had been issued to the constable for six carriage horses and three men from Woburn. Bathsheba Wyman, named above, married Nathaniel Tay, of Billerica, May 30, 1677. Cf. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.* xxxviii. 44; Hazen's *Billerica*, 120.

The troop of which John Wyman, of Woburn, was lieutenant was attached to the Massachusetts regiment, which was organized for the Narragansett campaign, and was present with the army in the memorable Fort Fight of December 19, 1675, being the only cavalry organization of the English there. A letter of Joseph Dudley, at the time mentions a slight wound by an arrow in Lieutenant Wyman's face, which he received during a scout about four days before the occurrence of the famous Fort Fight. During this scout a number of Indians were killed or taken prisoners in an attack on their wigwams, which were burned, the slight wound of Wyman being the only casualty received on the part of the English in that skirmish. Cf. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, xl. 80, 88; xliii. 156.

OFFICERS OF THE PROVINCIAL PERIOD, 1692–1775.—During this period occurred certain minor Indian wars, and the war of greater magnitude than any that had yet been experienced, namely, the French and Indian War. In all these contests Woburn men bore an active part. The provinces were then loyal and true to the government of Great Britain, and great interest was still taken by the people in military affairs. Indeed, it was a necessity for their own protection. The warlike experience of this period was a school for the War of the Revolution, and many of the officers and men originally enrolled under the British colors in these earlier wars, were later found in arms against the British Government. First and foremost in the list it will not do to omit a sketch of Woburn's most eminent son, whose military career commenced during this period.

Prime Minister and Commanding General of an European Army.

Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford (1753–1814), a native of Woburn; pre-eminently her most distinguished son; was major in the second provincial regiment of New Hampshire, 1773, before he was of legal age; later a lieutenant-colonel in the British army in a cavalry regiment composed of royalists and designed for service in America, 1781,

and later still a colonel of the King's American dragoons, 1783. Having gained some military distinction in the British service during the Revolutionary War in America, he then entered the service of the Elector of Bavaria, and gained still higher military distinction in Europe. He was colonel of a regiment of cavalry and general aide-de-camp in Bavaria, 1784; major general of cavalry and privy councilor of state, 1788; minister of war and minister or superintendent of police, etc., etc.; head of the council of the regency in Bavaria, and commander-in-chief of the Electoral army, and, in 1796, while he held the high offices last named, Munich, the capital of Bavaria, was threatened by the Austrian and French armies, but owing to his signal services and his success, neither the French or the Austrian forces entered the city, nor gained any substantial foothold in the country, which was soon after delivered from their dangerous presence.

Although this eminent man acquired none of his military renown in Woburn, he should not be omitted in a consideration of the career of Woburn's military men. It is true that he fought against his native country in the Revolutionary contest, and on the side which was opposed to her liberties, but his eminent services to mankind as a scientist and a philanthropist are sufficient to overcome the opprobrium conferred on him by his countrymen for his course in that struggle. The world now looks on him as a benefactor, in spite of serious defects in his moral character, and America considers him as one of her greatest men. Let us unite in that verdict.

Among other natives of Woburn who gained distinction in the military profession elsewhere, may be mentioned Brigadier-General James Reed.

James Reed (1724–1807) was born in Woburn, son of Joseph and Sarah, and died in Fitchburg. Officer of eminence in the French and Revolutionary Wars; captain, lieutenant-colonel, and, in May, 1775, colonel of the 2d New Hampshire Regiment, which held the rail-fence with John Stark, at the battle of Bunker Hill, and protected the retreat of the main body from the redoubt. In the army in Canada under General John Sullivan, in 1776, his regiment suffered severely from disease, and more than one third died. He, himself, was attacked by the small-pox, and, after a long illness, became incapacitated for further service. He had, meantime, been appointed a brigadier-general on the recommendation of Washington, and retained the commission in the hope that he might be able to return to active service, but becoming nearly blind and deaf, he was forced to give it up, and retired with half pay. A son, Sylvanus, was also an active military officer, and rose to the rank of colonel. Cf. *Appleton's Cyclop. of Amer. Biog.*; Reed's *Reed Family*, 78–80.

The father of General Reed resided on the estate of his father at Woburn West Side, in the house and on the place known in the present century as the Sylvanus Wood farm, corner present Locust and Cambridge Streets. Very little reliance can be placed on the statements made in the *Hist. Reed Fam.*, above cited, in relation to General Reed's regiment, or the careers of his immediate ancestry. According to that history, 75–76, the General was a grandson of that Joseph Reed who was sergeant, 1701–1713; ensign, 1713–1715; lieutenant, 1716–1741; and captain-lieutenant (?), 1739–1740, in Woburn.

Another officer born in Woburn, and who gained distinction in the French and Revolutionary Wars, particularly in the line of a military engineer, was Colonel Jeduthun Baldwin.

Jeduthun Baldwin (1732–1788), a native of Woburn, son of Isaac and Mary, died in Brookfield. Captain in the French War. In the siege of Boston, 1775–76, he designed the defences of the American forces, and, on March 16, 1776, was made assistant engineer, with the rank of captain, to the Continental troops; was subsequently ordered to New York and made lieutenant-colonel, April 26, 1776; was sent to Canada, September, 1776, and later made engineer with the rank of colonel. He performed various services and resigned from the army April 26, 1784. Cf. *Appleton's Cyclop. Amer. Biog.*; *Richardson Memorial*, for genealogy, where it is stated that a brother, Isaac, was killed in Bunker Hill Battle. The name of Jeduthun Baldwin often occurs in the documentary history of the Revolutionary War.

Colonels.

Jonathan Tyng, esquire and colonel prior to 1708, at which time his name is first connected with Woburn. He had been major, 1699; lieutenant-colonel, 1702, etc.; and colonel certainly from 1708–1724, dying in the last year named at Woburn, in his eighty-first year. Gravestone at Woburn. His previous homes had been in Boston and Dunstable, and his family had been one of the most prominent in Massachusetts. His widow, Judith, who had been formerly the wife of the Rev. Jabez Fox, of Woburn, died there, 1736, in her ninety-ninth year—gravestone—and the gravestone of another wife, Sarah (Usher) Tyng, 1713, is also to be seen there. Colonel Tyng was a magistrate and one of Sir Edmund Andros's council, 1686–1687, and colonel of the 2d Middlesex County Regiment of Foot. He was also entitled to armorial bearings, and there is much preserved to show that he was an honorable man and a person of ability. The history of Dunstable contains many allusions to him, a place where he was the earliest permanent settler, having remained in that town alone during Philip's War, when every other person had departed from the place for fear of the Indians. He fortified his house, and though obliged to send to Boston for his food, was alone in the wilderness among his savage enemies. Town-meetings of Dunstable were held at Woburn, 1677, and were continued in that way as late as 1711. Till 1713 he was kept busy in defending his frontier settlement from hostile Indians. At an early period he was appointed guardian of the Wamesit tribe. His brother, Edward Tyng, was father-in-law of Rev. John Fox, son of Rev. Jabez, of Woburn. We will not attempt to enumerate the offices he held at Dunstable. In 1703, as colonel, he had charge of all the garrisons in his district. The standard genealogical dictionaries give the particulars regarding his family and wives, his distinguished connections, and his children. One of his sons was the first born child recorded in Dunstable. Two of his sons, both graduates of Harvard, were distinguished military men, one of them, the eldest, being killed by the Indians in 1710. Interesting details are furnished in the diaries of the period. Samuel Sewall, Jr.,—*Memoranda* (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 6th ser., ii. 304)—alludes to these occurrences:

"Jan. 29, 1723–24, Col. Jonathan Tyng dies. See *News Letter*, N. 1043. Interred the 24th, at Woburn; I went with two brothers Dudley; a large funeral. Gave me and wife gloves."

The *News Letter* notice, No. 1043, referred to, was as follows:

"Wooburn; Lord's Day, January 19th. We were here entertain'd with a very loud *memento mori*.[1] The Hon. Col. Jonathan Tyng, Esq., walking to the place of public worship in the afternoon, expired as soon as he got into his seat, during the time of the first prayer, and was carried out dead, *ætatis* 81. His faith and holiness were so apparent that we are persuaded he was conveyed to the assembly of the first-born in heaven, to bear a part with them in glorifying their creator and redeemer."

On another occasion, March 4, 1713–14, Sewall "went to Woburn to attend the funeral of Aunt Tyng." She "was about sixty-nine years of age, and died on Sabbath morning, of fever." Sewall "waited on the Governor and Lady there," and had given him "a pair of gloves."

Eleazer Tyng, son of the preceding, is named in Woburn tax-lists as colonel, 1729–37.

Eleazer Flagg, styled colonel and esquire on gravestone at Woburn, which contains a lengthy inscription. He was a sergeant, 1708–13; lieutenant, 1713–15; captain, 1716–19; major, 1719–22; colonel, 1722–26; and died in 1726, in his fifty-sixth year. His father was Lieutenant Gershom Flagg, who was killed in battle with the Indians in New Hampshire, in 1690. The son spelled his surname Flegg. He was evidently a rich man. His wife was called "Madame." The enumeration of his virtues on his gravestone is curious: "A faithful christian, a pious liver, cheerful giver, the widow's solace in a doubtful case, a father to the fatherless, a tender husband, kind parent, faithful friend, a righteous man." A silver cup he gave to the "church in Wooborn," 1726, is still in use. He was evidently the successor of Colonel Jonathan Tyng as colonel of the 2d Middlesex County Regiment of Foot.[2]

[1] *Memento mori* accompanying the phrase *fugit hora*, is a common inscription on the gravestones of the period. From the style the notice appears to have been written by the Rev. John Fox.

[2] Colonel Eleazer Flagg's inventory, dated April 3, 1727, discloses £1242 18s. of personal property, and includes "a Negro man and Negro maid," valued at £200, and "armes," valued at £12 15s. The "Homestead Dwelling-House, Gristmill and other Buildings with the land adjoining thereto about 2 hundred acres, and about 100 acres of out Lott-," valued at £2200.

There appears on record an elaborate agreement made by and between Mrs. Esther Flagg, the widow, and her son-in-law, Jonathan Poole, and Esther Poole, his wife, and providing, among other things, that the widow should have the easterly end of the dwelling-house, and that her son in-law should keep for her own use, both summer and winter, a good cow and horse "suitable for the widow to ride" on at all times. He also agrees to provide the widow with twenty bushels of good Indian corn, four bushels of rye corn and three barrels of good cider yearly, together with 160 pounds of good pork and 100 pounds

Jabez Fox, of Falmouth, now Portland, Me., a native of Woburn, was a colonel. Roland Cotton, a resident of Woburn, was a colonel, 1744–52.

Jonathan Fox, a brother of Colonel Jabez Fox, and son of the Rev. John Fox, of Woburn, was a captain, 1761–74, and colonel of the 2d Middlesex County Regiment of Foot, 1775–81. He died 1790, and was called colonel in the record of his decease. In the latter part of his life he appears to have been afflicted with some disease which rendered him helpless, and there is extant a town order dated February 26, 1790, a few months before his death, in favor of Josiah Richardson, for moving "Col. Fox up into Doct. Blodget's chamber." A paper entitled "copy of a court-martial," is preserved, dated Concord, June 29, 1779, a general court-martial being held that day, upon a complaint brought by Lieutenant Joseph Johnson, of Woburn, against Colonel Jonathan Fox, for an alleged violation of the thirteenth section of the militia law. The court was of opinion that Colonel Fox was, through inadvertency, guilty of misdemeanor and breach of duty, and sentenced him to be reprimanded by the brigadier-general. Jonathan Reed, president; Eleazer Brooks, brigadier-general.

Majors.

William Johnson, 1692–1704, and James Converse, 1693–1706, already noticed.

John Fowle, captain, 1738–48; major, 1749–75. Died 1775, aged eighty.

Joseph Richardson, quartermaster, 1709–17; lieutenant, 1717–39; captain, 1745–54; major, 1755–56. Died 1756, aged fifty-eight.

Nathaniel Thwing, major of Boston, named in tax list, 1752. Lieutenant-colonel, 1756. He married the widow of Rev. Supply Clapp, of the Second Parish, 1750.—*Thwing Fam.* (Boston, 1883), 23–25.

Captains.

Edward Johnson, ensign, 1693–96; lieutenant, 1696–99; captain, 1700–24. Died 1725, in his sixty-eighth year. A deacon of the church, 1720–25. Died, it is said, of grief at the death of a son killed in Lovewell's Fight.—Sewall's *Woburn*, 204–05.

Josiah Converse, lieutenant, 1693–1706; captain, 1706–17. Died 1717, aged fifty-eight. "Capt." on gravestone.

Abraham Fifield, styled "Mr." on gravestone, but "Capt." in record of decease. Died 1711, aged fifty-seven.

James Fowle, sergeant, 1693–1701; captain, 1712–14. Died 1714, aged forty-seven. "Capt." on gravestone and on stone of daughter, Ruth, 1712.

Seth Wyman, lieutenant 1705–12; captain 1712–15. Died 1715, aged fifty-two. "Lieut." in record of death. Perhaps he was one of those officers commanding a company, styled captain-lieutenant. He appeared to bear this office as early as 1707. On February 16, 1706, he was court-martialed at Groton, for his conduct on the February 6th previous, when he was in command of a scouting party, near Mount Monadnock, in search of hostile Indians. By a false report of the appearance of a superior force of the Indians in their front, his command was stampeded, encouraged, it was said, by the example and orders of the officers. At the trial, Wyman and his under-officers were exonerated from cowardice and dishonorable intentions. Cf. Dr. S. A. Green's *Groton during the Indian Wars*, 98–101.

James Richardson, captain-lieutenant (?) 1708; captain 1714–22. Died 1722, aged forty-six. "Capt." on gravestone.

John Coggin, lieutenant 1705–17; captain 1718–25. Died 1725, aged fifty. "Capt." on gravestone.

John Fowle, captain 1721–44. Died 1744, aged seventy-three.

Stephen Richardson, ensign 1717–21; captain 1722–52. Died 1752, aged seventy-nine. A deacon of the church, 1745–52, and "deacon" on gravestone.

Seth Wyman, ensign and captain, 1725. Promoted for his meritorious services in Lovewell's Fight, May 8, 1725. Died September 5th following, aged thirty-nine. His prowess has been frequently celebrated in prose and verse. He commanded the company engaged in the above action after his superior officers had fallen. It was one of the most fiercely contested and bloodiest battles, considering the numbers engaged, that ever occurred in New England. The Indians never recovered from its results. Six Woburn men, four of them grandsons of William Johnson, fought in the battle. One was killed and three wounded; two only escaped unhurt, Wyman being one of them. Penhallow's *Indian Wars* (1726) pays a deserved tribute to the actors in this battle, and mentions Wyman especially, who, he says, was, at his return, presented with a silver-hilted sword and a captain's commission. He went out again on another expedition, but the heat of the season caused many to sicken, and some died when they returned, and among them was Captain Wyman.

Robert Converse, lieutenant 1714–1726; captain 1726–36. Died 1736, aged fifty-eight.

Caleb Blogget, captain 1733–45. Died 1745, aged fifty-four.

Joseph Bowman, captain 1733–35, in tax-lists. Supposed to be a non-resident.

Isaac Dupee, captain 1734–41. Captain in 1734 of a troop of horse in a regiment of cavalry of which Estes Hatch was colonel. From out of town.

Joseph Reed, sergeant 1701–13; ensign 1713–15; lieutenant 1716–41; captain (captain-lieutenant (?)) 1739–40. Died 1741, aged eighty.

Samuel Eames, lieutenant 1733–41; captain 1741–44. Died 1775, aged eighty-four. A deacon of the church 1745–75, and "deacon" on gravestone.

Samuel Carter, cornet, 1734–40; lieutenant 1741–43; captain 1744–87. He appears to be in service in 1770. Two commissions are preserved. The Captain's, addressed to him as gentleman of Woburn, was as captain of the 1st Troop of Horse to be raised in the regiment of militia in Middlesex County, of which Eleazer Tyng was colonel; dated June 2, 1744. The cornet's was as cornet of the troop of which Isaac Dupee was captain, in the regiment of horse of which Estes Hatch was colonel, dated June 27, 1734. Captain Samuel Carter died 1787, aged ninety-six. "Capt." on gravestone at Arlington. Cutter's *Hist. Arl.*, 201–02.

James Proctor, corporal 1725–32; ensign 1733–39; lieutenant 1739–44; captain 1745–67.

Nathan Blogget, ensign 1739–43; lieutenant 1744; captain 1745–47. Died 1747, in his forty-fourth year.

Timothy Brooks, quartermaster 1738; lieutenant 1744–53; captain 1748–86; perhaps captain-lieutenant a part of that period. Died 1786, aged eighty-six or eighty-eight. Died the 13th, buried the 15th October, 1786.

Robert Temple, captain in tax-lists 1746–53. Will, 1754, mentions farm at Woburn. Widow died here, 1775. Well-known resident of Ten Hills Farm, Charlestown.

Samuel Belknap, lieutenant 1750–51; captain (captain-lieutenant (?)) 1748 and 1752. Died in Newburgh, N. Y., 1771.—*Winchester Record*, ii. 274–75.

Zachariah Flagg, captain 1748–81.

John Fowle, captain 1749–51. John, Esq., died 1786, aged sixty-one.

John Reed, ensign 1744–50; captain 1750–55. Died 1755, aged forty-two. Captain of the "3d Military Company of Foot in the town of Woburn in the Second Parish."

Ebenezer Thompson, sergeant 1733–35; ensign, 1738–50; lieutenant 1751–53; captain 1753–1755. Died 1755, aged fifty-four. Captain of the "2d company of foot in the town of Woburn, in the second regiment of Middlesex County, of which Eleazer Tyng was colonel;" commission dated July 3, 1753.—*Thompson Memorial*, 31.

Thomas Hardy or Hardee, captain 1754–64. The same, lieutenant 1759–66 (?).

Ebenezer Jones, generally a resident of Wilmington, captain 1755–58. Killed in battle at Halfway Brook, near Lake George, July 20, 1758.—Sewall's *Woburn*, 551. The Woburn records give his death as follows: Captain Ebenezer Jones, son of Samuel and Abigail, July 20, 1758, in his sixtieth year.

Benjamin Johnson, captain, 1756–81. Died 1781, aged eighty.

Jabez Carter, lieutenant 1748–71; captain (captain-lieutenant (?)) 1756–58. Died 1771, aged seventy-one. "Lieut." on gravestone. The following memorial is preserved: A receipt of Jabez Carter, as lieutenant of military company, for payment of three guns, that were "burnt in the fire, when Joseph Johnson's shop was consumed;" dated July 26, 1765.

Ebenezer Converse, ensign 1748–1752; lieutenant 1753–64; captain (captain-lieutenant (?)) 1756–57. Died 1765, aged fifty-five. "56th year," gravestone.

Benjamin Edwards, captain 1760–72.

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of good beef yearly. The widow was also to have "the Negro maid called Rose."

There appears to have been considerable litigation over the estate of Colonel Jonathan Tyng, which, as late as 1788, was represented as unsettled by John Tyng, one of the heirs. In his inventory, appraisal is made of "3 Negro Men,"—"Quash," valued at £40; "Boston," at £53 6*s.* 8*d.*; and "Cornwell," at £53 6*s.* 8*d.*—E. F. Johnson.

Benjamin Wyman, captain 1762–74. Died 1774, aged sixty-eight. "Capt." on gravestone.

Timothy Winn, ensign 1750–52; lieutenant 1758; captain 1762–63. Two of his commissions are preserved. The ensign's, 1750, to Timothy Winn, Jr., ensign of "3d military company of foot" in Woburn Second Parish, whereof John Reed was captain. The captain's, 1762, to Timothy Winn, captain of "3d military company of foot, in the town of Woburn," the part now Burlington. Lieutenant Timothy Winn was called into active service in 1757, the command containing a number of Woburn men, whose names are preserved in the rolls at Boston. He died 1800, aged eighty-seven. His portrait and that of his wife are extant in the house of William Winn, a descendant; John Johnston, painter, September 18, 1799.

Joshua Walker, lieutenant 1759–74; captain (captain lieutenant (?)) 1762 and 1775. Lieutenant at Lake George, October 21, 1758 —Sewall's *Woburn*, 556. Later a captain during the Revolution. Died 1798, aged seventy.

Josiah Pierce, captain 1768.

Samuel Berry, captain 1769–70.

Thomas Pierce, captain 1769–73; also in tax-lists, 1776–81.

Non-resident captains named in tax-lists: William Reed, 1737–43, and Samuel Stone, 1748–52, both of Lexington; Amos Binney, 1754, Bedford; Samuel Walker, 1758–59, Wilmington; Nathaniel Greenwood, 1759, Boston; Caleb Brooks, 1759 and 1786, Medford.

Lieutenants.

James Thompson, sergeant 1690–91; lieutenant 1693. Died 1693, aged forty four. "Lieut." on gravestone. Cf. *Thompson Mem.*, 21–22.

Joseph Wright, lieutenant 1693–1700. A deacon of the church, 1698–1724. Died 1724, aged eighty.

Matthew Johnson, sergeant 1672–92; lieutenant 1693–96. Died 1696, aged sixty-two. "Lieut." on gravestone.

Josiah Parker, lieutenant 1695–96.

John Carter, sergeant 1682; lieutenant 1700–27. Died 1727, aged seventy-five. "Lieut." on gravestone.

Benjamin Simonds, corporal 1697–1702; cornet 1702–08; lieutenant 1708–26. Died 1726, aged seventy-two.

John Vinton, lieutenant, 1720, in inscription to wife on gravestone in Woburn burying-ground. Belonged to Stoneham; there being no public burying-ground there in 1720, his wife was buried here. Further see *Vinton Memorial*, 22.

Henry Walker, sergeant 1716–20; ensign 1720–21; lieutenant, 1721–1725.

Samuel Snow, sergeant 1708–21; ensign 1722; lieutenant 1722–23. Removed to Ashford, Ct., 1724, and died there, 1743.

Pierson Richardson, corporal 1714–17; cornet 1718–22; lieutenant 1723–54.

Aaron Cleveland, cornet 1722; lieutenant 1724. Further, see Sewall's *Woburn*, 600.

Joshua Thompson, sergeant 1718–22; ensign 1723–26; lieutenant 1726–38. Of Wilmington. Died 1760, aged eighty-two. *Thompson Memorial*, 25.

Samuel Kendall, sergeant 1717–32; lieutenant 1732–64. Died 1764, aged eighty-three. "Lieut." on gravestone. His lieutenant's commission from Governor Belcher, 1732, is extant.

Edward Johnson, ensign, 1716–32; lieutenant 1733–40. Died 1774, aged eighty-five. Deacon of church in the Second Parish 1741–74.

Thomas Reed, corporal 1718–22; sergeant 1723–32; lieutenant 1733–36 Died 1736, aged fifty-four. "Lieut." on gravestone.

James Simonds, corporal 1703–36; lieutenant 1737–75. Died 1775, in his eighty-ninth year.

Phineas Richardson, ensign 1735–36; lieutenant 1738. Died 1738.

Israel Reed, corporal 1718–32; ensign 1733–38; lieutenant 1739–52.

Joseph Richardson, lieutenant 1739–54. Died 1754, aged eighty-two.

Nathaniel Cutler, lieutenant 1746–48. Died 1748, in his forty-ninth year. "Lieut." on gravestone in the Precinct, or Burlington burying-ground.

William Tay, lieutenant 1746–80. Died 1780.

Joseph Johnson, corporal 1734; lieutenant 1751–92; commission of first lieutenant of eighth company, 2d regiment, Middlesex County, extant, dated May 6, 1776. "Lieut." in record of decease. Died 1798, aged ninety-seven.

John Holt, lieutenant 1751–56. Dismissed from the church to the "church in Westminster in New York Government," September 27, 1767.—*First Church Records.*

James Richardson, lieutenant 1756–57. Died 1773 (?)

Samuel Thompson, sergeant and lieutenant in Captain Ebenezer Jones's company in the French War 1758; lieutenant in town records 1758–77. Died 1820, aged eighty-nine. He was an esquire, a deacon, an indefatigable clerk, a surveyor, a diarist, and held most of the highest offices in the town, besides performing much important town business. He fought in Concord and Lexington battle April 19, 1775, and left an explicit written account of his own personal experience. In this action his brother, Daniel Thompson, was killed. It is not too high praise to say that he was one of the most useful men of his day in the town, and that posterity owes much to the memoranda he preserved. His gravestone is to be found in the Second burying-ground, Woburn Centre.

Phineas Lovejoy, lieutenant 1758–59.

Thomas Hardy or Hardee, lieutenant 1759–66. See Captains.

Jonas Richardson, ensign, 1758–59; lieut., 1760–74; capt., 1775–76. Died 1776, aged 44.

William Belknap, lieut., 1762–67. Died 1767, aged 36. Cf. *Winchester Record*, ii. 275–76.

Josiah Parker, lieut., 1762–74. Died 1774.

Nehemiah Wyman, sergt., in active service in Capt. David Green's company, raised by Col. Eleazer Tyng, and marched for the relief of Fort William Henry, in August, 1757; Timothy Winn, of Woburn, was the lieutenant. Nehemiah Wyman was again impressed for Col. Eleazer Tyng's regt., from Woburn, March 27, 1759—age 36; lieut., 1763–74. Died of the small-pox, 1775, aged 52.

James Fowle, Jr., lieut., 1764. Died 1793, aged 72.

Benjamin Flagg, lieut., 1764. Died 1774.

Eleazer Flagg Poole, ensign, 1762–67; lieut., 1768–75. Died 1776, aged 42.

Jonathan Tidd, ensign, 1762–73; lieut., 1774–75. Died 1785, aged 59.

Non-resident lieutenants named in tax-lists: Gershom Flagg, 1755–78, Wilmington; Abijah Smith, 1760–71, Charlestown.

Ensigns.

John Pierce, sergt., 1689–91; ensign, 1693–1720. Died 1720, aged 76.

Israel Walker, corp., 1683–90; sergt., 1690–96; ensign, 1696–1719. Died 1719, aged 75.

Samuel Blogget, sergt., 1693–99; ensign, 1700–43. Died 1743, aged 84.

John Holden, sergt., 1697–1706; ensign, 1706–56. Died 1756. Commission extant as ensign in the "foot co. of which Josiah Converse is capt.," dated Nov. 21, 1706.

Josiah Converse, ensign, 1714–26. Died 1748.

Abraham Jaquith, corp., 1719; sergt., 1719–26; ensign, 1726–30.

Samuel Wyman, sergt., 1734; ensign 1739–43. Died 1743, aged 55. "Ensign" on gravestone.

Daniel Reed, ensign, 1747–55. Died 1757, aged 57. *Hist. Reed Fam.*, 75; Wyman's *Charlestown*, 803.

Joseph Pierce, ensign, 1762–67.

Isaac Snow, ensign, 1764–71. Died 1776, aged 67.

Timothy Brooks, Jr., ensign, 1768–1772. Removed to Salem. "Out of town," 1777, in a list of male members in the First Church records.

Matthew Johnson, ensign, 1768. As ensign, he received cash of "Major Johnson's company" to purchase colors, £11, 18s. 10½*d*. Died 1775.

Timothy Winn, ensign, 1772–94.

John Wood, ensign, 1774; capt., 1775. Died 1809, aged 69. Anecdote of him in French war in Sewall's *Woburn*, 348–50.

Non-resident ensign named in tax lists: Daniel Tidd, 1765–72, Lexington.

Cornets.

Jonathan Wyman, quartermaster, 1697–1708; cornet, 1708–36. Died 1736, aged 75.

Jacob Fowle, corp., 1720–22; quartermaster, 1723–24; cornet, 1725–47.

John Fowle, cornet, 1744–45. Died 1745, aged 45.

Samuel Wyman, cornet, 1762. Perhaps the Samuel, Esq., died 1787, aged 70.

Non-resident cornets named in tax-lists: John Whiting, 1757–60, Bedford; Joseph Damon, 1759, Billerica; Jabez Damon, 1762, Reading.

Sergeants and other under-officers during this period were numerous, and the names of those not already mentioned are here given.

Sergeants.

Daniel Baldwin, 1693–1718. Died 1719. Samuel Waters, 1693–1728. Died 1728. Francis Wilson, 1694–96. Ebenezer Johnson, 1693–1736. Died 1737. John Tidd, 1694–1737. Died 1743. Samuel Wilson, corp., 1694; sergt., 1695–1729. Died 1729. George Reed, corp., 1694; sergt., 1697–1719. Died 1756, in his 96th year; gravestone at Woburn Centre. A deacon of the two Woburn churches, 1719–56. John Walker, corp.,

1694; sergt., 1697–99. Died 1699 (?). James Simonds, 1697–1706. Died 1717 (?). Timothy Walker, 1700–6. Died 1706, aged 34 y., 3d.—gravestone. Benjamin Johnson, 1700–33. Died 1733. Benjamin Pierce, 1701–1737. Died 1739. Samuel Walker, corp., 1694–1702; sergt., 1702–8. Died 1744. A deacon of the two Woburn churches, 1709–44. See Sewall's *Woburn*, 173. James Pierce, 1705–35. Died 1742. John Converse, 1707. Died 1708. Henry Baldwin, corp., 1697; sergt., 1707–37. Died 1739. John Wyman, corp., 1706–7; sergt., 1707–28. Died 1728. Ebenezer Locke, 1710–23. Died 1723. Jonathan Thompson, 1710–37. Died 1748. William Bruce, 1712–38. Isaac Walker, 1714–28. Timothy Snow, 1716–37. Died 1747. Samuel Pierce, 1717–34. Thomas Henshaw or Hincher, 1720–26. Died 1726. Samuel Buck, corp., 1718–23; sergt., 1723–30. James Thompson, corp., 1718–23; sergt., 1723–24. Died 1763. A deacon of Woburn and Wilmington churches, 1725–63. *Thompson Mem.*, 25–26. William Wyman, 1724–37, and 1747–51. A William was sergt. in active service, 1753. Noah Johnson, 1725, a native of Woburn, but in 1725 a resident of Dunstable; sergt., in Lovewell's company at Lovewell's fight, 1725. He resided latterly at Pembroke and Plymouth, N. H., where he died 1798, aged 99 y., 6 m., 11 d., being the last survivor of Lovewell's company in the celebrated engagement which made that company famous. Cf. Sewall's *Woburn*, 207. David Roberts, corp., 1718–29; sergt., 1727–34. There were probably two persons of this name holding office at the same time, for David, Sen., died 1724. Josiah Pierce, 1727–28. Died 1759. A deacon of the church, 1742–59. Ralph Reed, corp., 1725–34; sergt., 1733–38. Isaac Baldwin, 1733–34. Benjamin Richardson, 1734–36. Eleazer Carter, 1734. Samuel Wilson, 1735–37. Died 1750. John Cutler, 1736. Died 1767. Isaac Gleason, 1749–50. Samuel Tidd, 1757, on roll as sergt. in the company impressed, under command of Samuel Bancroft, Jr., capt., in 1757, and marched to Marlborough, being one of the Woburn names found in that company. He died in the army at Lake George, Oct. 10, 1758, being under age. Particulars regarding his sickness, death and burial are given in Lieut. Thompson's diary.—Sewall's *Woburn*, 555–56.

Corporals.

John Wyman, 1708. Perhaps the John who settled in Wilmington, and who died about 1748. James Burbeen, 1714–29. Died 1729. Edward Johnson, Jr., 1715. Daniel Snow, 1716–17. Died 1717. Edward Walker, 1718–37, and 1747–52, 1764, 1767–68. Supposed to be the same person, perhaps the Edward, died 1787, aged 93. Ebenezer Buck, 1721–24. John Tidd, 1723–25, and 1735–37. James Thompson, 1725. Thomas Richardson, 1725. Died 1774, in his 93d year—gravestone. He was a corporal in Lovewell's company in Lovewell's fight, 1725, and was one of the few who escaped any considerable injury in that seriously contested engagement. Samuel Jones, Jr., 1726–30. Philip Alexander, 1733. Andrew Evans, 1733. Died 1778. Thomas Reed, 1739.

After 1736 the usage of mentioning the names of non-commissioned officers by title appears to have ceased in the tax-lists, and the names of later officers are unknown. The names of two officers bearing the title of Clerk are preserved.

Clerks.

Clerk or *Clark* Pierce, 1696. ? Thomas, died 1717. Samuel Baker, 1715.

NOTE.—For authorities on Colonel Tyng, cf. Whitmore, *Elements of Heraldry*, 92; Fox's *Dunstable* (1846). There is extant an interesting petition of Colonel Tyng's, in February, 1676, showing that he then lived "in the uppermost house on Merrimac River, lying open to the enemy, yet it was as it were a watch-house to the neighboring towns, also near to the Indians' fishing place; there being never an inhabitant left in the town but *myself*." He asked for three or four men to help garrison his said house, which he had been at great charge to fortify. The early history of Dunstable was a series of "attacks, burnings, captivity and massacre." An engagement at Dunstable in which three Woburn men were killed occurred September 5, 1724. A small party attacked a body of seventy Mohawks, and a reinforcement fared little better. The Indians killed the greater part instantly. Eight bodies of the slain were found and buried in one grave. The Boston *Newsletter* for September 10, 1724, gave their names, including Daniel Baldwin and John Burbeen, of Woburn, to which the name of Benjamin Carter, of Woburn, should be added. One of the gravestones at the location of their interment contains an inscription "to Mr. Benjamin Carter, aged twenty-three years." Cf. Fox's *Dunstable*, 106–110; Penhallow's *Wars*, 1 *N. H. Hist. Coll.* 109; Sewall's *Woburn*, 595–598; *Reminiscences of Dunstable*, 115, etc. The writer heard a tradition from his father, Dr. Benjamin Cutter, that the last seen of this Benjamin Carter by his family in Woburn, was when he descended the hill near their residence on horseback, going down the steep incline by a crooked road that formerly existed, opposite to the junction of present Cambridge and Church Streets in Winchester; and that when the men of his family heard of the manner of his death, they said, "Ho! they would not be such boys as to be killed by Indians."

A bill is extant against Jonathan Fox, "Captain Fox, his company's expenses for liquor," of James Fowle, September, October, 1764. The alarm-lists of the Third Foot Company in Woburn, in 1776, and following years, contain references to his name in the following manner: "Return of training soldiers belonging to the Eighth Foot Company in the Second Regiment of foot in the county of Middlesex, commanded by Jonathan Fox, Esq., colonel." The same was repeated in 1781. The company was commanded by Joshua Walker at this time. In 1782 it was Captain Reuben Kimball's company, same designation, and the regiment was commanded by Colonel Benjamin Brown. The following are brief references to Colonel Fox:

"October 6, 1786. Colonel Fox's wife died. April 17, 1790. Colonel Fox died; 18th, buried."

Sewall's *Woburn*, 332, contains a brief notice. April 30, 1770, Captain Fox was debtor to Matthew Johnson, constable, for serving a writ for him, 1*s.* 5*d.*

An account lodged February 21, 1791, by the widow Mary Fox against Josiah Johnson, one of the selectmen for 1786–87, for damage done to her house by his putting soldiers therein, in January, 1787, the time of Shay's Rebellion, is extant.

An account of the ancestors and descendants of Captain Seth Wyman is published in the *Woburn Journal* for July 29th and August 5th, 12th and 19th, 1887.

There is extant a memorial in behalf of Elizabeth Blogget, in her eighteenth year, daughter of Caleb, her father being deceased, being an order of the General Court to Benjamin Wyman, her guardian, to sell her land; the letter of guardianship being dated November 16, 1761; the memorial to the court being dated January 13, 1762. On December 4, 1749, Elizabeth Wade, the said minor's mother and legal guardian, had preferred her petition to the General Court,

showing that Nathan Blogget, late of Woburn, deceased, had died siezed of a real estate, and had left a widow, but no surviving children; therefore said minor, being a brother's child, was heir to a one forty-fifth part.

Lieutenant Samuel Thompson left a diary of his experience in the campaign of 1758, which is one of the most interesting relics preserved connected with the early history of Woburn. The original was burned, it is said, in the great fire at Woburn Centre, 1873. The whole was published, 1868, in Sewall's *Woburn*, app. ix. The diarist, his brother, Abijah Thompson, and a number of his townsmen were in the same regiment. They marched to Fort Edward. This post was "exceeding strong" and "commanded by a numerous artillery." They proceeded thence, in the direction of Lake George, to a fort at Half-way Brook, and to Fort William Henry. They remained at the lake when General Abercrombie and the "old countrymen" attacked Ticonderoga and were repulsed. The body of Highlanders, regulars and provincials denominated the "old countrymen," suffered great losses in killed and wounded, and returned to Fort William Henry in confusion after the assault on Ticonderoga. The regiment on duty there, the one in which the diarist was, witnessed their sad return. Later the regiment went again to the fort at Half-way Brook, and a fight occurring there with Indians, on July 20, 1758, in which it was engaged, it lost fourteen or more killed. The diary preserves the names of those killed in this fight, including three captains, two lieutenants, one ensign, and three non-commissioned officers, and the bodies of all were buried in one grave. After performing hard duty in scouting, guarding posts, and labor in the woods, the regiment was released about November 1st, and on November 6, 1758, the diarist arrived home. By the death of his captain, Ebenezer Jones, in battle, July 20, 1758, at Half-way Brook, Sergeant Thompson was advanced to the rank of a lieutenant.

Catalogue of some interesting documents of the provincial period that have been preserved in the *Wyman Collection*, in the Woburn Public Library:

Nehemiah Abbott, receipt for a soldier's gun, May 22, 1761.

Aaron Beard, for son, receipt for military service, Mar. 24, 1762.

Benjamin Brooks, and others, receipt for military service, April 6, 1759.

Zechariah Brooks, by Isaac Snow, receipt for military service, Mar. 29, 1762.

William Buck, receipt for military services, April 30, 1760.

Jabez Carter, and others, receipt for military services (of a man), April 6, 1759.

John Center, receipt for military service, May 11, 1762.

Capt. Edwards, named in a lengthy lodging and meals' account, 1761–1763, in James Fowle's handwriting.

Zachariah Flagg, for son Zachariah, receipt for military service, Feb. 7, 1764.

Joseph Fowle, certificate of military service, 1757 (?) and Sarah Fowle, for Joseph, receipt for military service, Aug. 27, 1761.

James Fowle, representative from Woburn, 14 receipts to him, on account of the public military business, 1760–1765.

Jonathan Fox, for his son Thomas, an enlisted soldier in the expedition against Canada, in 1760, petition, 1760.

John Kendall and others, receipt on account military service, April 6, 1759.

John Kimball, receipt on account military service, May 11, 1762.

Daniel Kittredge, for son, receipt on account military service, Jan. 1, 1762. Refers also to a gun.

Benjamin Nutting, receipt for military service, Jan. 30, 1764.

Josiah Parker, and others, receipt on account military services, April 6, 1759.

Jacob Reed, and others, receipt on account military service, April 6, 1759.

Benjamin Richardson, town order on account military service, Feb. 14, 1748.

David Richardson, for David, Jr., receipt on account military service, Mar. 6, 1760.

Simeon Richardson, twice an enlisted soldier in the expedition against Canada, legislative petition, and report of committee, Jan. 17, 1761. Same, receipt for military service, Mar. 30, 1761.

Benjamin Simonds, and others, receipt on account military service, April 6, 1759.

Timothy Slaughter, receipt for a man for the military service, from Medford, in the expedition against Crown Point, Sept. 4, 1756. An enlistment certificate of a private soldier with autograph of Slaughter, Sept. 4, 1756, has reference to the same business. The soldier was to be under Colonel Gridley in the expedition for reduction of Crown Point.

Elisha Tottingham, and others, receipt on account military service, April 6, 1759.

Edward Twiss, for son, receipt for military service, and the loss of a gun, Dec. 23, 1761. [A Timothy Twiss or Twist, of Woburn, in service, 1760, is mentioned in Sergt. David Holden's journal, published in pamphlet form by Dr. S. A. Green, 1889 (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*) and this Timothy was later a soldier in the Army of the Revolution, and was probably the son of Edward, above referred to].

Artemas Ward, fragment of an undated petition about difference of pay of a lieut.-col. and a major, he having served as a lieut.-col. in the French War. [The same Artemas Ward who was afterwards a major-general and the commander-in-chief of the forces at the beginning of the Revolution.]

Jonas Wyman, by John Russell, order for wages for military service at Cape Breton, in Capt. Stevens's co., of Andover, Nov. 28, 1745. [Jonas Wyman had died in the military service at Cape Breton.—Sewall's *Woburn*, 655. Another receipt, to Benjamin Wyman, by John Russell, in his behalf, is dated Sept. 24, 1745.]

Nourse's *Military Annals of Lancaster* contains the names of a number of natives of Woburn, who enlisted in the wars as inhabitants of Lancaster, *e. g.*, Peter Kendall, aged 29, husbandman; Stephen Kendall, 23, laborer; William Chubb, 25, weaver; Joshua Pierce, 22, housewright; and Richard Nevers, 20, blacksmith—all in Vernon's expedition to the West Indies, 1740. Most of the men who served in that expedition died during their absence. Joshua Pierce, of the above expedition, was capt.-lieut. of Col. Willard's co., at Cape Breton, 1745. Matthew Wyman, aged 40, laborer, and Uriah Wyman, 21, apothecary, natives of Woburn, were in the Lancaster co. in the expedition against Nova Scotia for the capture of the Neutral French, 1755; and Jonathan Pierce, of Woburn, was in the military service in 1760, and is mentioned in Sergt. David Holden's journal, published by Dr. S. A. Green, 1889.

CHAPTER XXIX.

WOBURN—(*Continued*).

MILITARY HISTORY—THE REVOLUTIONARY AND LATER PERIODS TO 1861, ETC.—THE CIVIL WAR OF 1861–65.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.—The military history of Woburn during the Revolutionary period began with a war at her very doors. The events of the opening struggle at Lexington and Concord, of the battle of Bunker Hill and of the siege of Boston

occurred within the hearing and observation of her inhabitants, and all her people were stirred by the exciting scenes around them. We have heard, as well as many others, relations of the terror these scenes inspired in the minds of the young and the aged, and of the anxiety that prevailed, and of the grief in households occasioned by the loss of friends who fell in battle or who lost their lives in other ways connected with the warlike experiences around them. To these distresses were added the ravages of the small-pox, which in those days always accompanied the movements of an army. The irruption of this disease occurred in Woburn in May and June, 1775. Esquire Thompson, in his memoranda, records the following deaths: May, 1775, the Widow Jane Winn, Mr. John Burnam's child; June, 1775, Nehemiah Wyman and a nurse-child, all of the small-pox; and all these, he adds, and about twenty more had the small-pox at Mr. Joseph Winn's, 1775. The effect of these calamities on the prosperity of the people was considerable, and many persons unable to bear the strain died, giving an increased death-rate to the neighborhood, not counting the much greater mortality of the military losses in the vicinity.

Had we space, we would like to enter upon this subject in much detail; but it is not feasible. In place of it, let us say that on the subject of the Battle of Lexington the narratives of Woburn participants are principally the following:

1. Sylvanus Wood's deposition on the events of the early morning at Lexington and on his making a British soldier his prisoner. This deposition was dated June 17, 1826, and has been several times published, notably in Dr. Ripley's "History of the Fight at Concord," and in Barber's *Hist. Coll. Mass.*, 400–401. Wood, on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, was an inhabitant of Woburn, living with Deacon Obadiah Kendall at present corner of Russell and Cambridge Streets. At an hour before daybreak that morning he heard the Lexington bell ring, and, fearing there was trouble there, arose, took his gun, and with Robert Douglass hastened to Lexington, about three miles distant, where he found the Lexington company assembled. He inquired of Captain Parker, the commander, the news, and while talking with the captain, a messenger arrived and announced that the British were within a half a mile. The drum was then ordered to beat to arms. The captain asked Wood if he would not parade with his company, and Wood assented. The captain asked also if the young man, Douglass, with Wood, would not also join his company. Wood spoke to him, and he assented also. Then follows a description of the events that took place. Wood was stationed about in the centre of the company, which was formed at the north end of the common in single file. While they were standing, Wood left his place, and went from one end of the company to the other, and counted every man who had paraded, and the whole number in line was thirty-eight. Just as he had finished and got back to his place, the British appeared before them. He then gives a circumstantial account of what happened. He was intimately acquainted with the inhabitants of Lexington, and particularly with those of Captain Parker's company. After the British had begun their march to Concord, Wood, who had retreated from the common with the other Americans, returned and found two men, Robert Munroe and Jonas Parker, lying dead at the north corner of the common, and others dead and wounded. He assisted in carrying the dead into the meeting-house, and afterwards proceeded towards Concord with his gun; and when he came near the Vile's Tavern in Lexington, he saw a British soldier seated on the bank by the road. Wood approached him, holding his gun in readiness to fire if the soldier should offer to resist. He did not, and Wood took his gun, cutlass and equipments from him, and, proceeding with his prisoner towards Lexington, and, meeting two other persons, delivered him to them. Wood then mentions the supposed further disposition of his prisoner, whose action partakes in a measure the character of a deserter, from the feebleness of his resistance, and concludes his deposition by saying: "I believe that the soldier who surrendered his gun to me was the first prisoner taken by the Americans on that day."

2. Loammi Baldwin's narrative on the movements of the Woburn men during the first half of the day and his own experiences. This is very interesting, and is included in Rev. Leander Thompson's sketch of Colonel Baldwin, given elsewhere. He would appear from this narrative to have been in command of the body of men belonging to Woburn, holding at the time a rank equivalent to that of major.

3. Samuel Thompson, Esq.'s, narrative on the same subject, with his own experiences and observations. This has been several times published in full or in part. It may be said to be a good general account. According to this, the town was alarmed by the news of the regulars' march at two or three o'clock in the morning, and the men from the town were on their march towards Concord before sunrise. The Woburn complement arrived there early, and retired before the troops to Lincoln. Some had fired on the enemy from the Bedford road, just out of Concord, where had occurred a slight skirmish. The Woburn party placed themselves behind trees and walls on each side of the road where the enemy would approach, and when the enemy came up, poured upon them a general fire, which both forces engaged participated in. The roadway being full of the regulars, the intenseness of the fire greatly annoyed them; but the walls on each side of the road were, however, somewhat of a safeguard to them, as they stooped down to avoid the fire as they ran by; but, notwithstanding this precaution, many of them were struck at this point by the bullets of the Americans.

Thompson said the Woburn men distinguished themselves in this engagement with much valor. The Americans had three killed in this particular skirmish, one of them being the brother of Esquire Thompson—Daniel Thompson, of Woburn—who, his brother writes, "behaved very valiantly." When the Americans engaged the enemy in this skirmish, it was thought they had not more than one-third as many men as the regulars had. Thompson says, "I shot about ten rods at them near ten times, and thought I killed or wounded several;" he was very confident that the number was four or five, if no more. He apparently based his calculation on the fact that when the rear of the enemy had gone by, he went where he had shot and found three or four of the enemy lying dead very near the spot; and here he got one of their guns and some small plunder.

After this the Americans ran up and fired on the rear of the regulars, as they were marching rapidly along, and fired from every place where the land and turns in the road would give our side an advantage; and thus the British troops were pursued to Lexington.

Thompson pursued with the rest, and followed on to the point where the enemy burned the houses in Lexington. He shot several times more, he said, but then returned home, being much fatigued. He was at this time forty-three years old.

A large portion of his narrative is taken up with a recital of the general events of the battle, and his whole narrative, with all the variations upon it, has been carefully copied into the volume containing the transcript of the greater portion of his extensive diary. These general facts are too familiar for repetition, and are not always correct, being based on mere hearsay. He says his brother Daniel, who was killed, was much lamented. That Asahel Porter, another Woburn citizen, was killed in the morning at Lexington, with the seven Lexington citizens who then fell, at the time of the first fire. This was indeed true. Thompson speaks of the 18th of April, the day previous to the battle, as being Tuesday; thus the battle was on Wednesday, an interesting fact to be remembered. He speaks of the Woburn men at Concord, after their arrival in the morning, as watching for a time, with others, the enemy's motions. In the fight near Tanner Brook, in Lincoln, he says, "Woburn party greatly annoyed the regulars," and of the battle as a whole, he says, the British troops "marched with great expedition all the way," to the end of it.

He continues with a narrative of the events in Charlestown on April 20, 1775, and an account of the events of the siege of Boston to about the date of September 2, 1775, when the account suddenly ends.

The particulars regarding Daniel Thompson, "who was slain in Concord Battle, on the 19th of April, 1775, aged 40 years," are very numerous. His epitaph in Woburn first burying-ground has been oft-quoted, and the *Thompson Memorial*, recently published, gives a view of his house, and an account of his life, as well as one of his death. He was very enthusiastic in the popular cause, and his end was a courageous one. He was killed in the limits of the town of Lincoln. It is said he was firing from behind the corner of a barn near the road where the British were passing, and that a regular, noticing the execution done by his firearm, ran around the barn and shot him dead, through his back, while he was in the act of reloading. His adversary was killed a moment later by an American bullet. This is the generally accepted story. See also a description of the locality in W. F. Wheeler's sketch of Lincoln, in Drake's *Middlesex County*, where the spot is described as near Cornet Ephraim Hartwell's house. His remains and those of Asahel Porter were interred in Woburn, on Friday, April 21, 1775, at which time the Rev. Josiah Sherman, of Woburn, delivered a suitable sermon and prayer, and a multitude of persons from Woburn and neighboring towns attended, and followed the remains to the grave. It was the office of his brother Abijah Thompson to carry the tidings of his death to the widow and children. The eldest child was about fourteen years old, and immediately went raving distracted on account of it, a state in which he remained for a number of days.

4. William Tay's deposition on some of the earlier and later phases of the battle, comprised in a petition to the General Court, dated September 20, 1775. He signs himself William Tay, Jr., and begs leave humbly to show, that on the morning of April 19, 1775, he was aroused from his sleep by an alarm, occasioned by the secret and sudden march of the ministerial troops towards Concord; that he, with about 180 of his fellow-townsmen, well armed, speedily took their march from Woburn to Concord, and upon their arrival there, with a number of their fellow-soldiers of the same regiment, who reinforced them, smartly skirmished with the enemy, being deeply touched by the results of the events that had occurred at Lexington, where they had seen the bodies of those who had been killed in the morning on that fatal field. These scenes served to heighten resentment, and the petitioner, by the joint testimony of his fellow-soldiers, lent, at least, an equal part through the whole stretch of way from Concord to Charlestown, in the action that ensued. At or near the latter place the petitioner, with several others, passing by a house, was fired upon by three of the British troops planted within. The fire being returned by him and his party, two of these British soldiers were killed, and thereupon the petitioner, rushing into the house, seized the survivor of them, who was a sergeant, by clasping him in his arms, and subduing him by sundry cuffs, when he then resigned himself and weapons to the petitioner, there being no others then in the house. It so happened when the petitioner was engaged in securing his prisoner, that others of the American side were coming up and rushing into

the house, when some one to the petitioner unknown carried off the arms or weapons of the prisoner, which were afterwards found in the possession of a respectable citizen of Concord, who, on the pretext of superior right, refused to give them up, and the petition had reference principally to their recovery. The petition is printed in full in the appendix to Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, 368–69.

Asahel Porter, of Woburn, who was killed on the morning of April 19, 1775, at Lexington, was shot down by the British near the Common, when endeavoring to effect his escape, having been made a prisoner by them on the road, while they were on their way from Boston. He is said to have been the son of William Porter, and in 1773, when married at Seabrook, N. H., to Abigail Brooks, of the well-known Woburn family, called himself and bride in the marriage certificate, still extant, as "of Salem, Essex County, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay;" witnesses, John Brooks, Timothy Brooks and Mary Knowlton. His body, when found at Lexington, after he was killed, was lying close by the stone wall below the plot formerly called Rufus Merriam's garden, east of the Lexington meeting-house, as it existed in the earlier period. Here it was seen by Amos and Ebenezer Locke, of Lexington, who coming up that morning towards the easterly side of the Common, where the British then were, found Asahel Porter, of Woburn, shot through the body, and under cover of a wall about twenty rods distant from the Common. It is said, on good authority,[1] that Asahel Porter and one Josiah Richardson, of Woburn, set out for Boston Market during the night of the 18th of April, 1775, and that when near the present town of Arlington, being on the route the British had taken, they were halted by the enemy's column, deprived of the horses they rode, and forced to accompany their captors to Lexington as prisoners of war. They were released when the firing on the Common at Lexington occurred, on condition they departed without attracting any especial observation. To do this they were ordered to cross the fields at a pace no faster than a walk. Porter disobeyed, and ran after walking a few steps, and as a result was fired upon and killed.

His name is inscribed on the Lexington monument. His funeral occurred at Woburn, on April 21, 1775. No ancient stone to his memory is known to exist. A hundred years after his burial a monument was erected (April 21, 1875) to his memory by Post 33, G. A. R., near the supposed spot of his burial in the first burying-ground, the memorial consisting of a plain marble slab suitably inscribed.

5. The Rev. John Marrett's observations incorporated in his interleaved almanacs. This gentleman was pastor of the church in the Second Parish, or Burlington. He does not appear to have been present at the battle, and an account he wrote of the events of the day as he heard about them is published in Sewall's *Woburn*, 363. He had been ordained pastor of his church during the December previous to the memorable 19th of April, 1775, which day he records was "fair, windy and cold; a distressing day," commencing "an important period." He says the adjacent country was alarmed the latter part of the night preceding, which corresponds with the statement of all the other Woburn authorities contemporary with the battle. "Our men," he says, "pursued them to and from Concord on their retreat back; and several [were] killed on both sides, but much the least on our side, as *we pick't them* off on their retreat." This is evidently an allusion to the part of the action in which the Woburn men played a conspicuous part, though the phrase "our men" may refer simply to the Americans in general. "*We pick't them off*" seems a singular expression for a clergyman to use, but he probably meant to say "our men," the Americans, "picked them off"—one of the current phrases of the day, alluding to the marksmanship of the Americans upon the British troops, as the enemy traced their way through the narrow defiles in the woods between the towns of Concord and Lexington, and were subjected to a brisk fire of musketry, constantly kept up, by the Americans, concealed in large detachments, behind trees, walls or buildings, where such chanced to be along the road traversed by the British in their retreat.

The Rev. Mr. Marrett would appear to have been present at the dinner on the 19th of April, 1775, prepared by his hostess, Madame Jones, the widow of his ministerial predecessor, for her distinguished guests, John Hancock and Samuel Adams, together with Miss Dorothy Quincy, the future wife of John Hancock, on that memorable day. The facts of the earlier part of the story are an oft-told tale. How Hancock and Adams and Miss Quincy, having witnessed the action on Lexington Common in the early morning, left the house of Rev. Jonas Clarke, of Lexington, where they had lodged the night previous, and were conducted as a precautionary measure for their safety to the house of Madame Jones, about four miles distant, in Woburn Precinct, now Burlington, the house afterward occupied by the Rev. Messrs. Marrett and Sewall, and now occupied by the latter's son, Mr. Samuel Sewall. This house had been occupied previously by the Rev. Thomas Jones, the husband of Madame Jones, and still previously by Sergeant Benjamin Johnson, who died in 1733, and who probably built it. Here the good lady of the house provided for her distinguished guests the elegant dinner above mentioned, exerting herself to the utmost to gratify them as highly as possible, feeling honored by their presence and company. Among other delicacies prepared for the occasion was a fine salmon procured with infinite difficulty, being an unusual dainty at that season. The hour for dinner

[1] The late Col. Leonard Thompson, of Woburn, grandson of Samuel, Esquire.

having arrived, the company sat down with expectant appetites. But scarcely had they seated themselves when a man, terrified beyond reason, rushed into the room with a shriek, and led them to believe that the regulars were close upon them in hot pursuit of the two distinguished proscribed citizens, Hancock and Adams. He is quoted as saying: "My wife, I fear, is, by this time, in eternity; and as for you," addressing himself to Hancock and Adams, "you had better look out for yourselves, for the enemy will soon be at your heels." The man was evidently a coward, fresh from the bloody scenes at Lexington, the sight of which distracted a mind evidently already weak. There was really no danger whatever, as the enemy were then occupied in securing their own safety, and were busily engaged in fighting at several miles distance from the place where Hancock and Adams then were. But the appeal in the confused state of the affairs of the day had a startling effect on the company at table, and all instantly arose and prepared for concealment or flight. The coach in which Hancock and Adams rode was hastily put out of sight, being hurried into some woods, named Path Woods, some distance off, near the road to Billerica. Whether Hancock and his companions rode in the coach to this point in their flight, does not clearly appear. But this much is certain, that Mr. Marrett is said himself to have piloted the party along a cartway to Mr. Amos Wyman's house in a corner of Billerica, Bedford and Woburn Precinct, an obscure quarter, where the distinguished personages, who had intended to be the guests of Madame Jones, having had neither breakfast or dinner on that direful day, were glad to dine off of cold salt pork and potatoes, served in a wooden tray. Cf. the narratives of this event in Sewall's *Woburn*, 364–366, and Rev. Mr. Sewall in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, 60.

On April 20, 1775, the day following the battle, the Rev. Mr. Marrett records that he "rode to Lexington, saw the mischief the regulars did, and returned home." On the 21st he rode to Concord, and records on that day the statement that "the country is coming in fast to our help." On the 22d he was "at home; all quiet here," he records, but "our forces are gathered at Cambridge and towns about Boston." He records other items of news. On the 23d of April (Sunday) he mentioned that "soldiers are traveling down and returning," that some of them brought their arms and warlike accoutrements with them to meeting—"a dark day." "In the forenoon service," he records, "just as service was ended, Dr. Blodget came in for the people to go with their teams to bring provisions from Marblehead out of the way of the men-of-war."

Mr. Marrett records nothing further of moment, till on Saturday May 27, 1775, he distinctly heard the cannon in an engagement at Noddle's Island, now East Boston, which occurred on that day. He mentions hearing the cannon at that time all day, and in the night, and in the time of morning service on the Sabbath following. From his account the firing of the cannon throughout the entire siege of Boston was always plainly heard at his home in Woburn Precinct.

According to the contemporary lists the number of wounded men from Woburn in the battle of April 19, 1775, was three, viz., George Reed, Jacob Bacon and one Johnson. The number of killed, as we have already stated, was two—Daniel Thompson and Asahel Porter. The following is a list of men from Woburn who died in the military service during the Revolutionary War. The number, however, may be only an approximate one, like that of the number of those from the town who entered active service; the number in both cases being indefinite for want of sufficient records.

Killed at Lexington and Concord Battle. 2. Asahel Porter and Daniel Thompson.

Died from the Effect of Wounds and Exposure in Bunker Hill Battle. 2. Samuel Russell and George Reed, Jr.

Died in the Service at Ticonderoga, Autumn of 1776. 3. William Locke, William Stratton and Abram Alexander.

Died in the Army at New York, 1776. 2. Jonas Wyman and Lieut. Samuel Thompson.

Died of Small-Pox in the Army at the Jerseys. 1. Solomon Wood, on March 16, 1777.

Died in Service After 1777, Before the End of their Engagement. 3. Jabez Brooks, Ebenezer Marion, and Charles Mason.

Making a total of 13 deaths, so far as discovered. Killed in battle, 2. Died of wounds, 1. Of disease, or exposure to hardships, 10.

Bunker Hill Battle.—Colonel Loammi Baldwin wrote a letter on the subject of this battle, but he was an eye-witness only, and not an actual participant. Samuel Thompson and Mr. Marrett incorporate accounts of it in their memoranda, but neither were present or even eye-witnesses apparently. Mr. Marrett says of himself that he was at home. The day was Saturday, June 17, 1775, and fair, and very warm and drying. While he was writing, he says, "the adjacent country had gone down," meaning to the scene of action. On Sunday, June 18, 1775, the day following, he had, at service, a "very thin meeting; the men gone down to the army on the alarm yesterday." On June 22, following, the weather being fair and drying, in the morning the good pastor of the Second Parish was "at home;" but in the afternoon attended the funeral of Samuel Russell, aged twenty-one, belonging in the First, or Old Parish, who had died, having been "mortally wounded in the battle at Charlestown." Again, on the afternoon of June 26, 1775, a fair day, he attended the funeral of George Reed, Jr. (probably in the Second Parish), "who died of a fever, which was occasioned by a surfeit, or heat, he got in Charlestown Fight, on the 17th instant." Esquire Thompson records concerning Samuel Russell, this: June 17, 1775, Samuel Russell, son of Jesse Russell, was that day "wounded in the shoulder at the fight in Charlestown," and he was brought home and there died "with his wounds and a fever." Aside from tradition, this is all that we can glean of the participation of Woburn men in this famous battle.

THE SIEGE OF BOSTON.—Samuel Thompson continued his account of events, being items of news, to September 2, 1775. Mr. Marrett's account is, however, more interesting, because he gives some items of his own personal experience. The ministers of the neighboring parishes often rode to Cambridge and Roxbury during the siege and viewed the intrenchments, surveyed the situation of the forces, and prayed publicly with the regiments, and they appeared also at the trainings of their own local military companies and showed their arms or weapons for inspection with the rest. On Sunday, March 3, 1776, the people were in great anxiety about some important events soon to take place between the armies, and during that night, from eight in the evening to morning, cannon-firing was heard, and on March 4 continued. Between twelve and one on that day it continued so vigorously that a general battle was imagined, or a smart skirmish, as Mr. Marrett judged, from the report of small arms and cannons combined. So strong was this feeling that Mr. Marrett's people collected rags, etc., for the use of the army. On the night of March 4 "the mortars and cannon played very fast most all night." After the evacuation of Boston by the British, Mr. Marrett rode to Charlestown ferry, March 20, and viewed Bunker Hill, the works of the enemy and the ruins of the town. He returned home by the way of Cambridge. On April 23, 1776, he rode to Boston and returned home; "first time," he said, "I have been to Boston since the enemy evacuated it;" and later, on June 3, 1776, he "went to the Castle with Woburn militia to intrench." He lodged that night at Roxbury, and on the morning of June 4 sailed from Boston to the Castle, and "intrenched all day," and at the close of the day "returned home with the militia."

One or two other incidents from Mr. Marrett's memoranda only remain to be quoted in connection with the events of this period.

1. "Sunday, July 14, 1776: Five o'clock P.M. Preached at lecture at home to a party of soldiers going on the Canada expedition."

2. "July 25, 1776. Woburn company of soldiers for the Canada expedition marched for Crown Point. Prayed with them at Deacon Blanchard's."

Two hundred or more men from Woburn were in active service in the Revolution during the first two years of the war, and nearly as many were afterward in service from the town in the regular Continental line. Quotas of her men served at Ticonderoga and New York, 1776; at the northward against Burgoyne in 1777, and in guarding his imprisoned army at Cambridge, 1777–78; at Rhode Island, 1777-80; on guard-duty at Bunker Hill, 1778, and elsewhere near Boston, in duties frequent and various, in time of the war. The record of much of this service is now probably lost. Much of it also, as is usual in wars, was not deemed worthy of distinguished mention, though useful in its way. There are very many receipts and military papers preserved in the *Wyman Collection of MSS.* in the Woburn Public Library, relating to this subject, and Woburn had its representatives in the navy as well as in the army of the Revolution. The most remarkable instance of naval service was that of Ichabod Richardson, of Woburn, who, from a long absence, proved to be a veritable "Enoch Arden." The tale is told in an original document presented in the *Woburn Journal* for June 12, 1885. Having enlisted himself on board a provincial privateer during the Revolution, leaving behind his young wife and child, the voyage undertaken proved to be an unfortunate one, and he was captured by the British and carried a prisoner to England, and thence to the East Indies. An absence of six or seven years followed, with no tidings of his being alive. The wife, being courted by a widower and relative of her first husband, married the latter suitor. After hostilities ceased the missing husband returned to find his wife had married another. The document already referred to as containing an account of the affair, is a stipulation, and dated February 15, 1783. The parties are the husbands—Ichabod Richardson and Josiah Richardson. The wife was named Sarah and the child was a son. To settle the difficulty, the wife chose for her mate her former husband, because of their child, she having had no other child by either marriage. The unhappy affair for the participants, by the terms of the stipulation, was amicably adjusted as to matters of property, the second husband also surrendering the wife to the first. The name of Ichabod Richardson is found in a journal of American sailors imprisoned at Forton, near Portsmouth, England, where he was committed June 26, 1777. There are other details concerning him, but he appears to have effected his escape from that prison. One James Richardson, of Woburn, was a prisoner in the Mill Prison, England, in 1777, but was later exchanged.

NOTE.—On the subject of the earlier events of the Revolution in their connection with Woburn, articles were published by W. R. Cutter and others, in the *Woburn Journal*, notably in Feb. and May, 1875, in view of the centennial observances of that year. One or two matters of general interest might also be mentioned in connection with the Revolution. Action on the formation of a volunteer military company, or society, in Woburn, on account of the warlike outlook, occurred as early as Jan. 4, 1775, and at a meeting at the house of James Fowle, Esq., on that date, several votes were passed relating to its organization as a company of minute-men, or picked men. They voted on that occasion "to show arms once a month, according to law," and something was done about the town-house, so-called, as a house "to exercise in." Cf. *Woburn Journal*, for March 31, 1882. There is framed and preserved in the antique department of the Woburn Public Library a document dated April 6, 1775, about two weeks before Lexington Battle, from the field officers of the local regiment urging the Woburn minute-men to action. Some old papers belonging to the Johnson family in Woburn Second Parish have an especial interest in relation to affairs that occurred during the Revolution in that precinct. Among them is a list of the preachers and texts in this parish from the ordination of Rev. John Marrett, Dec. 21, 1774, to July 16, 1775, and minutes of parish meetings, receipts showing that the people of this parish donated the sum of £2, 11*s.* 2*d.* to the sufferers in the war of South Carolina and Georgia in 1782, and the sum of £1, 15*s*, 10*d*, in 1783, for the purpose of building a meeting-house in Charlestown, burned by the British, June 17, 1775. There are "war" papers, and a receipt dated Nov. 24, 1775, signed by Timothy Jones, relating to the keeping of a portion of the valuables of Harvard College

during the first year of the war, which were deposited in the care of Deacon Joseph Johnson in the precinct. The receipt enumerates the following articles :—"Of the college library and apparatus, two hogsheads of books, one large box containing glass, two boxes containing a pair of globes, one large pack of carpets." One of the papers in this collection relates to Lieut Joseph Johnson, an officer who was seventy-five years old when recommissioned in 1776. It was dated from hospital at "Paupasquash," A. D., 1778, and was signed by "Jona. Arnold, Director," and gave Lieut. Johnson, of Col. McIntosh's regiment, "unfit for present duty," leave of absence on a furlough of six days. *Pappasquash* is the neck of land in front, or to the west, of the harbor of Bristol, in Rhode Island, and about fifteen miles from Newport. Here a hospital had been erected. Cf. Green's *Deux Ponts's Campaigns in America*, 1780–81, p. 90, note; *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, xxxvi. 79–80. The original journal of the Forton prisoners in England is in the present writer's possession, and was contributed by him, with the addition of notes, to the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, and published in the volumes of that periodical for the years 1876, '77, '78 and '79 a hundred years after it was written. There are many particulars regarding Ichabod Richardson in the article in the *Woburn Journal* for June 12, 1885.

The following is a list of the principal military characters of the period mentioned. It is a partial list, at best, made up from such sources as could be easily found in Woburn.

Military Officers during the Revolution and from that Period to 1830.

Major-General.

John Walker, ensign, 1791; capt., 1792; lieut.-col., 1793–1796; brig.-gen., 1796–1797; maj.-gen., 1798. Died 1814. Brig.-gen., 1st brig., 3d div., Middlesex, 1797, '98 and '99, per *Mass. Register.*

Brigadier-General.

Abijah Thompson, capt., 1827–1828; major, 1829; lieut.-col., 1830; colonel, 1832–1835, all of the artillery; brig.-gen., 1836. Died, 1868.

Colonels.

Loammi Baldwin, major, 1775; lieut.-col., 1775; col., 1775–1777, all in the Revolutionary Army. See an extended notice elsewhere.

Robert Greaton, 1777, Cont. Army. Non-resident. One of Woburn's quota in the Revolutionary War; Col. of 3d Massachusetts regt., C. A. (?).

Bill Russell, lieut., 1801–1803; capt., 1804; major, 1805–1806; lieut.-col., 1807–1828, all of the cavalry; a Revolutionary pensioner, residing at Billerica, 1840, aged 77.

Abijah Wheeler, col., 1807–1809. Died 1812. "Col." on gravestone in Woburn second burying-ground. Removed to Woburn from Temple, N. H.

Benjamin F. Baldwin, capt., 1800–1805; major, 1807–1811; lieut.-col., 1811–1816. Died 1821. Lieut.-col. commandant of 2d regt., 1st brigade, 3d div, Middlesex County.

John Wade, capt., 1810–1811; commissioned major, Sept. 17, 1811; lieut.-col., May 30, 1815; col., July 1, 1816. Lieut.-col. commandant of the 2d regt., 1st brig., 3d div., Midd. Co. till such officers were changed to colonels, when he received a colonel's commission. He was in office, 1820. Died 1858.

Samuel Tidd, lieut., discharged from the East company, 1803; capt., discharged from same co., 1815; major, 1815–1816; lieut.-col., 1818–1821; same regiment as named in the two preceding notices. Died 1826.

William Winn, major, 1816–1821; lieut.-col., 1822; col., 1823–1830, of the same regiment as the above three officers. Died 1856. Resided in Burlington and in Woburn.

Leonard Thompson, capt, July 15, 1815; major, Aug. 24, 1821; lieut.-col., Sept. 24, 1822; discharged as lieut.-col., May 7, 1823. All offices in 2d regt. infantry, 1st brig., 3d div, same regiment as the preceding officers in this list. Died 1880, aged 92. Commissions and other military papers extant, kindly loaned for examination by his son, Leonard Thompson, Esq.

Samuel B. White, lieut.-col., 1839; Charles Carter, col, 1842–1843; William T. Choate, major, 1842, lieut.-col., 1843; and Charles Choate, lieut.-col., 1846, were some of the field officers of a later period.

Thomas Dawes, col., of Boston, 1784, and Samuel Hopkins, lieut.-col. of Wilmington, 1812, are named in Woburn tax-lists.

Majors.

John Hastings attained the rank of a major in the Revolutionary army, and resided in Woburn, 1784–1796. He was a graduate of Harvard, 1772, son of Jonathan Hastings, of Cambridge, the college steward.

Samuel Tay, lieut., 1775; capt., 1776–1784; major, 1784–1797. Died 1804. He commanded a company of about fifty men, who marched June 24, 1776, to Ticonderoga, from Woburn, where the company remained five months in service.—Sewall's *Woburn*, 370–71.

Robert Douglass, Jr., capt., 1787; major, 1788–1793, of the 2d regt., 1st brig., 3d div., etc. Removed to Portland, Me., 1794. Robert Douglass, a young man, accompanied Sylvanus Wood to Lexington, early in the morning of April 19, 1775, and on the invitation of the captain of the Lexington company, paraded with the company on the green on that morning and received the first fire of the British troops. The Douglasses, father and son, lived on the Sylvanus Wood farm in Woburn, corner Cambridge and Locust streets, Wood having apparently bought it of them before 1800.

John Radford, ensign, 1792; capt., 1793–1796; major, 1797–1799; of the 2d regt. above named. Resided in Burlington.

Jeremiah Clapp, lieut., 1791–1796; brigade major, 1797–1813; of 1st brig., 3d div., Middlesex County. Died 1817.

Abijah Thompson, lieut., 1796; capt., 1796–1799; major, 1800–1816; of 2d regt. above named. Died 1820. "Major" on gravestone.

Benjamin Wyman, lieut., 1795–1797; second lieut. of company of cavalry, 1st brig., 3d div., Middlesex, July 14, 1794; captain of a company in the squadron of cavalry, same brigade, July 6, 1797; major of a battalion of cavalry, same brigade, January 13, 1800. Three commissions and his discharge from the service have been preserved. His discharge as major is dated March 24, 1802. He was styled major in the town records as late as 1816. Died 1836.

Francis Johnson, capt. of the East company, according to its records, from 1798–1805, when he was chosen major of the regiment—the well-known 2d regt., 1st brig., 3d div., Middlesex County. The latest mention of him by his military title in the town records is 1816. Died 1846.

Wyman Richardson, adjutant, 1820; brigade major, 1823–1836. Died 1841.

Moses F. Winn, aide-de-camp, 1836; adjt., 1843; major, 1845. Died 1875.

Staff (other than Adjutants).

William Tidd, adjt., 1823–1830; brigade quarter-master, 1836. Died 1837.

Benjamin Coolidge, assistant commissary of clothing at Ticonderoga during the Revolution, became late in life a resident of Woburn. An abstract of a deposition of his, before John Roorback, of Albany, N. Y., dated July 18, 1777, is given in a note. He had been a merchant of Boston, but retired from business, and died in Woburn in 1820.

Rufus Thompson, quarter-master of the 2d regt., 1st brig., 3d div., Middlesex, was discharged Sept. 11, 1820.

Captains.

Samuel Belknap, lieut. 1775; capt., 1776, and styled capt. in the Woburn records till 1785, about which time he removed to Newburgh, N. Y. He was a member of Brooks's regiment in the Continental army prior to 1777, and he commanded one of the three stated military foot companies of Woburn at that period. The town, by vote, on March 22, 1779, granted him fifteen pounds out of the treasury, as a premium for his *extraordinary trouble* in procuring men for the war in the few years past. An attested copy of this vote has been preserved, also the names of the members of his local company. A grandson, William Goldsmith Belknap, was a brigadier-general in the United States regular army. Cf. town order dated March 20, 1777; Sewall's *Woburn*, 566, 568; Belknap genealogy in *Winchester Record*, ii. 276–78.

Benjamin Edgell, a soldier from Lexington, in the French war, 1755 and 1757, capt., 1776, in service from Woburn prior to 1777, and again as captain in the Rhode Island campaign, 1778. Styled captain in the Woburn records till 1816, when the fashion of mentioning officers by title in the records apparently ceased. Died 1819. Some interesting details regarding his early career have been preserved.

Thomas Locke, capt., 1775 (?). Died 1792. He resided in Woburn precinct in a part latterly annexed to Lexington. There is doubt of his being a captain at a period so early as the Revolution, but he appears to have been a member of Wood's co., Baldwin's regt., C. A., 1775–76.

Joshua Reed, lieut., 1775; capt., 1776; in Revolutionary army before 1777; capt. in Woburn records, 1800. Died 1805. A wooden monument to his memory was standing in the second burying-ground as late as 1847.

Jonas Richardson, ensign in the provincial period, 1758–1759; lieut., 1760–1774; capt., 1775–1776; in the Revolutionary service, 1775. "Capt. Jonas Richardson died January 10, 1776."—*Thompson's Diary.* Cf. *Richardson Memorial*, 263.

Joshua Walker, lieut. in the French war, 1758, also 1759–1774; capt. (capt.-lieut., ?) 1762 and 1775; capt. 1775–1781, in command of one of the three stated military companies of Woburn during the Revolutionary period. In active service in the Revolution. Styled captain in the Woburn records till 1796. Died 1798.

John Wood, ensign in the provincial period, 1774; capt. in active service in the Revolution, 1775–76. Styled captain in the Woburn records till 1798. Died in Burlington, 1809. When very young he was determined to enlist in the army during the French war and succeeded in doing so, and an interesting anecdote of him connected with his service in that war is preserved in Sewall's *Woburn*, 348–50. He commanded a company composed principally of Woburn men in Baldwin's regt., C. A., 1775–76, and appears to be also in the army three years after 1777. His company was stationed with Baldwin's regt. at Medford, 1775. Cf. Sewall, 386,—and a roll of his company is published in the *Woburn Journal* for March 11, 1854. His house is shown on a curious road map of date about 1797.

Jesse Wyman, who had been a soldier in the French war with Samuel Thompson, the diarist,—cf. Sewall, 554, 556,—and whose name was also found in a list of twelve men impressed for the military service in 1757 —*Woburn Journal*, Aug. 19, 1887—was a capt. 1776–1781, per tax-lists. Died 1782. During the Revolution he commanded one of the three stated military companies of foot soldiers in Woburn. He was in active service before 1777, and two months at Rhode Island in 1777, and three months on guard duty on Bunker Hill in 1778.

The names of Charles Anderson, 1779–1782, Samuel Doggett, 1775, and Nathaniel Greenwood, 1777–1778, are mentioned with the title of captain in the town records, but these persons were probably only temporary residents on account of the war.

Abraham Andrews, of the Cont. Army, Whitney's regt., for Woburn, was a lieut. 1777–1778; capt., 1779–1780.

Nathaniel Brooks, in Revolutionary service before 1777, was lieut. 1776–1781; capt., 1781–1783. Died 1783.

Reuben Kimball, in the Revolutionary service for a long period, was a lieut. 1776–1782; capt, 1782–1798, in Woburn records. Died in Burlington, 1814.

Thomas Dean, Jr., a sergeant in the Revolutionary army, was styled a captain in the records from 1783–1787, and died in the West Indies in 1790. Lieut., 1781–1783.

Josiah Richardson, lieut., 1782–1784; capt., 1784–1793, in town records. Died 1795. Resigned his office of captain, 1787. A number of interesting papers regarding his period of service are extant.

Benjamin Eaton, capt., 1786–1790. Died 1796.

Joseph Wyman, lieut., 1787; capt., 1787–1791.

Joseph Brown, lieut., 1785–1787; capt., 1787–1807. Died 1808. "Capt." on gravestone. He was elected 1st lieut., June, 1784.

James Reed, lieut., 1777 and 1781–1787, in tax-lists; capt., 1788–1798, in Woburn records. Served in Revolution with Capt. Ford, at Cambridge, 1777–78. Resided in Burlington.—*Hist. Reed Family*, 470.

Joseph Bartlett, capt., 1789–1796. Noticed under lawyers.

William Green, capt., 1790–1791.

John Johnson, ensign, 1787; lieut., 1787–1792; capt., 1792. Died 1792. Detailed as an officer of a detachment to rendezvous at Marlborough, Feb. 9, 1787, during Shays's Rebellion.

Nathaniel Brooks, ensign, 1787–1792; capt., 1793–1797, and 1804. Died 1820.

Jeduthun Richardson, Jr., capt. of the East company, 1793 (of Medford, 1794); discharged May 24, 1794—per orderly book of that company.

Nathan Richardson, 1794; Jonathan Thompson, 1796—discharged 1797 from East company; Jesse Tay, 1796—died at Bedford, N. H., 1797; John Wood, Jr., 1797–98; Joseph Bond, 1799–1801; Nathan Harrington, 1800–1814; Caleb Richardon, 1806–1809; William Fox, ensign, 1801; lieut., 1805; capt., 1807–1816; Nathan Simonds, 1811; John Eames, 1812; John Edgell, 1812–25; Isaac Richardson, 1812–17 (lieut., 1809) —discharged from East company, 1813; John Cutter, 1812–16; John Eames, Jr., 1813–18 (lieut, 1814)—discharged from East company, 1818; George W. Reed, 1814–15 (of the cavalry); Josiah Richardson, sergt., warrant dated Aug. 25, 1801; ensign, commission dated April 1, 1803; lieut., Nov. 10, 1806; capt., March 25, 1808, all of a company in the 2d regt., 1st brig., 3d div.; certificate of resignation as captain dated March 15, 1809; capt. in town records, 1814–18; Joseph Gardner, 1814–16; John Hastings, 1814; Joseph Eaton, lieut., 1797; capt., 1797–98,—discharged from East company, 1798; capt., in town records, 1815–16; John Tidd, sergt., warrant dated Sept. 27, 1809; ensign, commission dated Dec. 22, 1813; capt., Feb. 13, 1818 (ensign in 1814, and lieut., 1815) all in a company in the 2d regt., 1st brig., 3d div.—discharged from East company, 1821—all are captains of this period named in the town records. The following also were captains of the East military company, which suffered extinction about 1830, from want of actual interest in the militia:—Stephen Nichols, discharged in 1822; Benjamin Wood (2d), discharged 1827; Isaac Huffmaster discharged do.; William Reed, elected 1827 or '28, being the last officer named in the company's extant records. The company had existed, it is supposed, without interruption from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century.

The following were captains of the West military company, per tradition:—William Fox, Samuel Abbott, Dana Fay, Henry Flagg, 1828, and Larkin Livingstone, 1830, the last captain of the company, its fate being the same as that of the East company, both having existed for an indefinite period.

The orderly book of the East company from 1794 to 1828 has been preserved. Joseph W. Beers, clerk, received the book April 28, 1794, when Jeduthun Richardson, Jr., commanded the company. Richardson was discharged May 24, 1794, and Beers was discharged from doing duty as clerk and soldier in 1805. It preserves the fact that two, at least, of its captains, Francis Johnson and John Wade, were chosen majors, 1805 and 1811, and that on Feb. 12, 1800, orders were received to turn out in uniform, without arms, to show respect to the death of General Washington. On Sept. 20, 1811, the company raised $19 by subscription, to purchase a bass drum, and in response to orders turned out on Aug. 30, 1824, and marched to Boston to be reviewed by General Lafayette.

The West company was the subject of a sketch in the *Woburn Budget* for Nov. 4, 1859.

Lieutenants.

Zachariah Brooks, lieut., 1776, in service before 1777; lieut., in town record till 1792. Died 1792. When a minor he was a soldier in an expedition against Canada in 1759, being one of the soldiers "who tarried all winter," per receipt of Isaac Snow, dated March 29, 1762.

Isaac Burton, lieut., 1776–84. Died 1784. In service before 1777—expedition to Ticonderoga, five months, 1776. A resident of the Precinct or Burlington.

Nathan Dix, lieut., 1775–76, of the Cont. Army, Wood's co., Baldwin's regt., 1775. Eight men, three months, 1778, under Lieut. Dix, guarded prisoners at or near Cambridge. His wife died 1780, in Woburn, aged 31.

Joseph Johnson, lieut. in the provincial period, 1751–75; commission extant of first lieut. of 8th co., 2d regt., Middlesex County (the Precinct or Burlington co.), dated May 6, 1776. In service at Cambridge, two months, guarding stores, 1777. Died 1798, aged 97. Called "Lieut." in the tax-lists till 1792, and "lieut." in record of decease. His commission of 1776 called him "Joseph Johnson, gentleman," his company being the one of which Joshua Walker was the captain, and Jonathan Fox, Esq., colonel of the regiment.

Joseph Perry, lieut, 1776–81, in the records, with Lieut. Dix, near Cambridge lines in 1778, and with Capt. Green, at Rhode Island, three months, in 1780.

Jonathan Porter, lieut., 1777, and 1782–84, per tax-lists, with Cont. Army three years, 1777–79. He was probably dead soon after 1784, for the widow of Jonathan Porter died 1791, in Woburn, aged 30.

Jeduthun Richardson, lieut., 1776–94, per tax-lists. Deacon of the 1st church from 1796–1812. Died 1815. Gravestone in Woburn second burying-ground. In the Revolution he had apparently three terms or "turns" of active service, the first before 1777, the second with Capt. Ford at Cambridge, 1777–78, and the third as a fifer with Capt. Green's co. in Rhode Island, for three months, in 1780.

John Richardson, lieut., 1776, in active service before 1777.

Stephen Richardson, lieut., 1776–83. Died 1783. "Lieut." on gravestone in first burying-ground; in active service before 1777.

William Tay, Jr., lieut., 1775–93. Died 1795. He was the author of a petition published in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, 368–69, in which he recites his experiences on the day of Lexington Battle, April 19, 1775, and tells how he made a British soldier a prisoner, and how he lost his own or prisoner's gun by another person's taking it.

Samuel Thompson, Jr., lieut., 1775–76; according to his father's written statement, lieut. of Capt. Pettingill's co. or the 8th co. of Baldwin's regt., 1775. Died 1776. See *Thompson Memorial*, 47–48. An acrostic on his death by the father has been several times published. He died in the service at New York, Aug. 12, 1776, aged 22 years, 4 months and 5 days, of a putrid fever, so-called. An orderly book in his handwriting and a book containing the inventory of his estate and sundry accounts during 1775 and 1776 are preserved. The inventory was taken Sept. 20, 1776. The orderly book contains general orders and other orders from Aug. 1, 1775, to Aug. 25, 1775. The father, Samuel Thompson, inscribed upon

it the following words: "Samuel Thompson, Esq., lieut. of the eighth company in Col. Baldwin's regiment."

Jonathan Tidd, ensign in the provincial period, 1762–73; lieut., 1774–75, was a lieut. from 1776–85, per tax-lists. He was in the Cont. Army for eight months, 1775, or in Wood's co., Baldwin's regt., Cont. Army, 1775. Died 1785.

Joseph Winn, lieut., 1776–98, in Woburn tax-lists. Resided in Burlington. He was in active service before 1777, and also with Capt. Ford at Cambridge, 1777–78.

Sylvanus Wood, ensign, 1776; lieut, 1777–93, in the tax-lists. Died 1840. He was a member of his brother's company in Baldwin's regt., Cont. Army, 1775; lieut., 1776. He was the author of a deposition on the Lexington Battle which has been several times published. He was present with Robert Douglass, another Woburn man, at Lexington, when the British first fired on the Americans on the memorable morning of April 19, 1775, and claimed to have taken the first British soldier made prisoner in the Revolution.

James Wyman, lieut., 1777. In service before 1777.

Joshua Tay (died 1801), 1776–92; Seth Johnson (died 1782). ensign, 1776–78; lieut., 1779–81, in active service before 1777; Nathaniel Trask, 1780–84; Joseph Lawrence (died 1836), 1782–1801; Abel Wyman, 1784–98; Jacob Richardson (died 1819), ensign, 3d co., 2d regt., 3d div, commission dated Feb. 17, 1787; lieut., 2d regt., 1st brig, 3d div., M dd., commissioned Oct. 8, 1787—lieut. in the town records till 1796 and also to 1807; Jonathan Nichols, 1788–93; Josiah Richardson, 1789; Samuel Ditson, 1789–1793 (ensign, 1788); Joseph Johnson, Jr., 1790; Jonathan Tidd, 1792-1816; Jonathan Eaton, 1796; Joseph McIntire, 1796 (ensign, 1793); Cyrus Baldwin, 1797; Bartholomew Richardson, 1801–1815 (ensign, 1799)—Bartholomew Richardson, probably another, was the lieut. discharged from the East company in 1799; Stephen Richardson, 1805–14; probably held the office earlier—a Lieut. Stephen Richardson was discharged from the East company in 1805; Willard Jones, 1808–16 (died 1824—"lieut." on gravestone); Moses Winn (died 1838), 1814–16; William Tay, 1801, and 1814–16 (died 1827—"lieut." on gravestone); and Archelaus Tay, 1814–15, are some of the lieutenants belonging to this period.

During the years from 1790 to 1820, meagre mention is made in the records of military titles, and doubtless if facts could be obtained the list could be enlarged.

The list of ensigns is a still shorter one.

Ensigns.

Timothy Brooks, Jr., ensign in the provincial period, 1768–72, and ensign, 1776–78. In the Revolutionary service before 1777.

Reuben Richardson, ensign, 1776–79, in service before 1777. Samuel Tidd, 1776–1779; Joshua Reed, 1777–86; Joseph Fowle, 1779; Ichabod Parker, 1787–99; Jesse Dean, 1788–96; Josiah Tay, 1814–16; and Joseph Parker, 1815–16, were other ensigns of this period.

Adjutants.

William Fox was adjutant at Cambridge in 1777, in active military service, per his order on the town, endorsed with his autograph, which is preserved.

Abijah Thompson (died 1811), was adjutant of militia.—Cf. *Thompson Memorial*, 51.[1]

NOTES.—Maj.-Gen. John Walker was born in Woburn, Feb. 7, 1762 son of Capt. Joshua Walker. He was appointed by the elder President Adams a major-general to command an army at Oxford, Mass., in 1798, there seeming then to be danger of a war with France. Cf. Sewall's *Woburn*, 171–72; Ammidown's *Hist. Coll.* (Oxford, Mass., etc.), i. 204. He was an elector for President of the United States in 1813. His son, James Walker, D.D., of Charlestown, was the president of Harvard University. On a large marble stone in the Precinct or Burlington burying-ground is the following inscription:

[Masonic emblems.]

In memory of Gen. John Walker, who died VIII June, MDCCCXIV, in the LIII year of his age. In military life he gained honor and reputation. As a civil magistrate he was a friend to his country and faithful to his trust. In his domestic and social relations those who knew him best will speak his praise. Uniformly striving to give practical efficacy to his relations and acts, he became alike distinguished for his integrity and enterprise. He was esteemed and valued by all. All must feel his loss."

An extended notice of Col. Loammi Baldwin by the Rev. Leander Thompson appears in another place. Another notice in print is that to be found in Sewall's *Woburn*, 385–89. For some particulars of his military history see Frothingham's *Siege of Boston* and *Mass. Hist. Soc Proceedings*, vol. xiv. A volume of manuscript papers relating to his service is deposited by the Baldwin family at the State House in Boston. His neighbor, Samuel Thompson, Esq., in his memoranda records the item that "October, 1807, Col. Loammi Baldwin died 20th," and was "intombed" the 23d following.[2]

The spacious mansion of Col. Baldwin is still standing in Woburn and is, though somewhat changed, the oldest dwelling in Woburn. His estate was scheduled in part only on the list of 1798, and contained 212 acres, valued at $9000, in 1801.

There is reference to a letter of his on the subject of Bunker Hill Battle in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vi. 187. This refers to Frothingham's *Battlefield*, p. 43. For an estimate of his scientific attainments, see *Memorial History of Boston*, iv. 511. A letter of his to the provincial congress on the subject of surveys and instruments, dated Cambridge, June 3, 1775, is printed in Force's *American Archives*, 4th ser., vol. 2, p. 902. The purpose being to take surveys of the ground between the opposing armies, and some mathematical instruments being necessary, request was made for such instruments from the apparatus of Harvard College, to be returned as soon as the surveys were finished. The use of such instruments from the college as he needed was readily granted (*Ibid.* p. 1392). There are also letters of Loammi Baldwin to General Washington, published in Force's *Amer. Archives*, 4th ser., vol. 2, pp. 1748, 1754; and vol. 3, pp. 5, 98. The first is dated at Chelsea, July 28, the second, July 29, 1775; the third at Chelsea, Aug. 1, and the fourth, at same, Aug. 13, 1775. The third letter is addressed to Col. Joseph Reed, Gen. Washington's secretary. There is a letter to Col. Baldwin at Chelsea, dated Dec. 13, 1775, in Force's *Archives*, 4th ser., vol. 4, p. 255, and a reference, *ibid.* vol. 5, p. 1200. The letters all have reference to military matters, and one or two of them are quite interesting. In one he requests the commander-in-chief to furnish him with more writing materials, and in another he thanks Gen. Washington for a compliment he had paid him on the able manner in which he had performed his duties. There are also references to Baldwin in *Amer. Archives*, 5th ser., vol. 3.

Col. Loammi Baldwin was the officer of highest rank furnished by Woburn to the army of the Revolution. The following is an account of the number of officers furnished by Woburn to that army, including those from other places who formed a part of her quota: Colonels, 2; captains, 9; lieutenants, 19; ensigns, 3; adjutants, 1. There were besides these an unknown number of non-commissioned officers and of persons having a part in the field-music. In the latter class were at least 1 fife-major (James Osborn, 178', a non-resident); 2 fifers (Jonathan Thompson, 1775, and Jeduthun Richardson, 1780), and 1 drummer (Joshua Reed). Of the sergeants the names of Bennett, Biscoe, Dean, Jones, and Luke Richardson and Silas Richardson are given in Sewall's list, and so are two corporals, Caleb Simonds and James Walker, but, of course, there must have been others whose record is now lost. Silas Richardson, Abraham Skinner and James Reed, sergeants, are named in the town records in 1778. The autograph of Fife-major James Osborn has been preserved. He was a handsome penman, and, from the papers he wrote, evidently a person of intelligence and of good education. None of the papers concerning him, preserved in the Woburn Public Library, give any clue to the place of his residence. He was enlisted as one of

[1] A number of facts gathered concerning these officers are deposited in the archives of the RUMFORD HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

[2] Among the many references to Col. Loammi Baldwin in this diary of his neighbor are the following containing items of importance in his family history: May 13, 1776, a daughter died. Sept. 26, 1786, his first wife died in a fit: and on Oct. 3, following, she was buried. July 23, 1787, he raised his barn. Nov. 5, 1790, Cyrus Baldwin, Esq., apparently his brother, was drowned at Dunstable; on the 7th his corpse was brought to Woburn; and on the 10th was buried. May 13, 1791, his mother, Mrs. Ruth Baldwin, died, and on the 14th was buried; June 28th following, his father, Mr. James Baldwin, died, and on the 30th was buried; —"about 46 days between." The father was aged 81 years, and the mother, 78 years. In February, 1799, his second wife was subjected to a surgical operation in which an "incision" was made, but unsuccessfully, for the preservation of her life. On Aug. 8, 1799, she died, and was buried on the Sabbath day, the 11th. There are allusions to his being a representative in 1800, 1803, and Federal representative, town-meeting, Aug. 25, 1800. Earlier than all these dates are references in Matthew Johnson's account-book of the service of writs in his behalf in 1771 and 1772.

Woburn's quota, and served in the 3d Massachusetts regt., or Col. Greaton's regt., in the Cont. Army, 6 mos and 11 days, as a fife-major. The town of Woburn at the close of his service paid his traveling expenses homeward.

The abstract mentioned of the deposition of Benjamin Coolidge, before John Roorback, dated July 18, 1777, is as follows:

Coolidge having charge of the continental clothing store at Ticonderoga, received, about sunset, on Saturday evening, July 5, 1777, a written order to pack, as the store was wanted as barracks for troops which were hourly expected to arrive. At about one o'clock on Sunday morning he was informed, while in bed, that the retreat from Ticonderoga and Mount Independence on the part of the American army had already commenced, and the general in command informed him that it was then too late to remove the clothing. Putting up his papers, clothes and cash, he left with the rest and proceeded with the army to Skeensborough by water in the row-galley called the 'Trumbull,' but it being the sternmost vessel of the fleet, it was overtaken by the armed vessels of the enemy before it could reach the landing, and was fired upon. This caused its abandonment by all the crew and passengers, one man and his wife excepted. All who quit the vessel left their baggage behind, and by thus doing Mr. Coolidge lost everything in the way of baggage and money he had, excepting about twenty dollars he carried in his pocket.[1]

WOBURN'S MILITARY ACTION IN SHAYS' REBELLION.—A variety of papers in connection with the name of Josiah Richardson, captain of the East company of Woburn militia, 1784–1787; deacon, per gravestone, 1795, æt. 48;[2] estimable officer of the First Church [*R. Mem.* pp. 259-60], are preserved relating to this time. All have now found a place in the Woburn Public Library (*Wyman MSS. Coll.*). The warrant for calling a meeting of his company for his election as captain, June, 1784, is one of them, and at the same meeting Mr. Joseph Brown was elected their first lieutenant. The distinction between the "train-band" and "alarm list" is kept up (1784-1785) in these documents. Joseph Bryant, of Stoneham, was then the colonel of the regiment—the 2d regt., 1st brig., Co. Middlesex—and many of these papers were from him. In 1786 the Shays' Rebellion was in progress, and the troops were instructed to hold themselves in readiness for immediate service. On Sept. 10, 1786, they were ordered to be called out and to be marched to Woburn meeting-house in the Old Parish, at 8 A.M., on the morrow, to await further orders,—being also fully equipped with arms and ammunition, and having three days' provisions. But at 12 o'clock at night these orders were countermanded. On Oct. 28, following, they received their "orders to Cambridge," and as this document contains many interesting facts, it is here given in full:

"SIR: The General Court having called upon his Excellency the Governor, to take the necessary measures to maintain the honor of this commonwealth, in obedience to the orders, I this instant Received from the Major General of this Division, you are hereby ordered immediately to call upon your Company and put them in readiness to march, and you are hereby ordered to assemble and march your company to Mr. Noah Wyman's, innholder in Woburn, sign of 'Black Horse,' at the south part of said Town, so as to be at his house on Monday next, at Eight o'clock in the morning, with arms, ammunition and provisions, according to law, and each man will bring a blanket; and there remain until further orders.

"I am, Sir, with respect, your Huml. Servt.,

"JOSEPH BRYANT, Col.

"Stoneham, Oct. 28, 1786.

"*To Capt. Josiah Richardson, Woburn.*"

On Oct. 29th these orders were "suspended" till the Tuesday following, when they were to "positively march."

The following paper, addressed to Capt. Josiah Richardson, contains "a list of the soldiers that marched, with *yourself*, to Cambridge, the 31st of October, 1786." This was a demonstration on the part of the militia of Middlesex County, under the instructions of the Government, to overawe the insurgents. The names were as follows:

"Jacob Eames, Saml. Richardson, Zadoc Richardson, Jun., Nat. Wade, Thom. Richardson, Rich. Richardson, Amos Brooks, Gid. Richardson, Ben. Richardson, Job Miller, Joseph Skinner, Danl. Richardson, Jesse Wyman, Abel Richardson, Jesse Johnson, Silas Wyman, Steph. Nehemiah Richardson, Lt. Zac. Brooks, Abijah Richardson, Junias Richardson, Bartholomew Richardson (3d), John Converse, Jesse Converse, Saml. Tidd, Jun., Loamy Reed, Jeremi Converse, Eben Tay, Leonard Thompson, Josiah Richardson, John Buxton."

"The above names are those who will draw pay for Marching to Cambridge, with Capt. Josiah Richardson, ye 31 of October, 1786.

"JOSI WRIGHT, *Clark.*"

Early in January, 1787, 800 men from the 3d Division of militia were drafted for thirty days' field service on the 19th inst.; 2 captains, 4 subalterns, 8 sergeants, 6 corporals, 4 drummers and fifers and 100 privates, to be detached from the 2d Regiment; 1 sergeant, 1 drummer and 10 privates to be from Captain Richardson's company, and he was to see them marched to Mr. James Fowle's, innholder in Woburn, and returned under the commanding officer of said detachment, etc. The colonel also appointed to meet the officers on this business at Landlord William Tay's, in Woburn. On January 19, 1787, Captain Eaton's company quartered at Captain Josiah Richardson's, at Woburn, having forage for the team and convenient lodging for the men.

On January 26, 1787, Sergeant Jesse Richardson, Jr., was required, without a moment's delay, to warn his squad, by order of Josiah Richardson, captain, being "all the trainband on the southerly side of the road from Andrew Evans's, by Mr. Samuel Tidd's out to Bartholomew Richardson's, innholder, to appear to-morrow morning at six o'clock at Mr. Noah Wyman's, innholder, in said town," fully armed, equipped, provisioned and provided with ammunition.

NOTE.—Andrew Evans lived at East Woburn (Montvale Avenue), in a house still standing. Samuel Tidd's house was the house latterly Luke Tidd's (Salem Street) and Bartholomew Richardson, innholder's place was the place latterly Daniel Richardson's, on Main Street, opposite entrance to New Boston Street. The streets embraced by this road were, therefore, the way from East Woburn to Daniel Richardson's—principally Salem, Beach and New Boston Streets, apparently. Noah Wyman, innholder, kept the "Black-Horse Tavern" at Winchester.

On February 5, 1787, orders were again received for Captain Josiah Richardson to detach from his company 1 sergeant, 1 fifer and 8 privates, and march them to Mr. Noah Wyman's, innholder in Woburn, on the 8th inst., at 9 A.M., the men to rendezvous at Marlborough, the 9th, Ensign John Johnson, of Woburn, who died 1792, was one of the officers to accompany the detachment. The men detached were expected to do duty six weeks from the 10th inst.—Orders from the colonel at Stoneham, February 5, 1787, "Monday night 12 o'clock." A second order of same date stated that Captains Nathan Parker and Josiah Richardson, Lieutenants John Going [Gowing?] and David Smith, and Ensign John Johnson were to command this detachment. Two of these officers only were of Woburn.

"On February 7, 1787, the following orders were issued: Stoneham, February 7, 1787—Regimental Orders,—His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, having received information from General Lincoln of the total dispersion of the rebels and the flight of their leaders out of this commonwealth, has countermanded his orders for marching the detachment called for in the orders of the 5th instant. Major-General Brooks has only to add his congratulations to the 3d Division on the complete success of the measures of Government, and his warmest thanks for their spirited conduct through the course of the insurrection.

"Colonel Bryant returns his warmest thanks to both officers and mens for their spirited conduct through the whole contest.

"I am, with respect and esteem, your humble sev't.

"Evening, 7 o'clock.

"CAPT. JOSIAH RICHARDSON, Woburn."

[1] For genealogy of Mr. Coolidge, see Bond's *Watertown*, 183, and for description of his real estate in Woburn, see Bulletin of Woburn Public Library, 1884, p. 3*.

[2] In Woburn Second burying-ground, with a lengthy inscription.

Train-Band.—The next paper in the series is "A list of the Train-band." It contains the "Names of the Train band," an account of their arms and equipments in the year 1787, the band being a part—the active part—of Captain Josiah Richardson's company, the alarm list of such a company being the oldest and the youngest men, or those the least efficient for severe military service.

The names: Sergeants Jesse Richardson, David Tottingham, Jonathan Eaton, Jr., John Holden, Jr. Of these Richardson had a musket, a bayonet, a cartridge-box, a steel ramrod, a spring, a worm, a priming-wire and brush, a scabbard and belt, 6 flints, 1 pound of powder, 20 balls (or bullets), a haversack, a blanket and a canteen—a full equipment.[1] Tottingham had the same. Eaton was minus the bayonet, cartridge-box, priming-wire and brushes, the scabbard and belt, the bullets and the canteen. Holden was minus a cartridge-box, wire and brush, the bullets and canteen.

Drummer, Edward Wyer.

Fifer, Lilley Eaton.

(For the other members see the original roll in the Woburn Public Library).

Few of the men had a complete equipment.

On this roll. also, is this inscription: "On Monday ye 30th of April, 1787, the Company met for a Review, which was as follows (viz.)," the roll, we suppose.

The "pay roll of Capt. Josiah Richardson's Company in Col. Joseph Bryant's Regiment, under command of Major-General Brooks" for their services during the period of Shays' Rebellion, is preserved. It is confined to the services of the officers, Captain Josiah Richardson, Lieutenant Joseph Brown, Ensign Jacob Richardson, and *Clark* or Clerk Josiah Wright. The captain was on duty 5 days, September 5 to 10, 1786; 8 days, from January 10 to 18, 1787; and 3 days, from February 5 to February 8, 1787. His pay was 5*s.* 4*d.* per day; rations extra. The lieutenant was on duty 5 days, from September 5 to 10, 1786, and his pay was 3*s.* 6 2-4*d.* per day. The ensign was on duty 2 days, from February 6 to 8, 1787, at 3*s.* per day. The clerk was on duty 2 days, September 8 to 10, 1786, at 1*s.* 9 2-4*d.* per day. The roll minutely specifies every particular in tabular form and the total amount of wages and rations for the whole was £7 15*s.* 4 2-4*d.* They do not appear to have gone from home on this service—in other words, to have left town. The roll is signed by the captain, and was sworn before John Avery, Justice of the Peace, Suffolk ss., Boston, May 10, 1787.

The acceptance of the resignation of Captain Josiah Richardson is preserved—a very handsome specimen of handwriting—and reads as follows:

"Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

"Council Chamber, Boston, 2d October, 1787.

"This may certify that his excellency the Governor has accepted of the resignation of Josiah Richardson as captain of the 3d company in the 2d Regiment, in the 2d Brigade, and in the 3d Division of the Militia of this Commonwealth, comprehending the County of Middlesex.

"Attest: John Avery, *Jun. Sec'y.*"

Note.—Two undated papers relate to the exciting period of the Shays' Rebellion, and to members of this company. The first contains the statement that Major John Hastings, for Loammi Reed, hired Joseph Eaton; 'Squire Thompson hired John Buxton; Josiah Pierce, for Leonard Richardson, hired John Holden; Rev. Samuel Sargeant hired Edward Wyer; Jeduthun Richardson hired Jeduthun Richardson, Jr.; Samuel Tidd hired Joseph Skinner (3d); Captain Richardson hired Silas Wyman; Ichabod Parker hired James Buz[zell?] Johnson; John Wyman hired William Dickson. These were prominent citizens, evidently hiring men for substitutes or soldiers for the campaign—actual or expected.

The other paper is a letter in the form of a warning to the militia officers and the Selectmen to perform their duty:

"To the Officers in Woburn, Pr. favour of Mr. David Winn:

"East Sudbury, Jany. 21st [1787]. To the Militia Officers and Selectmen of both Parishes in Woburn:

"Gent. You may depend, if your men detached do not join their corps within six days that they will absolutely be sent for and brought to camp, and dealt with as deserters. Wishing that such a disagreeable matter might not take place, beg you to send the men forward.

"William Blanchard, *Capt.*"

The historian McMaster pays a fine tribute to the Massachusetts militia of that period in vol. i., p. 319, of his *History of the People of the United States* in the following words:

"The troops which the State had assembled, while they passed under the name of militia, were very different from the holiday soldiers which could now, in a like emergency, be gathered from the same places. They were an army of veterans. Scarce an officer among them but had gained his rank by meritorious services in the late war. In the ranks marched many men who had taken up arms in the early days of the Revolution, had joined the Continentals and had served with the illustrious chief to the close; had participated in the disastrous retreat along the Hudson, and had been present at the surrender of Yorktown. Even the greenest had seen something of battles and sieges. Some had lined the fences on that memorable day when the British were driven out of Lexington town. Some had stood in the trenches with Warren, and had seen the red-coats twice come up, and twice in confusion go down the slope of Breed's Hill. Others had formed part of the army which had laid siege to Boston, and had looked on with grim pleasure as the ships bearing the troops of Howe stood out to sea."

Note.—For a critical account of the Shays' Rebellion *see* Winsor's *Narr. and Crit. Hist. of Amer*, vol. vii., pp. 227–231. Daniel Shays was its leader. At the last "the militia of the Eastern part of the State was put in motion, and the main body proceeded westward, under Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, to the scene of the chiefest disorder. The supporters of the law presented a front before which the ill-organized mob quailed." Under references this authority cites Minot's *History of the Insurrection in Mass.* as the principal contemporary account, and it is likely the best and most complete, and highly creditable to the author for its fairness and classic literary style. It was published at Boston in 1788; 2d ed. in 1810.

Thompson's *Diary* Woburn, also referred to the insurrection. See copied diary, pp. 72–78, and notes. The author, aged 55, went to Cambridge and saw the "regiments mustered," Nov 1, 1786, alluded to on a previous page; the weather was fair, and on the same day he returned home. He was then a member of the General Court.

Extracts from Samuel Thompson, Esq's., diary, relating to local military affairs after 1780:

Musters.

1784, June 23.—Very hot weather. General muster, Col. Brown's regiment at Chelmsford.

1787, Oct. 18.—Cold, but fair. Regiment mustered at Reading.

1788, Sept. 30.—Cloudy. Regimental muster at Woburn.

1789, Oct. 8.– Good day. Muster at Medford. Went to Boston.

1790, Oct. 7.—Muster at Wilmington, Regimental.

1791, Oct. 6.—At home. Fair, good day. General muster at Waltham.

1794, Oct. 8.—Cloudy some, and muster of Regiment in Town.

1796, Oct. 3.—Cloudy, little rain. Muster at Reading.

1797, Sept. 26.—Cloudy, rain. Muster at Concord. Rain prevented most of their manœuvering.

1798, Oct. 2.—At Probate. No Court. Muster; and [at] Lexington.

1799, Sept. 5.—Militia muster complaints; 5 all settled.

1800, Aug. 27.—Came from Chelmsford. Muster at Concord. Thunder and rain.

1802, Oct. 6.—Fine day. To Cambridge; to Waltham muster.

1803, Sept. 29.—Muster in New Bridge (Home of the Diarist. Fair weather for the occasion). "Muster," he says, "of five companies, one of horse, on my land (the 29th) and Colonel Baldwin's."

This ends all reference in the indexed diary. Later incidents are the following:

1808.—A general muster in Woburn on Benjamin Wyman's plain.

1812.—Another general muster in Woburn. Diarist eighty-one years old.

Legal.

1799, Jan. 8.—Militia cavalry, actions. 1799, Sept. 5.—Militia muster, complaints. See Musters.

Trainings.

1782, July 1.—Training. [Age of Diarist 50 years.] June 3, 1783, Ditto.

[1] "Each soldier was to equip himself with a good fire-arm, having a steel or iron ramrod and spring to retain the same, a worm, a priming-wire and brush, bayonet fitted to his gun, a scabbard with belt therefor . . . a cartridge-box . . . six flints, one pound of powder . . . leaden balls . . . blanket, canteen, or wooden bottle." *The Early Militia System of Massachusetts*, in *Proceedings of Worcester Society of Antiquity*, for 1883, p. 115. For an explanation of the terms *Train Band* and *Alarm List*, and many other matters, see that article.

1786, Dec. 25.—Trainings. The address read. [Having reference to Shays' Rebellion. The diarist being "in Town" was doubtless present. This winter was the severest for many years].

1788, April 28.—Cloudy, rainy. Training. View arms.

1788, June 25.—Rainy, cloudy. Training. West Company.

1790, Sept. 30.—Rainy. Training.

1797, July 4.—Fair, dry; some air. Training. Independence, etc. [Diarist aged 65].

1799, June 17.—Fair. Train. Parish-meeting. Hot.

[The diarist was evidently a member of the East Company; his house being on the east side of the main road which constituted the division line, for taxable and military purposes, between the east and west sections of the town. The weather for the above recorded trainings was not very favorable].

Miscellaneous.

The Diarist alludes to the anniversaries of Lexington and Concord Fight in 1783, 1789 (14 years), 1791, 1793 (18 years), 1794 (19 years).

1799, July 22.—Fair, good weather. Brigade officers met at A. Thompson's [Abijah Thompson then keeping a public house.[1]]

Captain Baldwin's Company, 1802.—There is extant a printed blank containing a return of Captain B. F. Baldwin's company in the 2d Regt., 1st Brig., 3d Div. of militia, 1802. We have not space for all the details given, but a few will suffice. The officers were a captain, a lieutenant and an ensign. There was one sergeant, five drummers and fifers, and fifty-three rank and file. The company was evidently ununiformed. There is a muster roll extant of the same company, under the same captain, also dated 1802. It is on a printed blank. The company is one of foot, and reasonably well equipped. We would gladly, had we room, give the names of all. The following were the names of the sergeants and musicians: Sergeants, 1. Josiah Richardson (3d); 2. Henry Parker; 3. Randolph Wyman; 4. Daniel Johnson. Musicians,—John Edgell and Peter W. Edgell, drummers; Charles Thompson, Joshua Richardson, Caleb Richardson, Jesse Brown and James Locke, fifers.

Cavalry Company.—In 1797 a company of this arm, composed of men from Woburn, Reading and Wilmington, was formed, Benjamin Wyman being the captain. On parade they looked finely, in a uniform composed of a scarlet coat trimmed with yellow, buff vests, buckskin pants, high boots, and a bearskin hat with a tall, red plume. The second captain was John Symmes, and other captains were Noah Smith, Bill Russell, George W. Reed, Josiah Locke, —— Stanley, of Wilmington, Thomas Emerson and Isaac Upton, of Reading, Sewall Winn, of Wakefield (or South Reading), Jonas Parker and David Damon, of Reading, in 1822 and 1824, and the last captain, Samuel Leathe, of Woburn, who commanded in 1825. A roll of this company is said to exist. In 1828 it was formally disbanded. Cf. *Woburn Budget*, Nov. 4, 1859.

Washington Light Infantry.—About 1823 Woburn had some members in an independent rifle company in Reading. Being about eighteen in number, they thought Woburn might afford an independent company of the same kind. Others joined them, and a charter was granted July 5, 1823. It became quite popular. The uniform consisted of a blue coat with narrow skirts, trimmed with gold lace; white pants, and leather bell-top hat, surmounted with a black plume twenty-two inches long. It was attached to the first brigade, third division. On the 4th of July, 1824, the company was presented with a standard by the ladies of Woburn. The company was present at the reception of Lafayette, in Boston, in 1824. Its captains were Jeremiah Converse, Jr., commissioned Aug. 18, 1824; James Jaques, of Wilmington, afterwards colonel; Edmund Parker, afterwards of Winchester, and Marshall Tidd, the last captain of the company. The company was disbanded Oct. 13, 1834, being the last of the old organizations before the advent of the present Woburn Mechanic Phalanx. Cf. *Woburn Budget*, Nov. 11, 1859.

A request from Jeremiah Converse, Jr., captain of the *Washington Infantry*, to the selectmen, is preserved, asking for powder for muster for the Woburn members of that company. The request is dated Sept. 25, 1824. The powder comprising the town's stock was, at that date, kept in the brick powder-house still remaining on Powder-house Hill, near the Common and old burying-ground in Woburn. This has been a familiar object in the landscape for many years. On Nov. 4, 1811, the town voted to build a magazine to keep the town stock of powder in. The committee chosen to build it were Col. Benjamin F. Baldwin, Major Benjamin Wyman, and Capt. William Fox. It was ordered to be built of brick. Its site was selected by the committee, and the spot was convenient and was safe in case of an explosion. It appears to be finished after March 23, 1812. Bricks were brought from Medford for its construction, and by Sept. 2, 1812, the bricks and lumber left at the magazine after its completion were disposed of, and the fences repaired, showing that by that time it was completed. About 1820 it was repaired. It stands on public land, and may soon be removed. It has not been in use for many years. For a fuller account of the expenses of building it, see an article on the subject in *Woburn Journal* for Jan. 26, 1883.

Woburn Mechanic Phalanx.—The history of this company is very fully written to 1859, in the *Woburn Budget* articles, commencing Nov. 18, 1859. We have space only for a brief compendium of the information there obtained. It was a volunteer corps in distinction from the compulsory training of the old militia. In its earlier days it was distinguished for its proficiency in drill, and bore a good reputation in the general volunteer militia of the State. It was formed in the year 1835,—the State authorizing its formation on July 6, 1835, as a new company of light infantry in the second regiment, first brigade, third division, and Sergt. Charles L. Moore was directed to assemble the company at the vestry of Rev. Mr. Bennett's meeting-house, in Woburn, on Thursday, Oct. 1, 1835, at 3 P.M., for the purpose of electing a captain, lieutenant and ensign for the said company. Oct. 1, 1835, is therefore considered the birthday of this company. Samuel B. White was the first captain. Other captains were William Woodberry,

[1] This statement is verified by the *Thompson Memorial*, pp. 51, 52. On Feb. 22, 1799, while the Diarist was at General Court, Boston, he records the fact that it was "Gen'l Washington's Birthday," and that cannon were fired [at Boston], etc., and that the day was unpleasant, there being a "frozen rain."

Charles Carter, Jonathan Bowers Winn, Walter Wyman, Albert Thompson, Timothy Winn, William T. Grammer, Charles S. Converse, Abijah F. Thompson, Cyrus Tay, Edwin F. Wyer, Luke R. Tidd, Alonzo L. Richardson, John W. Ellard, Charles W. Converse, George M. Buchanan, George A. Simonds, Horace N. Conn, and William C. Parker, the present commander. For many years its designation has been Company G, Fifth Massachusetts Regiment, and in the war between the States, 1861–65, it accompanied that regiment on two tours of active service,—one of nine months and another of one hundred days. The account of the service of the company during that period belongs to another part of this sketch. In 1842 the ladies of Woburn presented the company with a standard. On the 27th of Feb., 1856, the company held a grand ball in the Lyceum Hall, on the completion of that building. On Oct. 1, 1885, it celebrated its fiftieth anniversary by a grand parade of its present and past members, and a banquet. Cf. *Woburn Journal*, Oct. 2, 1885; *Advertiser*, Oct. 8, 1885.

The *Budget* articles describe the early uniforms of the company. In 1849 a notable uniform was adopted, which was worn by the company for about ten years. It was doubtless the most attractive and popular uniform the company ever had, but not the most useful for active service. It consisted of a tall black bearskin hat with a handsome gilt tassel, of a gray suit with white facings and white stripes, white cross-belts and epaulets, and an abundance of gilt buttons and gilded ornaments. Its drill, at this time, was of a high degree of excellence. Timothy Winn was its ruling spirit and popular commander; B. F. Wyer and John Robbins its constant and able field music, —Wyer, its drummer and Robbins, its fifer. This was the company of the writer's boyhood, which fired his military ardor and gave him his ideal of what a military organization was. With the opening of the war of 1861 a gray uniform with black facings and stripes was adopted, minus the great bearskin of yore, which was so impressive to the youthful spectator, and excited his wonder how one could wear so apparently heavy and certainly *hot* article of headgear. The company at this time drilled daily for weeks in the public streets, and the four squads could be seen constantly passing and repassing.

Benjamin Edgell.—The interesting details already alluded to as referring to him are described at length in the index to the Wyman *Collection of MSS.* in the Woburn Public Library, pp. 215–221.

First and principally, there is an account-book containing a journal, much bescribbled and tallow stained, of a cruise of Benjamin Edgell to the West Indies, in the privateer "Pownall," of Massachusetts, from Dec. 8, 1757, to June 24, 1758. He appears to have worked for Isaac Stone, of Lexington, from Aug., 1755, to Nov., 1757. In the journal are given the names of all the islands visited in the course of cruising for French vessels. On one occasion there was a blood red eclipse of the moon (Jan. 24, 1758), the times of its appearing and disappearing being given. They were forced to keep out of the way of two men-of-war vessels, one a sixty and the other a fifty-gun ship. On the 10th of February they met with a Spanish sloop, which for want of proper papers became their prize. She was loaded with sugar, coffee and indigo, and was sent to Boston. Soon afterwards they captured two Dutch ships, which they examined for contraband French articles, but finding nothing the captain ordered them discharged. The name of the "Pownall's" captain was Sample. The Dutch ships did not thus easily escape, for two sloops, cruising, in company with the "Pownall," at the moment, took possession of them. Later on, in company with a ship of sixteen carriage guns, under Captain Semer,[1] of New York, they pursued several sail, March 10th, which, being French, tried to evade pursuit. After a difficult chase Captain Semer's ship came alongside the hindermost. His ship, being newly cleaned, shot ahead about a cannon-shot, and received a broadside from the "French ship," which carried twenty-two guns of the same kind as Semer's ship, which returned the fire, when the French struck their colors; and, thereupon, the magazine of the French vessel taking fire, blew up their ship; but whether accidentally or on purpose was not known, it being thought the captain did it to be revenged. The ship's quarter deck, mizzen-masts and sails, main-sails, all to her fore-sails were blown to some distance from her, and immediately she filled and sunk. Some of the men were swimming and some were floating on pieces of the wreck after she sunk. The launch of the "Pownall," being sent earlier in the day to watch the motion of the sail, returning, rescued ten of these men, the others all being lost, there being between seventy and eighty men on board the French ship. Several of those taken into the launch had their skins almost burned off. Captain Semer's vessel was damaged some by the broadside, and some by the ship when she blew up, and being somewhat disabled, he turned aside in pursuit of a large top-sail schooner that put before the wind. The "Pownall" following the remaining sail of the enemy, came alongside another ship and engaged it near three glasses—meaning *hour-glasses*—before it struck. The enemy's ship had several men killed and wounded, and the greater part of her rigging cut away. The rigging of the "Pownall" was shattered considerably, but not one of her men was killed or wounded. The enemy's vessel had eighteen six-pounders and seventy men. Owing to the abandonment of the chase by Captain Semer, and night coming on, the remaining sail getting close in with the shore, got clear. Other adventures of the "Pownall" are described in the journal, which is copied in full in the "Wyman Index." After a complete refitting of the "Pownall" at one of the islands, on the first day of May, she gave chase, while cruising, to a swift-sailing brig, but after a chase of several hours she got near enough to fire a shot, and thereupon the craft hoisted French colors and returned the fire. After firing thirty or forty shots from her stern-chasers at the "Pownall" before that vessel came alongside, the French craft struck. She was loaded with wine and flour, and proved a valuable prize. On June 2d they took a French privateer schooner. On the 7th they set sail for Boston; on the 23d they made land in New England, and on the 24th day of June, 1758, in the morning, they came to an anchor at Boston.

"Jamaica, March the 10th, 1758,"—entered in the journal as *Jamoca* —was therefore a red-letter day in Benjamin Edgell's annals. On that day occurred the great battle with the French fleet, already described above. The home of Edgell at this time was apparently "Lexington in New England," as he records it. Here he again works for Isaac Stone from June, 1758, to April, 1759. He again started out on a course of adventure in the French War, arriving May 16, 1759, at Albany, to be an assistant to Cutler, the sutler. Here he remained till Nov. 20, 1759. From Dec., 1759, to May 20, 1760, he is again with Stone at Lexington. From June, 1760, to Nov. 18, 1760, he was at Albany and vicinity. On Dec. 23, 1760, he was at Worcester, and from March, 1761, to March, 1762, again with Stone at Lexington. He thus evinced in early life some enterprising characteristics. About 1768 he settled in Woburn.

"Albany, May 31, 1759," he says, "I went to Cutler, the Sutler.' On the 22d inst. previous, he appears to have engaged himself to a person named Cooper. If this was so, he appears to have made a brief stay with him only. The name of Cutler, the Sutler, was Jonas Cutler. He mentions Fort Miller, Fort Edward, Crown Point and other places in his accounts. Under date of Albany, May 31, 1759, he states: "Jonas Cutler is debtor to Benjamin Edgell the sum of ten dollars, York money, or £4. On another occasion Robert Dunkley, belonging to Captain Bancroft's company, was "Debtor to 1 Pint Rum, 0 : 1 : 6." The book itself is a rich mine of names and

[1] Perhaps Seymour.

accounts. His house at Woburn was the centre of much business and resort. For instance: "Doct. Blodget came June 20, 1769. David Fisk came Feb. 11, 1771. Doct. Blodget left on July 20, 1772"—apparently boarders. "Amos Blodget, Jr, began his year with me June 12, 1777; Amos Blodget engaged in the Army Aug. 18, 1777; John Fenton, Esq., engaged my house Sept. 19, 1775, and came Nov. 15,"—the latter apparently a refugee from Boston, then in a state of siege. John Fenton, Captain and "Esq." of Boston, is mentioned in Wyman's *Charlestown Geneal. and Estates*, p. 343. His house stood on the site of the present house of Dr. Harlow on Main Street.

Before the Baptist Society of Woburn had erected their first meeting-house—their first meeting in their new meeting-house being on July 20, 1794—their meetings were held, as is well known, in Benjamin Edgell's house, at Central Square. He has entered in his book of accounts statements to the effect that "the Society met at my house, 1792, April to December, two Sabbaths each month. From April, 1792, to April 27, 1791, 38 Sabbaths. In May, June and July, 1794, two Sabbaths each month; total, 44 Sabbaths."

The book also contains a record of the births of his children.

His wife was a daughter of Peter Wyman, and "Peter Wyman's Hill," in the rear of his Central Square house, which was the homestead of his wife's father's family, was recently dug away for railroad purposes, its soil being used for the road-bed.

From the fact that Doctor Samuel Blodgett was an inmate of his house during his first stay in Woburn—for three years and one month (1769–1772)—the inference is that Doctor Blodgett was introduced by him to Woburn, and that Blodgett was originally one of the numerous Blodgett family of Lexington, where Edgell may have enjoyed his previous acquaintance, or may be relationship. This matter is taken up more fully under the notice of Doctor Blodgett, elsewhere. See PHYSICIANS.

Captain Benjamin Edgell's estate, scheduled in list of 1798, consisted of 1 dwelling-house, 37x28, with 18 windows; house of 2 stories, with ½ acre of land adjoining, the chimney not finished; 1 farm of 10 acres, north on the road, east on Jeremiah Clapp, south on Josiah Converse, west on Major Clapp; 1 barn on said land; 2 lots elsewhere, and 2 acres of salt-marsh in Medford. Captain Benjamin Edgell had 19 acres; value $900 in 1801.

His house stood on the estate recently Marcellus Burnham's (1889) at Central Square.

WOBURN IN THE CIVIL WAR OF 1861–1865.—The "war is inevitable; let it come." These are the words at the beginning of an editorial in the *Woburn Weekly Budget* for Friday, April 19, 1861. The same issue of the paper says Woburn was "wide awake," a large and enthusiastic meeting being held in the Lyceum Hall the evening of the 18th inst., to consider the subject of raising a military company. At this meeting Capt., afterwards Col., W. T. Grammer, stated that it was desirable that Woburn should contribute her portion towards the support of the government, and proposed to revive the Phalanx—then in desuetude—and raise a company of eighty men. Enlistment papers were then opened and eighteen past members of the Phalanx signed; forty other names were procured the same evening, and $3350 was raised by subscription at the same meeting. The war feeling was very general, and unbounded enthusiasm prevailed. The subscribers to the above amount are named in the issue of the paper of the above date. There is also an article on the rise and progress of the war, and items referring to it, principally the departure of the Stoneham military company for the seat of hostilities, with the names of its members. The issue of the *Budget* for April 26, following, contains a list of still further contributions, and contains two printed local sermons on the war and other items having reference to the progress of the war. More than enough men were found ready to join the Phalanx, and that company had begun to drill every day and evening. The officers were chosen informally at first, and Timothy Winn was captain, and W. T. Grammer, C. S. Converse, E. F. Wyer and T. Glynn lieutenants, and Luke R. Tidd orderly sergeant. The uniform adopted was a jacket and pants of gray cloth, trimmed with black. A small French cap corresponded with the rest in color. Under "Stoneham news," in the same number of the paper, is an account of the experience of the Stoneham company in their bloody passage through Baltimore on April 19, 1861.[1] The fire-engine companies began drilling as a home-guard, and flags were put up by citizens very generally as a token of patriotism.

Some trouble about the Phalanx being summoned as a company to join a New York regiment in Brooklyn, N. Y., is explained in the issue of the *Budget* for June 7, 1861. The delay in being ordered out served to break up the company. A portion of it, however, volunteered, and left town on June 10 and 11, 1861, for the scene of service, the first section, under Sergt. John P. Crane, being accompanied to their quarters in Boston by an escort. This section expected to join a New York regiment. The second, and much smaller detachment, expected to join the 5th Massachusetts regiment in Washington. An account of the proceedings at their departure and the lists of their names are to be found in the *Budget* for June 14, 1861. As before, those who went to New York to join a regiment of that State experienced great dissatisfaction, while the Washington party experienced greater success.

On Wednesday, June 19, 1861, was a famous "training day" in Woburn. What was left of the Phalanx turned out for a target shoot, and before that parade was ended, late in the afternoon, the Stoneham Gray Eagles unexpectedly visited Woburn under Capt. J. P. Gould, a regularly educated military officer. This company surprised the Woburn people by their excellence in plain and fancy drilling, of which they gave an exhibition, and their coming excited great enthusiasm. Cf. *Woburn Budget*, June 21, 1861. On the 18th, ten more members of the Phalanx had left town for Washington, to recruit the Fifth Regiment, after the manner of the eleven who went the week before, and who had succeeded in joining the regiment.

The troubles of the "Yonkers Squad," or the thirty-seven men who went to New York to join the volunteers of that State, are detailed in communications in the *Woburn Budget* for June 21, 1861. Most of these men joined the First and Fifth Massachusetts

[1] In the issue of the *Budget* for May 3, 1861, is a long letter from the lieutenant of the Stoneham company, describing the events of the 19th of April, etc., and in the *Woburn Journal* for April 27, 1861, are other interesting letters from members of the Stoneham company on the same subject. The papers from this time forward are full of letters from the seat of war.

Regiments. There were twenty-seven of the Phalanx in the Fifth Regiment on June 24, 1861. A list of the names of the Woburn soldiers to date is presented in the *Budget* for June 28, 1861. An attempt to revive the Phalanx, consisting of forty members only, by the departure of members, was made at this period, but it was not successful, and on July 6, 1861, it was disbanded by an order from the State. Attempts were immediately made to raise another company. This company was the Woburn Union Guard.

In the battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861, the Fifth Regiment took part, and consequently, the Woburn men in it. But one was hurt and he not seriously—Robert Pemberton. In the *Budget* for Aug. 2, 1861, is an account of the reception of these men and others in Woburn, on the close of their term of three months' service, a celebration being held on Wednesday, July 31st, previous.

Woburn Union Guard.—This company was organized at Woburn, July 27, 1861, and Samuel I. Thompson was chosen captain, and John P. Crane, first lieutenant. This company was soon sent into camp. Though not large in numbers, it was determined to go, if they could be received, and recruit on the field. Strong efforts were made to get a position in some regiment and they were successful. The command was first attached to the Nineteenth Regiment, then encamped at Lynnfield. The number of men was about forty. On Wednesday noon, Aug. 7th, the company assembled in the Town Hall, which for a week past had been used as a drill hall, and marched from there directly to the depot, where they took the cars at 1.15. A large concourse of citizens accompanied them there. This was the first detachment of soldiers from Woburn that left town as a company. Their names are given in the *Woburn Budget* for Aug. 9, 1861. A description of the camp is given in the *Budget* for Aug. 16, 1861. The company was soon afterwards transferred to another regiment, and on September 16th was attached to the Twenty-second Regiment, Col. Henry Wilson's, and left for the seat of war Oct. 8, 1861. The majority of the company were Woburn men, and the company had been rendered efficient by a camp duty of two months at Lynnfield before their departure. Before this company had left, talk was made of forming a second company from Woburn, and on Sept. 27, 1861, the report was that twenty-nine names were upon the enlistment paper; at that time it was estimated that with this proposed company, Woburn would have as good as three companies in the field, because, besides the two companies not yet gone, there were about seventy-five other Woburn men then serving in other regiments.

An account of the departure of the Woburn Union Guard to the war is given in the *Budget* for Oct. 11, 1861, and also a roll of the men's names. There were 104 men in the company, of which number Woburn sent forty-seven. There were six Woburn men in the Twenty-second Regiment besides those in this company, whose regimental designation was Co. F. These were E. Hackett, commissary sergeant, J. K. Richardson and Alonzo Teel, in Co. D, and Cornelius and Thomas Connolly and Patrick Kelly in Co. G. A letter from one of the members of the Union Guard, giving an account of their journey, is published in the *Budget* for Oct. 25, 1861. As the career of this company is very fully described by one of its members, John L. Parker, in his "History of the Twenty-second Regiment," it is not necessary to go any further with it here. Mr. Parker joined the company at the front, and began letters in his paper, the *Woburn Budget*, in the issue for Dec. 13, 1861, which were continued for some time, giving a very minute account of the doings of the company from day to day. A full list of all persons in any way connected with the army or navy from Woburn was published in the same paper for the first time on Jan. 10, 1862. The total number of persons engaged in the service then had been 269. Among them were one surgeon, S. W. Drew, 9th Regt.; one major, E. Burbank, 12th Regt.; two captains, J. W. McDonald, 11th Regt, and S. I. Thompson, 22d Regt.; two first lieutenants, J. P. Crane, 22d Regt., and Cyrus Tay, 1st Battalion; and one assistant surgeon U. S. Navy, S. W. Abbott. To the list of commissioned officers thus given were added later, G. W. Batchelder, lieutenant 19th Regt.; John Wallace, captain or lieutenant of receiving-ship "Ohio;" and E. F. Wyer, first lieutenant 1st Battalion. In the battles before Richmond at this period the casualties to Woburn soldiers were numerous, and lists of those injured were given in the *Budget* for July 11–18, 1862. In July, 1862, enlistments received a new impetus from a call for troops by the General Government, and an attempt was again made, and successfully, to raise a full company from Woburn. This company was the Woburn National Rangers.

The brave Captain Samuel I. Thompson having received a fatal wound in battle, and experienced imprisonment by the enemy and a release and transportation to Baltimore, died there in the presence of his wife, and his body was brought to Woburn for interment. A tribute was paid to his bravery and ability in the *Budget* for August 1st, and an obituary and arrangement for his funeral procession appeared in the *Budget* for August 8, 1862. For account of his funeral see *Budget* for August 15, 1862.[1]

The first death of a soldier of Woburn birth among the Woburn volunteers in the war was that of a member of Captain Thompson's company, viz.: Andrew J. Harris, who died of disease March 2, 1862, aged nineteen years. In the same battle in which Captain Thompson received his fatal wound, was killed his son, Corporal F. W. Thompson, aged seventeen years.

[1] Cf. *Thompson Memorial*, pp. 172-174.

John P. Crane succeeded S. I. Thompson as captain of this company in August, 1862. The Union Guard was reduced by losses to nine members (*per Townsman* of June 24, 1864). The return of the Twenty-second Regiment is the subject of an article in the *Woburn Journal* for October 15, 1864. But one person belonging to the regiment—Charles Day—arrived in Woburn, and the celebration that had been prepared was all in his honor.

The Twenty-second Massachusetts Regiment was one of the leading infantry regiments, in point of numerical loss in the Union armies, during the war. Its total in killed or died of wounds was 216. It can fairly claim the honor of having encountered the hardest fighting in the war. Its per cent. of loss was 15.5, while the highest per cent. stated was 19.7. Its loss in killed at Gaines' Mill was 84. Company F's loss in killed and died of wounds during its service was,—officers, 1; men, 20; total, 21. Died of disease, accidents, in prison, etc., men, 10. Total enrollment, 131. Its list of battles is a long one, including Gaines' Mill, Malvern Hill, Gettysburg, Wilderness and Spottsylvania. It was stationed for a time at Hall's Hill, Va., and in March, 1862, commenced active service in the Peninsular army. Bealton, Va., was its winter-quarters afterwards. The Thirty-second Regiment, in which was a number of Woburn men, appropriated its remnants. *Cf.* Fox, *Regimental Losses*, etc.

During the term of the Twenty-second Regiment in service, John P. Crane was made captain and William R. Bennett first lieutenant, the latter having been second lieutenant. Both of these officers were of Woburn.

In the Thirty-second Regiment Woburn had three captains—Cyrus Tay, John E. Tidd and Joseph S. Wyman—all of whom had been lieutenants.

Woburn National Rangers.—This company of 101 men was raised in Woburn in the space of fifteen days, and sent to camp. The election of officers resulted in the making of John I. Richardson captain, Luke R. Tidd first lieutenant and James McFeely second lieutenant. On August 5, 1862, the company started for camp at Lynnfield. A roll of this company was published in the *Budget* for August 29, 1862. At this time L. F. Wyman was second lieutenant of the company, Mr. McFeely having resigned, and the company had 5 sergeants, 8 corporals, 2 musicians, 1 wagoner and the regulation number of privates. This company was attached to the Thirty-ninth Regiment (three years' troops), and left with the regiment for Washington on September 6, 1862. Its company letter was K. A history of this company by one of its members is published in the *Budget* for September 4, 1863.[1] To this time two members only had died. This company suffered much in the battles of May, 1864, and a large number of the company were made prisoners August 19, 1864. The *Journal* for October 8, 1864, stated that this company then numbered for duty, 10 privates, 5 corporals and 2 sergeants. A reception at Woburn of Co. K, 39th regt., is mentioned in the *Journal* on June 3, 1865. On June 6 and 7 the members of Co. K, 39th, arrived, and on June 8 Co. B, 11th regt., arrived in town. See *Journal* for June 10, 1865, in which a particular roll of Co. K, man by man, is published.

A history of Co. K, 39th, was printed in the *Journal* for June 17, 1865. The company and regiment both sustained unusually heavy losses by deaths in Confederate prisons. The deaths in the 39th during the war (279) included 102 in the enemy's prisons, the regiment having lost 246 men captured in the battle at the Weldon Railroad.—*Fox.* Its first destination was Washington; 2d, Arlington Heights; 3d, Edward's Ferry, etc. It remained in the vicinity of Washington for some time, and afterwards joined the Army of the Potomac. Its principal battles were Spottsylvania, Va., May 8–13, 1864, and Weldon Railroad, Va., August 19, 1864. According to the local paper, June 10, 1865, the company's death losses were 6 killed; died of wounds, 6; of disease, 5; in prison, 13.

During the term of service of this company Luke R. Tidd became captain, Luther F. Wyman 1st lieut., Charles K. Conn 1st lieut., William McDevitt 1st lieut., George E. Fowle 1st lieut., Oscar Persons 2d lieut., George H. Dennett 2d lieut., all of Woburn.

The Nine Months' Company, or the Woburn Mechanic Phalanx.—On August 14, 1862, the formation of another volunteer company from Woburn was begun. This was to be a company of nine months' men, and it chose for its commissioned officers, W. T. Grammer, capt.; C. S. Converse, 1st lieut.; W. A. Colegate, 2d lieut. It was enrolled also as a part of the volunteer militia of the State, and was to be known as Co. G, 5th regt. Lists of the names enrolled are given in the *Budget* for August 29, 1862, and September 12, 1862, the company having left for camp at Wenham, on the 10th inst., preceding. A roll of honor of Cos. K, 39th regt., and G, 5th regt., was published in the issue of the *Budget* for October 3, 1862.

The local war spirit was kept up in a measure at this time by such organizations as the Rifle Club (Nov. 15, 1861); the Woburn Brass Band (July 18, 1862); Soldiers' Aid Societies (1863); a juvenile military company at the Warren Academy, furnished with muskets by the trustees (June 5, 1863), a precursor of the more recent High School battalion; the Woburn State Guard (Aug. 28, 1863), an organization of old men, of which T. J. Pierce was captain;[2] and war meetings (Dec. 1863, etc.).

The Phalanx returned from their term of service and were received in Woburn on June 26, 1863. For

[1] Cf. *Townsman*, March 4, 1864.

[2] A roll of this company was published in the *Journal* for Aug. 13, 1864. The captain was T. J. Pierce, and the 1st lieutenant Charles Carter, and the 2d lieutenant E. F. Poole.

an extended account of their reception, see the *Woburn Budget* for July 3d, following. The company left Woburn nine months previous, with one hundred and one men, and *every one* of them returned safe home again, without a wound or a loss of a man or a life. The nine months' term of the Fifth Regiment, beginning September, 1862, was expended in active service in the Department of North Carolina, at Newbern, etc. Co. G was detailed on February 21, 1863, as garrison for Forts Hatteras and Clark, at Hatteras Inlet, where it remained till the return of the regiment to Massachusetts.

One Hundred Days' Company, or the Woburn Mechanic Phalanx.—On July 6, 1864, on a call for 100 days' men, the Phalanx voted to recruit the company to its full number.—*Townsman*, July 8, 1864. Fifty-eight men were recruited by July 15th, and a roll of 100 days' Woburn men was published in the *Townsman* for July 22, 1864. Sixty of them had already left town for camp the day previous. The roll of the company as an organization was published in the issue of the above paper for July 29th, the company having left for the seat of war July 28, 1864. William T. Grammer, who commanded the company when it went into camp, was made major of the regiment. The commissioned officers of the company were C. S. Converse, capt.; E. F. Wyer, 1st lieut.; and C. E. Fuller, 2d lieut. There were fifty-three Woburn men in the company, and the company went to Baltimore, where the regiment went also, and was stationed there, or in that vicinity, during its term of service. Letters from members to the local papers give an idea of the character of that service. It was not especially dangerous. The company arrived home November 8, 1864, at 7 A.M., and a reception was accorded them by the Woburn citizens. See *Journal* for Nov. 12, 1864. Two of the company died during its absence, of disease, and another of the same cause, soon after its return. Edwin F. Wyer was made adjutant of the regiment during its term, Charles E. Fuller 1st lieut., and Montressor S. Seeley, 2d lieut.

The Harris Guard.—First mentioned in the *Journal* for October 15, 1864, as recruiting at Galloupe's Island, in Boston Harbor, as a company in the 11th regt., hailing mostly from Woburn and Andover. The company was Co. B, and its captain was William R. Bennett, of Woburn, and 2d lieut., John L. Parker, of Woburn, both formerly of Co. F, 22d regt. An account of the doings of this company, in a letter from one of its members, appeared in the *Woburn Journal* for March 25, 1865. It arrived home on June 8, 1865, and a history of it was given in the *Journal*, June 17, 1865. See also issue for June 10, 1865.

This company left Galloupe's Island October 31, 1864, and reached the front, at Petersburg, November 4. Immediately its active duties, under fire, commenced. It was in the famous Weldon raid, and frequently in battle the whole of its stay in the field.

Among the field officers of the 11th regt. was James W. McDonald, major, Woburn, promoted from captain, having previously been 1st lieut. John L. Parker was promoted to 1st lieut. in this regiment, and Charles A. McDonald, of Woburn, was a 2d lieut. in it.

In December, 1862, was chronicled the death of Major Burbank, of the 12th regt. He was wounded at the battle of Antietam, and died of his wounds in hospital. His remains were brought to Woburn for burial. Funeral from the Unitarian Church. Cf. *Woburn Budget*, December 5, 1862, and January 23, 1863.

In July, 1863, occurred the draft mentioned in the *Budget* under date of July 10th; the *Budget* extra of July 14th, containing the names of 104 men drafted in Woburn—list repeated in issue of July 17. On account of the draft riot in Boston, at this time, the Phalanx was assembled, to be in readiness for action, if needed, and examinations of conscripts are alluded to in the *Budget* for August 14, and September 4, 1863. The funeral of Capt. William M. Buckman, a soldier in the war, occurred about this time, from the Baptist Church, his body having been brought home. See *Budget* issues for November 13 and 20, 1863. War meetings to fill quota were frequent during the winter of 1863 and 1864, and the names of those in last quota from Woburn were published in the *Townsman* for February 19, 1864, and *Journal* for January 9, 1864; also lists of Woburn soldiers on duty with their regiments, in *Townsman* for March 18 and 25, 1864. In the spring of 1864 the 59th regt. had on its rolls some 30 men from Woburn, including one lieut. and two sergts. See *Townsman* for April 22, 1864, for their names, and *Townsman* for April 29th, following, for their departure.[1] The *Townsman* notes a training and inspection of the Woburn State Guard, 67 guns, in the streets of Woburn, under their captain, Thos. J. Pierce, in the number for May 6, 1864. But deeper anxiety was to rest upon the town from the effects of the war than from anything that had yet occurred. In an extra of the *Townsman* for May 17, 1864, intended to explain the situation of the draft in Woburn of 31 men, whose names are given, was proclaimed the news that 41 or more Woburn men were killed, wounded and missing in the recent battles in Virginia, and a list of names was given. This was followed by an article on the Woburn men in the

[1] The 59th Regt. was in action before Petersburg, Va., June 17–18, 1864, when its aggregate in killed, wounded and missing was 74. Its total deaths in the service was 184.—*Fox.* The lieutenant in this regiment from Woburn, George J. Morse, was killed in battle May 12, 1864. Woburn furnished three majors in the service—Grammer, 5th; McDonald, 11th; and Burbank, 12th. The medical profession was represented by three members—Drew, Abbott (army and navy) and Jameson, —all surgeons, ranking as majors. Among the captains, not mentioned elsewhere in this sketch, may be named T. F. Page, A. W. Persons, O. B. Darling, and others; but an attempt at further specification might lead to errors and omissions, so the writer will be pardoned if he refers the reader for further information to Barrett's list, mentioned in a note at the end of this section.

recent battles, in the issue of the *Townsman* for May 20th. The casualties, though bad enough, were somewhat overstated. The matter of the losses in battle was continued in the *Townsman* for May 27, 1864. The draft was further treated in an article on May 20, 1864, and in an extra of the *Townsman* for May 21 the announcement was made that the quota was filled by 30 men procured by the town's agents at Washington, and their names were given in a following number of that paper. During the summer of 1864 many of the three years' regiments returned at the expiration of their term of service, and their members, many of them, did not re-enlist, but continued to remain at home. The papers of the time are full of the subject. War meetings, however, were renewed, and recruiting, after the departure of the Phalanx for 100 days' service, was vigorously prosecuted in August, 1864, in view of a threatened draft. A corrected list of enrolled men in Woburn was published in an extra of the *Townsman* August 31, 1864, and a list of volunteers, under the recent call, in the *Journal* for September 10, 1864. Capt. John I. Richardson, who commanded Co. K, 39th regt., when it entered the war, and who was honorably discharged, for ill-health, died at his residence, in Woburn, October 1, 1864, and an account of his funeral is given in the *Journal* of October 8th, following.

Woburn shared in the general rejoicing at the end of the war, but military items continued to appear in the local papers till long after peace had been accomplished. Soldiers constantly returned from the seat of action throughout the summer of 1865, and the interest in them did not wholly abate. As a final echo of the war spirit, on June 6, 1865, an election of officers was held in the town for the "64th unattached company infantry, Mass. volunteer militia." The company was duly commissioned, and 98 men had signed the roll before June 10, 1865, when an account of it was given in the *Journal*. Its captain was John Powers; 1st lieut., James Shehan; 2d lieut., John Murphy, but nothing further was done to perfect it.

NOTE.—In the foregoing cursory sketch of Woburn's doings during the Civil War of 1861–65, the newspapers on which we have mainly relied for facts have been the *Woburn Budget* and *Townsman*. The *Woburn Journal* for the same period may also be consulted with profit for the same purpose. The annual town reports contain also considerable information concerning military expenses, and the names of men sent into the service—*e. g.*, 1862, pp. 28–34; 1863, pp. 28–39; 1864, pp. 39–46; 1865, pp. 54, 57, 58, etc.; 1866, pp. 38–42. Lists of wounded soldiers and of prisoners and missing during 1864 were published in the report for 1865, pp. 18–19; and the names and sketches of the soldiers who had died from 1861–65 from Woburn are published in the report for 1865, pp. 20–30; also 1866, p. 15. Other subjects connected with the war, such as recruiting expenses, etc., are mentioned in the report for 1865, pp. 65, 89–93. The expenditures of the town incident to the late war are enumerated in the report for 1870, p. 19, also the number of men raised for the army and navy during that time. The number of the latter was 775. Number killed in battle, 21; died in Confederate prisons, 17; died of wounds, 17; died of disease, 27; total deaths, 82. The report of the committee on the soldiers' monument was presented in the annual report for 1870, pp. 98–125. It contained a history of the enterprise, a description of the monument, the inscriptions, the exercises at its dedication, Oct. 14, 1869, and the addresses. A roster of the soldiers and sailors from the town in the war, compiled by Albert P. Barrett, was published in the *Woburn Journal*, beginning March 27, 1880. This publication of Mr. Barrett's may be consulted with profit by all who desire to inform themselves of the military record of individuals.

LIBRARIES.—THE WOBURN PUBLIC LIBRARY.[1]—The Woburn public library was founded through the liberality of the Hon. Jonathan Bowers Winn and his only son. The father had been a country schoolmaster and possessed a genius for finance, which he later developed in the prosecution of the leather industry, in which business he made for himself and others connected with him a fortune of considerable magnitude, much of which was bequeathed for benevolent objects. An only daughter, the wife of the Hon. Edward D. Hayden, late a member of Congress, died a number of years before her father, and the only son, Charles Bowers Winn, unmarried, survived the father but a short time, and died, the last member of his father's immediate family, at the early age of thirty-seven. The family of Winn had been prominent in the annals of the town from the time of its first settlement, and the first-born child recorded in Woburn was Increase Winn, born December 5, 1641. Many were the offices of a civil and military nature which the members of this family held in the town; and when the munificent donations of Jonathan Bowers and Charles Bowers Winn are included in the estimate, no family can be said to have done so much for Woburn as this old and well-known family of Winn.

There had been other libraries of a public nature in the town, before the library known as the Woburn public library had been thought of. A social library, founded in 1789, existed for quite a period. A charitable religious library, founded in 1807, and now but little used, is still preserved intact. A young men's library, founded about 1835, was in use for a while, but has been for the most part incorporated with the present public library. This library was remarkable in one respect, that it contained no religious works or novels. Other libraries of minor importance might be mentioned if it were necessary. But all these were subscription libraries, and not open free to all comers.

[1] From the *New England Magazine* for Feb., 1890.

In 1853, the Hon. Jonathan Bowers Winn was a member of the convention for the revision of the constitution of the state of Massachusetts, and at a town-meeting in Woburn in November, 1854, he, having informally introduced the subject of a free public library, offered to give for that object the money he had received as a member of the state convention, provided the town itself would appropriate a like sum for the same purpose. The project met with a favorable reception, the offer was accepted by the town in an informal vote, and thanks were presented to Mr. Winn for his gift. The offer was formally accepted in March, 1855, and the sum of $300 was appropriated to be added to his donation, to be expended for books. Thus a library was started, which was opened for the first time on August 20, 1856.

No other important sum was given to the library by the Hon. Jonathan B. Winn till the year 1875, when he and his brother, Timothy Winn, devised together the sum of $5500. In 1875 the late Charles Bowers Winn, son of the Hon. Jonathan B. Winn, made his munificent bequest to the people of Woburn in behalf of her public library, which was at once appreciated as an endowment of the richest and most permanent kind. This bequest was accepted by the town on February 17, 1876, and its provisions were immediately carried into effect by a committee, composed of John Johnson, Parker L. Converse and Edward D. Hayden, the executors of the will. A period of about two years was taken to erect and furnish a suitable building, to purchase the number of volumes needed to open a library of the grade contemplated, and to prepare a catalogue necessary to point out the stores of knowledge in all branches that it was expected to cover. The amount received as an immediate legacy was $140,000; the value of the pictures left by Mr. Winn being added, raised the amount to $153,000. As residuary legatee the town received still further amounts expended on the library, till the sum amounted to $227,000. Of this amount about $80,000 was expended for "one of the most exquisitely designed and harmoniously arranged buildings modern architecture has produced." About $15,000 was expended immediately for books, many of them of costly character, and about $50,000 more was reserved as a permanent fund, the income of which was to be applied to needful improvements and the purchase of current books. The building was opened for use without formal ceremony on May 1, 1879. The library was originally organized under the general law allowing towns to establish and maintain free public libraries, and continued under the same law till 1885, when a special act of incorporation was secured from the Legislature more especially suited to its own peculiar case.

Before entering upon a description of the building, a few facts in relation to Charles Bowers Winn may be of interest. He was at one time a student in Harvard University with other young men from Woburn, but his health, never strong, would not admit of his staying there. He then made a voyage to the Mediterranean, and after that time spent most of his years in travel, finding a change of scene and climate a partial relief from pain. In consequence of his prolonged absence, he was personally but little known to the citizens of Woburn. In his journeying he visited every habitable portion of the globe, and the accounts of his wanderings, to those who had the pleasure of his intimate acquaintance, are said to have been intensely interesting. He seldom visited a place twice, avoided companionship, and preferred to pursue his solitary way undisturbed by any one's caprice but his own. He was, however, a broad man, but opposed to parade of any kind. For nearly a year before his death he was confined by illness to his house. During the American civil war he sent a substitute, paid liberally for raising men for the town's quota, and finally went himself, joining the Eleventh Massachusetts light battery, while that command was at the front near Petersburg, Virginia, during the last year of the war, and serving honorably with the battery till the close of its term of service. He would accept no commission, even though it was offered, but served his term as a private from the beginning to the close of his service. His modesty was remarkable. He was loyal to his father's name, and his extraordinary gift of a public library to Woburn was accompanied by a desire that the father who accumulated the fortune, rather than the son who bestowed it, should be honored, and the credit due to such an extensive expenditure should be the father's forever. Thus the inscription prepared by the son, and placed in the porch, reads thus: "This building was erected in memory of Jonathan Bowers Winn, from funds bequeathed by his son, for the use, benefit, and improvement of the people of Woburn."

In accordance with the provisions of the will, the best known architects of New York and Boston were invited to submit plans for a library building, and five plans from as many different architects were submitted. That of the firm represented by Henry H. Richardson was the one selected. The building as it stands, with a frontage on the street of 163½ feet, set seventy-five feet back from the street, with a lawn entirely surrounding it, is one of the finest and most imposing in its architectural effect to be seen in New England or in the country. Its style is of an original composite nature, resembling its architect's former work in Trinity Church, Boston, though in some respects it is more beautiful than Trinity, for the reason that the original designs were not in the least interfered with, the genius of the architect being allowed full sway. The contract specified that the material to be used in its construction should be of McGregor stone from the Longmeadow quarries at Springfield, relieved by Ohio cream-colored sandstone trimmings, and the roof to be covered with Akron, Ohio, moulded

and vitrified tile of a deep red color. The whole was to be completed for the sum of $71,625.50.

The main entrance of the building is crowned by a tower which rises to the height of seventy-eight feet. At its base is a cloistered porch, in which is placed a tablet, above a stone settee, containing the inscription prepared by Charles B. Winn. From the entrance a flight of steps in the tower leads to rooms above, while a door opens into the art gallery, in which are hung the fifty or more pictures, principally oil-paintings, bequeathed as a commencement of his collection by Charles Bowers Winn. This room is 22 by 28 feet, with floor of black walnut, and wainscoting of the same wood. To the right, through an arched passage-way, is the apse used for a museum, containing in cases a scientifically arranged and valuable collection of fossils, minerals and birds, contributed by the uncle of Charles B. Winn—the Hon. John Cummings. This room is about thirty feet across, and polygonal in shape. In the centre is a round table for readers, on which is placed a handsome chandelier or fixture designed for electric light and gas. To the left of the art gallery is the reading-room proper, 36 by 24 feet, the finish of the wainscot and ceiling being butternut, the floor being ash. Around this room are drawers and shelves for books and statuary. The library is in possession of some eight antique busts and other specimens of statuary imported from Italy, which are placed in this room. From this room leads the wing of the library proper, at the entrance to which is the delivery desk. This room is 67 by 30 feet, and contains fourteen alcoves, seven on each side, in which are now shelved some 27,000 books, with ample capacity for a large number more. The ceiling is of butternut wood, while the floor is of southern pine. The centre ceiling is circularly arched, and the columns of butternut finish, supporting the roof and galleries, are surmounted with beautiful capitals, representing leaves, fruit, and flowers, of familiar varieties, exquisitely carved, no two alike, yet all forming a harmonious whole. This peculiar feature in ornamentation is noticeable throughout the building, and especially in the exterior decoration.

These are some of the principal architectural effects of the building itself. Of its contents little need be added beyond what has been already said, that it contains many valuable and useful books, and a number of costly ones. This feature it is expected will be added to in full proportion as time goes on. The policy in this respect has of late been somewhat conservative, the belief being that slow accessions after careful consideration are the wisest and best. It would be very easy with the funds at command to fill the shelves rapidly, but this certainly would not be prudent, if the value of the works is to be considered.

The place the library has achieved in the intellectual life of the town cannot easily be measured; it is an undoubted and a very high beneficial influence, the extent of which perhaps could only be adequately realized by its sudden withdrawal. Everything that a reasonable person could ask, in relation to what may be termed an intellectual equipment or intellectual tools, is freely and readily furnished.

The total value of the gift of Mr. Winn may be generally summarized in money as follows (to 1881):

Original legacy from executors	$140,000 00
Two thirds of the residue of estate	42,286 16
From pictures	15,768 50
From interest on investment	15,122 79
From rents, sale of buildings, etc.	7,850 70
Total receipts from all sources (to 1881)	$221,028 15
Of this amount there had been expended for construction of building, architects, heating apparatus, fixtures, etc. (to 1881)	$95,305 24
Paid for real estate	27,638 44
for books	15,281 50
for pictures	13,500 00
for catalogue, stationery, etc.	6,907 20
Discount on U. S. bonds sold	4,138 50
Making the total cost of building and contents (to 1881)	$162,770 88

Leaving an unexpended balance to be invested of $58,257.27.

There is another feature, uncommon in libraries, namely, an antique kitchen fitted up in one of the rooms in the basement—"an old farm kitchen, the fireplace, corner cabinet of china, wall-mirror, settle and chest of drawers, all placed as though in use." This collection was opened to visitors about ten years ago, for the first time, and has been much visited since. It contains, in the words of a recent writer, "a loom, swifts, spinning-wheels, distaff for spinning flax, the cards for carding wool into rolls, churns which are vividly remembered by old men who, when boys, were reluctantly harnessed to this domestic instrument of torture every week to do the family butter-making. Scattered around are rusty old swords in time-eaten scabbards; specimens of the Queen's Arm with which our ancestors beat back the fierce attacks of the foe; ironware, from the little skillet and shallow spider to the big kettle that held the family wash; a whole series of pewter platters, the pride of matronly hearts; toasting-irons, piggins, noggins, chests of drawers, settles (settees) of tough wood, sets of andirons, shovels, tongs and iron candlesticks to go with them. There are Dutch ovens, bread-shovels, waffle-irons and bellows to set the wood ablaze. The wide, open fireplace of the room has its ancient crane, pot-hooks and trammels; and there are candle-moulds; stills that the fair dames of ye olden times brewed their rose leaves in for attar to scent their Sabbath-day handkerchiefs; queer, straight, stiff-backed chairs; looking-glasses uncertain as to reflection; the warming-pan, whose glow was so grateful when crawling into a cold bed in midwinter; rare patterns of old crockery-ware; cradles, tables, lightstands, secretaries; the old mortar and pestle still fragrant with rich Thanksgiving spices; choice single samples of rare wares like the 'Washington Plate;' decanters that have graced many a festive board; antique brasses, curious smoking pipes, pew-

ter buttons that once ornamented the garments of an illustrious ancestry; sconces, saddle-bags, books printed in ancient type, and innumerable quaint and curious things, relics of bygone days."

After all, what better description of the uses of a library is there than that given in the opening lines of the document containing the signatures of the subscribers to the old Woburn social library at its founding on April 13, 1789: "To advance knowledge, to enlarge our ideas and extend our capacities." This is the service which, in a larger way, the new Woburn library is rendering to-day.

NOTE.—THE SOCIAL LIBRARY, founded in 1789. The preamble to its preliminary statement began with the words we have just quoted. It was gathered in 1789. It was a proprietary library, the shares being held by a number of subscribers, who promised to conform to such laws and regulations as the majority of the subscribers should make for the good government and mental advantage of the whole. Of the original subscribers Loammi Baldwin leads with four shares, Joseph Bartlett follows with two, Samuel Thompson with one, Zebadiah Wyman with three, and so on, till a large number of the citizens of the town are included, some owning one share, others two, and a few three. John Hastings owned three shares. The names of the subscribers and a sketch of this library, by Nathan Wyman, are published in *Our Paper*, vol. ii., p.91. Samuel Thompson, in his diary, mentions his going to Boston to buy books for this library in 1789 and 1807, also his attending occasional library meetings. Colonel Leonard Thompson was probably the last living proprietor. About 1827 the books, some two or three hundred in number, were divided among the proprietors, some being given to a library in Lynn. The books were mostly of history and travel—works of poetry and fiction being very few. Occasionally, at the present time, some book or relic of this library is seen.

THE CHARITABLE RELIGIOUS LIBRARY, founded in 1807. This library is still extant, in the present custody of the First Congregational Church. A little pamphlet of eight pages, containing its constitution and the catalogue of its books, was published at the time of its organization, a few copies of which are yet preserved.[1] "This institution," says the pamphlet, "originated in the congregational Church in Woburn, A.D. 1807, and was carried into effect by a general subscription in the town."[2] The constitution begins with the following words: "The Congregational Church in Woburn, sensible of the importance of moral and religious instruction to the temporal and eternal happiness of themselves, their neighbors and posterity,' having taken measures to establish a charitable religious library, did, on the 7th of April, 1807, unanimously adopt the following articles as its constitution."

The articles referred to are fifteen in number, and from them a few facts are selected to illustrate the purposes and scope of the organization. The first object was to supply the library with the plainest and most practical books on moral and religious subjects. The librarian was to give out and receive books every Monday, P. M., and he could also, when convenient, accommodate persons at any other time. The library was for the use of all persons regularly residing in the town of Woburn, and also inhabitants of other towns adjacent to Woburn were allowed to use it by the payment of fifty cents annually, and life membership could be obtained by the payment of two dollars. A book could be kept out two months at one time, and all books were to be returned once each year. A fine of five cents a week was charged for detaining books beyond the legal time. The catalogue appended to these articles contained about 120 titles, arranged alphabetically by authors. As might be expected, the works were as a rule strictly religious in character, their titles being given in the briefest possible space, and with a general suppression of capital letters. Of some volumes there were a number of copies, in some cases as many as twelve. Another catalogue of the books in this library was published in 1856, and another in 1868.

THE YOUNG MEN'S LIBRARY, founded about 1835. The constitution and catalogue of this library, belonging to the organization known as the Young Men's Society, was published in 1835, and another catalogue of their books was published in 1852. The Woburn Young Men's Society was founded with a patriotic moral purpose, and for mutual instruction and the general diffusion of knowledge. The age of its members was limited from 14 to 30 years. In the first publication is a list of active and honorary members of the society, and the rules and regulations of the library. An annual fee of fifty cents was required for its use, outsiders paying the sum of one dollar for the privilege. Books could be kept out three weeks, and fines for overdue books were 12½ cents per week.

The library was composed of books of science and instruction, and of such works only as treat of facts, it being understood that works of fiction and theology should be excluded from it. The works were classed under history, biography, travels and voyages, and scientific and miscellaneous works. The catalogue of 1852 is arranged under the same classification, the subscription being the same amount per year as previously. Miss Ruth Maria Leathe was then the librarian. Other librarians were Capt. Marshall Tidd and Dr. Benjamin Cutter. In 1865 the volumes of this library to the number of 375 were added to the Woburn Public Library, and its existence as a separate library ceased.

[1] Viz.: "Constitution of the Charitable Religious Library in Woburn, and catalogue of books which it contains," 8 pp., 16mo., [1807.]

[2] A list of the subscribers to "Woburn Charitable Religious Library," not church members, is preserved in the *Wyman Coll. MSS.*, Woburn Public Library, 15 : 133.

THE NORTH WOBURN LIBRARY, founded in 1840.[1] The North Woburn Library Association was organized in November, 1840. The labor which resulted in this achievement was very largely performed by Benjamin Coolidge, a grandson of Colonel Loammi Baldwin. Possessing unusual intelligence, his tireless and almost boundless energy knew no rest till his purpose was accomplished. As a fitting return for his perseverance, the Association chose him for their first President. In accordance with their vote, each male adult member paid one dollar at once, with the understanding that this sum should be given each year. Each female and each minor paid, on the same condition, fifty cents. As there were forty-seven of the former and forty-two of the latter class of original members, the sum of sixty-eight dollars was raised in the outset. To this were added six dollars in gifts, making seventy-four dollars as a beginning for the purchase of books. A considerable number of volumes were also given by individuals both in and out of the Association. This nucleus of the proposed library, consisting of 102 volumes, was opened November 21, 1840, for the delivery of books to members.[2] By a special gift of twenty-five dollars from James F. Baldwin, Esq., a native of North Woburn, then residing in Boston, the number of volumes was soon increased to 132.

From this time on for many years there were essentially the same sources of income and an expenditure sufficient to secure a gradual, though small, yearly increase in the number of volumes. According to a catalogue issued in 1874, there were then 1016 volumes, besides various miscellaneous public documents, reports, etc.

On March 26, 1877, the 124th birthday of Count Rumford, the Rumford Historical Association was organized and subsequently incorporated. As a majority of the Library Association were also members of this, it was thought best that the former should be merged in the latter, and that the library should thenceforth be called the Rumford Library. The old Rumford House having become the property of the Association, it was also voted that the library, then homeless, should be set up in the very room where Benjamin Thompson, the future Scientist and Count, was born. In that historic room it has remained until the present time. Under this new *régime*, it was decided that it should be a *free library*, and though still retained in North Woburn for the use of the people of the village, and under the immediate care and control of the officers of the Rumford Historical Association, be made, with the consent of the Public Library Committee, an adjunct of the Town Library. The object of this was to make it a convenient channel for the delivery, on regular specified days, of books from the general library as well as from that of the Association. This arrangement, which continued till recently, gave great satisfaction.

As no catalogue of the Rumford Library has been issued since 1874, and, in the mean time, some volumes have fallen into disuse, while others, newly received, have not yet been regularly numbered and arranged, the writer cannot, with exact accuracy, state the number of volumes now in the library. From certain data at hand, however, it seems safe to say that the whole number is between 1500 and 1600 volumes. And there is abundant evidence that it has been and still is very useful.

NOTE.—In 1852 a printed catalogue of 456 books was issued belonging to this library, and another was issued in 1874, and perhaps others earlier. The Woburn Public Library itself has not a complete set of its own publications.

The Warren Academy had a library of 300 or more volumes, and an Agricultural Library of 150 volumes was united to the Woburn Public Library collection in 1865–66. The largest private library in Woburn probably is that of the late George R. Baldwin, which numbers some 7000 volumes, and contains many works of unusual value. These libraries, it is expected, will be deposited in the Woburn Public Library, which possesses ample facilities for their safe keeping.

Among the Woburn libraries not already mentioned are the following, whose catalogues are to be found in the Woburn Public Library: Pippy's Circulating Library, 1857; Grosvenor & Co.'s Circulating Library, 1867; First Congregational Sabbath-School Library, 1868 (another, no date); First Unitarian Parish, do., 1869, 1875; Baptist, do 1870; Methodist Episcopal do. (no date).

CHAPTER XXX.

WOBURN—(Continued).

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

COUNT RUMFORD,[3] WOBURN'S MOST EMINENT NATIVE.—Sir Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford (1753–1814), an eminent man of science, enlightened philanthropist, and sagacious public administrator, was born at Woburn, in Massachusetts, in 1753, and died at Auteuil, near Paris, in 1814. His family had been settled in New England since the middle of the

[1] Sketch by Leander Thompson.

[2] The paper for signatures was headed as follows: "The undersigned, young men of New Bridge, in the town of Woburn, being desirous of having a greater command of books than each one can conveniently obtain by his own unaided exertions, have determined to form themselves into an association for the purpose of securing a library of useful works; inasmuch as the investigation of truth affords equal pleasure and much greater benefit than the perusal of fiction, it shall be a fundamental principle in the constitution this association may form, to exclude novels and light reading generally."—*Woburn Journal*, Nov. 18, 1881.

[3] From *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th ed., vol. xxiii. By Frederick Drummond.

century preceding his birth, and belonged to the class of moderately wealthy farmers. His father died while Thompson was very young, and his mother speedily married a second time. But he seems to have been well cared for, and his education was so far from neglected that, according to his own statement, he was at the age of fourteen sufficiently advanced "in algebra, geometry, astronomy, and even the higher mathematics," to calculate a solar eclipse within four seconds of accuracy. In 1766 he was apprenticed to a storekeeper at Salem, in New England, and while in that employment occupied himself in chemical and mechanical experiments, as well as in engraving, in which he attained to some proficiency. The outbreak of the American war put a stop to the trade of his master, and he thereupon left Salem and went to Boston, where he engaged himself as assistant in another store. He afterwards applied himself to the study, with a view to the practice, of medicine, and then (although, as he affirms, for only six weeks and three days) he became a schoolteacher—it is believed at Bradford, on the Merrimack. Thompson was at that period between eighteen and nineteen years old; and at nineteen, he says, "I married, or rather I was married." His wife was the widow of a Colonel Rolfe, and the daughter of a Mr. Walker, "a highly respectable minister, and one of the first settlers at Rumford," now called Concord, in New Hampshire. His wife was possessed of considerable property, and was his senior by fourteen years. This marriage was the foundation of Thompson's success. Within three years of it, however, he left his wife in America to make his way to wealth and distinction in Europe, and, although his only child by her, a daughter, subsequently joined him, he never saw and, so far as anything appears to the contrary, never attempted or desired to see her again.

Soon after his marriage Thompson became acquainted with Governor Wentworth, of New Hampshire, who, struck by his appearance and bearing, conferred on him the majority of a local regiment of militia. He speedily became the object of distrust among the friends of the American cause, and it was considered prudent that he should seek an early opportunity of leaving the country. On the evacuation of Boston by the royal troops, therefore, in 1776, he was selected by Governor Wentworth to carry despatches to England. On his arrival in London he almost immediately attracted the attention of Lord George Germaine, secretary of state, who appointed him to a clerkship in his office. Within a few months he was advanced to the post of secretary of the province of Georgia, and in about four years he was made under-secretary of state. His official duties, however, did not materially interfere with the prosecution of scientific pursuits, and in 1779 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. Among the subjects to which he especially directed his attention were the explosive force of gunpowder, the construction of firearms, and the system of signaling at sea. In connection with the last, he made a cruise in the Channel fleet, on board the "Victory," as a volunteer under the command of Admiral Sir Charles Hardy. On the resignation of Lord North's administration, of which Lord George Germaine was one of the least lucky and most unpopular members, Thompson left the civil service, and was nominated to a cavalry command in the revolted provinces of America. But the War of Independence was practically at an end, and in 1783 he finally quitted active service, with the rank and half-pay of a lieutenant-colonel. He now formed the design of joining the Austrian army, for the purpose of campaigning against the Turks, and so crossed over from Dover to Calais with Gibbon, who, writing to his friend Lord Sheffield, calls his fellow-passenger "Mr. Secretary-Colonel-Admiral-Philosopher Thompson." At Strasburg he was introduced to Prince Maximilian, afterwards elector of Bavaria, and was by him invited to enter the civil and military service of that state. Having obtained the leave of the British Government to accept the prince's offer, he received the honor of knighthood from George III., and during eleven years he remained at Munich as minister of war, minister of police, and grand chamberlain to the elector. His political and courtly employments, however, did not absorb all his time, and he contributed during his stay in Bavaria a number of papers to the Philosophical Transactions. But that he was sufficiently alert as the principal adviser of the elector the results of his labors in that capacity amply prove. He reorganized the Bavarian army; he suppressed mendicity and found employment for the poor; and he immensely improved the condition of the industrial classes throughout the country by providing them with work and instructing them in the practice of domestic economy. Of the prompt and the business-like manner in which he was wont to carry his plans into execution, a single example may serve as an illustration. The multitude of beggars in Bavaria had long been a public nuisance and danger. In one day Thompson caused no fewer than 2600 of these outcasts and depredators, in Munich and its suburbs alone, to be arrested by military patrols and transferred by them to an industrial establishment which he had prepared for their reception. In this institution they were both housed and fed, and they not only supported themselves by their labors but earned a surplus for the benefit of the electoral revenues. The principle on which their treatment proceeded is stated by Thompson in the following memorable words: "To make vicious and abandoned people happy," he says, "it has generally been supposed necessary first to make them virtuous. But why not reverse this order? Why not make them first happy, and then virtuous?" In 1791 he was created a count of the Holy Roman Empire, and chose his title of Rumford from the name as it then was of the Ameri-

can township to which his wife's family belonged. In 1795 he visited England, one incident of his journey being the loss of all his private papers, including the materials for an autobiography, which were contained in a box stolen from off his post-chaise in St. Paul's Churchyard. During his residence in London he applied himself to the discovery of methods for curing smoky chimneys and the contrivance of improvements in the construction of fireplaces. But he was quickly recalled to Bavaria, Munich being threatened at once by an Austrian and a French army. The elector fled from his capital, and it was entirely owing to Rumford's energy and tact that a hostile occupation of the city was prevented. It was now proposed that he should be accredited as Bavarian ambassador in London; but the circumstance that he was a British subject presented an unsurmountable obstacle. He, however, again came to England, and remained there in a private station for several years. In 1799 he, in conjunction with Sir Joseph Banks, projected the establishment of the Royal Institution, which received its charter of incorporation from George III. in 1800. Rumford himself selected Sir Humphrey Davy as the first scientific lecturer there. Until 1804, when he definitely settled in France, Rumford lived at the Royal Institution in Albemarle Street, or at a house which he rented at Brompton, where he passed his time in the steady pursuit of those researches relating to heat and light and the economy of fuel, on which his scientific fame is principally based. He then established himself in Paris, and married (his first wife having been dead for many years) as his second wife the wealthy widow of Lavoisier, the celebrated chemist. With this lady he led an extremely uncomfortable life, till at last they agreed to separate. Rumford took up his residence at Auteuil, where he died suddenly in 1814, in the sixty-second year of his age.

He was the founder and the first recipient of the Rumford medal of the London Royal Society. He was also the founder of the Rumford medal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the Rumford professorship in Harvard University. His complete works were published by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at Boston in 1872, and a full and extremely interesting memoir of the author which was issued with them was republished in London by Messrs. Macmillan in 1876.

ARTISTS RESIDENT IN WOBURN: BENJAMIN CHAMPNEY AND ALBERT THOMPSON.[1]

BENJAMIN CHAMPNEY, painter, born in New Ipswich, N. H., Nov. 20, 1817. He was graduated at Appleton Academy, in his native town, in 1834. He went to Boston in that year, worked in Pendleton's lithographic establishment in 1837–40, studied and painted at the Louvre, Paris, in 1841–46, then visited Italy with Kensett, and, revisiting Europe in 1847–48, painted a panorama of the Rhine. Since 1853 he has passed his summers at North Conway, N. H., where he has a cottage and a studio, and has painted many White mountain views, as well as those of Switzerland, which are owned in and around Boston. He was president of the Boston Art Club in 1858, and in 1865–66 he again visited Europe, spending a summer in Brittany.

ALBERT THOMPSON, artist, born in Woburn, Mass., Mar. 18, 1853. He became a pupil of William E. Norton in 1873, and in 1872 and 1875 traveled in Europe. During 1880–81 he studied in Paris under Jules J. Lefebvre and Gustave R. C. Boulanger at Julien's academy, and also anatomy at the École des beaux arts. Among his works, mainly landscapes and cattle-pieces, are "After the Shower" (1876); "Clearing up" (1877); "More Wind than Rain," in Woburn Public Library (1885); and "Changing Pasture" and "An October Afternoon" (1886). He is the author of "Principles of Perspective" (Boston, 1878).

INVENTORS: SAMUEL BLODGET, A NATIVE, AND CHARLES GOODYEAR, A RESIDENT OF WOBURN.

SAMUEL BLODGET, inventor, born in Woburn, Mass., April 1, 1724; died in Haverhill, Mass., Sept. 1, 1807. He participated in the French and Indian war, was a member of the expedition against Louisbourg in 1745, and afterwards became a judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the county of Hillsborough, N. H. In 1783, with a machine of his own invention, he raised a valuable cargo from a ship sunk near Plymouth, Mass., and then went to Europe for the purpose of engaging in similar enterprises. He met with discouragement in Spain, and his proposition in England to raise the "Royal George" was unsuccessful. On his return to the United States he established a duck factory in 1791, and in 1793 removed to New Hampshire, where he began the canal that bears his name around Amoskeag Falls in the Merrimack. He expended a large sum of money on this enterprise without being able to complete the work, and, becoming financially embarrassed, was for a time imprisoned for debt. See "Massachusetts Historical Collections" (second series, vol. iv., pp. 153, 154). (Cf. *Woburn Journal*, October 25, 1873, for an extended sketch.)

CHARLES GOODYEAR, inventor, born in New Haven, Conn., December 29, 1800; died in New York City July 1, 1860. In 1834 Goodyear first turned his attention to the substance of India rubber, and from then until his death the idea of producing from it a solid elastic material occupied his entire mind. His experiments were conducted in Philadelphia, New York and in different towns of Massachusetts, with his family always in want, and himself frequently in prison for debt. Although he died in debt, he lived to see his material applied to nearly 500 uses, and to give employment to upward of 60,000 persons.

[1] From *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography.*

"At Woburn, one day in the spring of 1839, after five years' previous investigation, he was standing, with his brother and several other persons, in a store near a very hot stove. He held in his hand a mass of his compound of sulphur and gum, upon which he was expatiating in his usual vehement manner, the company exhibiting the indifference to which he was accustomed. In the crisis of his argument he made a violent gesture, which brought the mass in contact with the stove, which was hot enough to melt India rubber instantly. Upon looking at it a moment after he perceived that his compound had not melted in the least degree! It had charred as leather does, but no part of the surface had dissolved; there was not a sticky place upon it. To say that he was astonished at this would but faintly express his ecstasy of amazement. The result was absolutely new to all experience—India rubber not melting in contact with red-hot iron! Eagerly he showed his charred India rubber to his brother and to the other bystanders, and dwelt upon the novelty and marvelousness of his fact.

"Then we see him resorting to the shops and factories in the neighborhood of Woburn, asking the privilege of using an oven after working hours, or of hanging a piece of India rubber in the man-hole of the boiler. If the people of New England were not the most 'neighborly' people in the world, his family must have starved or he must have given up his experiments. But with all the generosity of his neighbors, his children were often sick, hungry and cold, without medicine, food or fuel. One witness testifies,—

"'I found (in 1839) that they had not fuel to burn, nor food to eat, and did not know where to get a morsel of food from one day to another, unless it was sent in to them.'

"By the time that he had exhausted the patience of the foreman of the works near Woburn, he had come to the conclusion that an oven was the proper means of applying heat to his compound. An oven he forthwith determined to build.

"It was in the winter of 1839-40. One of those long and terrible snow-storms, for which New England is noted, had been raging for many hours, and he awoke one morning to find his little cottage half-buried in snow, the storm still continuing, and in his house not an atom of fuel nor a morsel of food. His children were very young, and he was himself sick and feeble. The charity of his neighbors was exhausted, and he had not the courage to face their reproaches. As he looked out of the window upon the dreary and tumultuous scene, 'fit emblem of his condition,' he remarks, he called to mind that a few days before an acquaintance, a mere acquaintance, who lived some miles off, had given him upon the road a more friendly greeting than he was then accustomed to receive. It had cheered his heart as he trudged sadly by, and it now returned vividly to his mind. To this gentleman he determined to apply for relief, if he could reach his house. Terrible was his struggle with the wind and the deep drifts. Often he was ready to faint with fatigue, sickness and hunger, and he would be obliged to sit down upon a bank of snow to rest. He reached the house and told his story, not omitting the oft-told tale of his new discovery, that mine of wealth if only he could procure the means of working it! The eager eloquence of the inventor was seconded by the gaunt and yellow face of the man. His generous acquaintance entertained him cordially, and lent him a sum of money, which not only carried his family through the worst of the winter, but enabled him to continue his experiments on a small scale. O. B. Coolidge, of Woburn, was the name of this benefactor."

These selections are from Parton's *Famous Americans of Recent Times.*

COLLEGE PRESIDENTS, NATIVES OF WOBURN: SAMUEL LOCKE AND JAMES WALKER.

Samuel Locke, educator, born in Woburn, Mass., 23d November, 1732; died in Sherborn, Mass., 15th January, 1778. He was graduated at Harvard in 1755; ordained a minister at Sherburne, 7th November, 1759, and retained this pastorate till 1769, when he was appointed president of Harvard, 21st March, 1769. On 1st December, 1773, he resigned from the presidency, and spent the remainder of his life in retirement. Harvard conferred on him the degree of D.D. in 1773. The only production of Dr. Locke's in print is his "Convention Sermon" (1772).

James Walker, president of Harvard, born in Burlington or in Woburn, Mass, of which that town was then a part, 16th August, 1794; died in Cambridge, Mass., 23d December, 1874. He was graduated at Harvard in 1814, studied theology at Cambridge, and was pastor of the Unitarian Church in Charlestown for twenty-one years. During this period he was active in his parochial duties and in advocating the cause of school and college education, lectured extensively and with success, and was a close student of literature and philosophy. In 1831-39 he was an editor of the *Christian Examiner.* He resigned his pastorate in July, 1839, and the following September became professor of moral and intellectual philosophy in Harvard, was elected its president in 1853, and held office till his resignation, in 1860. He devoted the remainder of his life to scholarly pursuits, and left his valuable library and $15,000 to Harvard. That college gave him the degree of D.D. in 1835, and Yale, that of LL.D. in 1860. He published numerous sermons, addresses and lectures, including three series of lectures on "Natural Religion" and a course of Lowell Institute lectures on "The Philosophy of Religion;" "Sermons preached in the Chapel of Harvard College" (Boston, 1861); a "Memorial of Daniel Appleton White" (1863); and a "Memoir of Josiah Quincy" (1867). After his death a volume of his

"Discourses" appeared (1876). He also edited, as college text-books, Dugald Stewart's "Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers" (1849), and Dr. Thomas Reid's "Essays on the Intellectual Powers, Abridged, with Notes and Illustrations from Sir William Hamilton and Others" (1850). See "Memorial" (Cambridge, 1875), and "Services at the Dedication of a Mural Monument to James Walker in the Harvard Church in Charlestown" (1884).

MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM WOBURN: EDWARD D. HAYDEN.

Mr. Hayden was born in Cambridge, December 27, 1833. He attended the public schools in that place, and was afterwards sent to Lawrence Academy, in Groton, to be fitted for college. In 1850 he entered Harvard College, graduating with his class in 1854. He studied law at Harvard Law School, and in the offices of the late Chief Justice Chapman, in Springfield, and Ezra Ripley, in Boston. In February, 1858, he opened a law-office in Woburn, where he continued in practice until 1862, when he received the appointment of assistant paymaster in the United States Navy. He served in the Mississippi Squadron, under Admiral Porter, during the Vicksburg and Red River campaigns. In 1866 he returned to Woburn, and engaged in business in the firm of J. B. Winn & Co., in which he continued until 1875. In 1874 he was elected president of the First National Bank of Woburn, which office he held until 1890. Mr. Hayden was re-elected to the House for 1881, having been a member of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1880. He was a member of the 49th and 50th Congresses, representing the Fifth Massachusetts Congressional District. In Woburn he has held many local offices, selectman, library trustee, etc.

CHAPTER XXXI.

WOBURN—(Continued).

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BY REV. L. THOMPSON.

THE Ecclesiastical History of Woburn is, in its beginnings, closely connected with that of Charlestown, of which Woburn was once a part, and, in its progress, with that of several other towns, which were once a part of Woburn. The founders of Woburn were all, or nearly all, from the early settlers of Charlestown. As early as 1640 some of these men, more adventurous than the rest, began to explore the "unknown northernness," sometimes called "the wilderness," though included within the bounds of Charlestown, and, till the date of its incorporation, October 6, 1662, called "Charlestown Village." It then included Wilmington, Burlington and nearly all of Winchester. Led on by Edward Converse, a man of wonderful energy and ever-restless activity, and the builder of the first house, the first bridge and the first mill in the unsettled region, many followed, some of whom being, as the historian Johnson says, "shallow in brains," soon became faint-hearted and returned. The number of settlers, however, became, little by little, so numerous that they began, more and more earnestly, to entertain the thought of a church organization. Meanwhile the mother church at Charlestown became so seriously apprehensive that Charlestown itself would be depopulated by the departure of so many of her members as to raise objections to and decidedly discourage the proposals for a new settlement. And it was not till it was clearly seen that the tide setting in that direction could not be resisted, and the increase and permanence of the settlement were inevitable, that the consent of the First Church was gained to the proposed enterprise. Seven men, all members of the church in Charlestown, were, at length, appointed as a "committee" to effect, in the usual way, the outward and legal organization of a new church. These men were: Edward Johnson, Edward Converse, John Mousall, William Learned, Ezekiel Richardson, Thomas Richardson and Samuel Richardson—the last three being brothers. There were many besides these seven among the first settlers, both men and women, equally interested, who doubtless only awaited the accomplishment of this organization to become, with the seven organizers, members in full communion.

The organization was effected August 14, O. S., or August 24, N. S., 1642. Beside the Hon. Increase Nowell as the representative of the secular authority of the Colony, there were present the following messengers of the churches: Rev. Messrs. Symmes and Allen, of Charlestown; Wilson and Cotton, of Boston; Shephard and President Dunster, of Cambridge; Knowles, of Watertown; Allin, of Dedham; Eliot, of Roxbury; and Mather, of Dorchester.

To the seven men appointed by the mother church to effect the organization, after making each for himself a confession of his faith and Christian experience, and after prayer and preaching by Mr. Symmes, the elders and messengers of the churches had opportunity to propose such questions as they thought proper. All questions being satisfactorily answered, they entered into the following

COVENANT.

"We that do assemble ourselves this day before God and his people, in an unfeigned desire to be accepted of him as a Church of the Lord Jesus Christ, according to the Rule of the New Testament, do acknowledge ourselves to be the most unworthy of all others, that we should attain such a high grace, and the most unable of ourselves to the performance of anything that is good, abhorring ourselves for all our former defilements in the worship of God, and other wayes, and resting only upon the Lord Jesus Christ, for attonement, and upon the power of his grace for the guidance of our whole after course, do here, in the name of Christ Jesus, as in the presence of the Lord, from the bottom of our hearts, agree together through his grace to give up ourselves, first

unto the Lord Jesus, as our only King, Priest, and Prophet, wholly to be subject unto him in all things, and therewith one unto another, as in a Chur Body, to walk together in all the Ordinances of the Gospel, and in such mutual love and offices thereof, as toward one another in the Lor and all this, both according to the present light that the Lord hath given us, and also according to all further light, which he shall be pleased at any time to reach out unto us out of the Word by the goodness of his grace: renouncing also, in the same Covenant, all errors and schismes, and whatever by-wayes that are contrary to the blessed rules revealed in the Gospel, and in particular, the inordinate love and seeking after the things of the world."

"Every Church hath not the same for words: for they are not for a form of words."

After the solemn adoption of this Covenant, the little band, now duly organized, received from the messengers of the churches the right hand of fellowship in the name of the churches they represented.[1]

The loss of the records of this church from its organization onward more than one hundred years is greatly to be deplored and is doubtless irreparable. But, from other sources, we learn that Rev. Thomas Carter was ordained the first pastor, November 22, 1642, and Edward Converse and John Mousall were chosen, probably earlier in the same year, the first deacons. The editor of Johnson's "Wonder-Working Providence" says, in his introduction, p. 92: "The wives and children who were communicants must have been as numerous as the heads of families. The early membership, therefore, of the Woburn Church, I think, was thirty persons at least."

The town having been "erected," and the church duly organized, the same council, with perhaps the exception of one man, accompanied again by the Hon. Increase Nowell, as the representative of the civil authority, were called on "the 22 of the 9 moneth following, or December 2d, N. S., 1642, to aid in the ordination and installation of Rev. Thomas Carter as the first pastor. The exercises appear to have been, in the main, similar to exercises on like occasions in these days. There was, however, one noted exception. Instead of calling upon messengers of other churches who were present, to officiate in the simple act of ordination by prayer and the imposition of hands, the church, jealous of their rights as an independent body, preferred to delegate two of their own members to do it on their behalf. It is perhaps not certainly known who the two men were, though it has been thought there were reasons for believing they were Edward Johnson and Edward Converse. After Mr. Carter had preached and prayed, according to the custom of the times, these men, in the name of the church, laid their hands upon his head and said: "We ordain thee, Thomas Carter, to be pastor unto this church of Christ."

Following this simple act of consecration, the exercises were continued by prayer from one of the ministers who were present.

It does not appear that there was any serious opposition to this departure from the common usage, on the part of the council, though it is quite likely that some had doubts of its propriety. But outside their number, there was, for some time, considerable dissatisfaction and demurring. Even Governor Winthrop had some misgivings about it and declared it "not so well and orderly as it ought."[2] Yet, at length, all acquiesced, and the peculiarity of the ordination never was a bar to the fellowship of the church with other churches, though, from that time to this, the case has often been referred to by writers on congregational polity as being, though not in itself necessarily a breach of genuine congregationalism, a nearer approach to pure independency than would generally be deemed desirable. So far as is known, the church, after its organization, was very prosperous. Johnson, writing in 1651, nine years later, says, "After this, there were divers added to this church daily," and the original members had been increased to "74 persons or thereabouts," the number of families being about sixty.[3]

The subsequent history of this church furnishes material enough for a volume, instead of the sketch now proposed. We can only give a brief account of its general character and standing, its pastors, its houses of worship, and its colonies.

So far as known to the writer, the church has never swerved from its original foundation. While many other churches, organized both before and after the date of its existence, have departed from the old confession of faith, this, through all changes and down through all the years of its history, has steadfastly adhered to the essential faith of the original members. It has had some seasons of trial, and one, perhaps two, when there was protracted and deplorable lack of unity and harmony. But, for many years, it has been one of the largest and most prosperous of the churches of New England. Its history has been marked by frequent revivals of religion, some of which were of great power and most valuable results. That which began in 1826 and continued uninterruptedly through more than two years, was by far the most remarkable. In its extent, its noiseless power, its duration and its wide-spread and far-reaching effects, it was wholly unprecedented in Woburn, and rarely, if ever, equaled in the country. During the years 1827–28 nearly 300 persons in the town, then having less than 1900 population, were admitted to membership in the church. Nearly all of this large number are now gone, but the very few who yet remain cherish the memory of those days with the deepest interest as without a parallel in their observation.

THE PASTORS OF THE CHURCH.—*Rev. Thomas Carter*, the first pastor, was born in England in 1610, probably at Hertfordshire, at or near St. Albans. He was matriculated at St. John's College, University of

[1] Sewall's "History," p. 21. Johnson's "Wonder-Working Providence," book ii., chap. 22, pp. 175–178.

[2] Winthrop's "Hist. of New England," vol. iii., p. 110.

[3] "W. W. Providence."

Cambridge, April 1, 1626, and took his degree of Bachelor of Arts in January, 1630, and that of Master of Arts in 1633. In April, 1635, when still "a young man," he embarked with forty others for New England. Soon after his arrival he became a citizen of Dedham, taking the freeman's oath, March 9, 1637. He removed thence to Watertown, where he became an elder in the church.[1] He had a place assigned him by Mather in what is called the "Second Classis" of ministers.[2]

When he was first invited to preach in Woburn, November 3, 1641, he was a member of the church in Watertown, as well as an office-bearer, and doubt was expressed about the willingness of that church to part with him.[3] By special invitation, he preached for the first time, December 4, 1641, his text being the 22d chapter of Genesis and his subject, "Encouragement to trust in the Lord for the means." This sermon seems to have encouraged the people to press their suit more urgently than ever, though he then and for several months subsequently, declined to accept their call. He, however, at length yielded to the strong persuasion of the Woburn Church, and accepted the position of minister with a salary of £80 per annum, which, in 1674, was increased by the addition of twenty cords of wood delivered annually at his door.[4]

The circumstances of Mr. Carter's ordination have already been narrated and need not be here repeated. Of his long ministry of nearly forty-two years, much might be written. The highest testimony to its excellence has been given by various writers. Johnson, in his history, describes him as a "reverend, Godly man, apt to teach the sound and wholesome truths of Christ," and "much increased with the increasings of Christ Jesus."[5] Mr. Chickering, in his Dedication Sermon, says of him, "During his ministry there appears to have been the greatest harmony between him and the Society."[6] And Mr. Sewall says, "There is abundant evidence that Mr. Carter was a very pious, exemplary man, an able and sound preacher of the Gospel and one whom God honored and prospered in his work. Under his ministrations the Church was greatly enlarged and built up, and the town flourished and was for the most part in peace."[7]

Before his settlement in Woburn, Mr. Carter had married Mary Dalton, of Watertown, where he owned a homestead and a farm. His well-known home in Woburn was on Pleasant Street, facing the southern portion of the old "Common" or Square. His house, built for him and presented to him by the town, stood where the old Coolidge house, lately known as the Sylvanus Wood house, now stands. It is said that the original timbers of hewn oak that were in the house built in 1642 still remain in place as when first laid.

Mr. Carter had eight children, of whom Samuel and Judith were born in Watertown, and Theophilus, Mary, Abigail, Deborah, Timothy and Thomas in Woburn. Theophilus and Deborah died young. Samuel, the eldest of the eight, born Aug. 8, 1640, graduated from Harvard College in 1660, and was settled, for a short time, as pastor of the church in Groton. For some reason, not now fully known, he retired early from the ministry, and, besides being, at different seasons, a teacher, he sustained various offices in the government of the town. In 1672 he married Eunice Brooks and had eight children. He died in the autumn of 1693.[8]

Of the other children of Rev. Thomas Carter, Judith married, first, Samuel, son of Edward Converse, and, second, Giles Fifield, and died 1676. Mary married first, John Wyman, Jr. about 1671, who, being killed by the Indians at the Swamp Fight, December, 19, 1675, she married, second, Nathaniel Bachelor, of Hampton, N. H., in 1676, and died 1678. Abigail married John Smith, 1674, and died prior to 1684. Timothy married Anna Fisk, of Cambridge, 1680, and died 1727. Thomas married Margery Whitmore, of Cambridge, 1682, and died 1734.[9]

Rev. Thomas Carter died September 5, 1684. His wife, Mary (Dalton) Carter, did not long survive him. She died March 28, 1687.

Rev. Jabez Fox, son of Thomas Fox, of Concord, was born in that town in 1647, but, at a very early age, removed with the family to Cambridge, his father being as early as 1652, and repeatedly after that year, on the Cambridge Board of Selectmen. Here he lived in the historic house known in later years as the "Holmes Place," and here he died April 25, 1693. According to a tradition in the family, he was a lineal descendant from Rev. John Fox, the martyrologist.

Jabez Fox was educated at Cambridge, graduating from the college in 1665. On taking his second degree there, three years later, his public address consisted of a few lines of Latin verse.[10] Made a freeman in 1667, he entered upon the work of the ministry and married. While yet at Cambridge, he was invited, in 1678, to serve as an assistant of Mr. Carter for one year. This invitation he accepted, but, before the year had expired, he received a unanimous call to continue his labors with an ultimate settlement in view. On the 5th of November, 1679, the parish voted to give him a call "to be their minister for his life-time." He was accordingly

1 Samuel R Carter's Address at the Carter Reunion, p. 19.
2 Mather's "Magnalia," vol. i., p. 216.
3 "American Qy. Register, vol. xi., p. 187.
4 S. R. Carter's Address, pp. 20, 21.
5 "Wonder-Working Providence," pp. 177–181.
6 Dedication Sermon, p. 16.
7 "History of Woburn," p. 125.
8 S. R. Carter's Address, p. 29.
9 Sewall's "History," p. 127; S. R. Carter's Address, p. 30.
10 Sibley's "Harvard Graduates," vol. ii., pp. 196–198.

ordained soon after this date, probably in the same month. The town agreed, November 10th, of the same year, to build him "a dwelling-house, twenty-foure feet in length, eaighteene feet wide, and thirteene feet stud, a stack of three brick chimneys, a cellar under it, and a leantwo at the chimney end, and so to finish the said hous and give it him."

December 8th, "The Town did agree, upon Mr. Fox's desire, to build the said hous fourty feet long. Mr. Fox being willing to allow toward the worke twenty and five pounds and five pounds more in case that it be not sufficient for what is expended for the making the said house sixteene feet longer than was agreed of by the Towne in the first place."[1]

This house, situated on Pleasant Street, near the site of the Public Library, was occupied by Mr. Fox and his son and successor about seventy-six years.

Mr. Fox appears to have had the confidence and affection of the great body of his parishioners through life, though they sometimes occasioned him disquietude by allowing his salary to fall in arrears. At one time about seventy pounds were thus due to him, some of which was not paid till after his death. Doubtless, however, this seeming neglect was due to the extraordinary pressure of the times and other causes not specifically named.[2]

Mr. Fox died in Boston, of the small-pox, in the forenoon of the Lord's Day, February 26, 1702–3, but was buried in Woburn, where, in the oldest burying-ground, his grave-stone bears the following inscription:

"*Memento* Fugit
Mori Hora.
Here lyes ye Body of
Ye Reverend Mr Jabez Fox,
Pastour of Ye Church of
Christ in Wobourn 23 years,
& Aged 56 years, Decesed
Febr. Ye 28th 1702–3."

Mr. Fox married Judith, daughter of Rev. John Reyner, of Plymouth, 1636–54, and of Dover, N. H., 1655–60.[3] After his death she became the wife of Colonel Jonathan Tyng, of Boston, who subsequently lived in Woburn, where he died January 19, 1724. His widow died June 5, 1736. The inscription on her monumental stone in the old burying-place on Park Street, is as follows:

"Here lyes Buried ye Body
of Mrs. Judith Tyng, wife
to Col. Jonathan Tyng,
formerly wife to ye Revd.
Mr. Jabez Fox, who Dy'd
June 5th Anno Domi 1736,
in ye 99th year of her Age:
A woman of Most Exemplary Vertue
& Piety; Rich in Grace, Ripe for Glory."

It is not known that any sermons or other writings of Mr. Fox were published, though there are still existing skeletons of two or more sermons preached in Cambridge, which were committed to paper by friends, probably at the time of, or immediately after, their delivery. One was preached July 28, 1678, from 2 Timothy 2: 19. Another May 11, 1673, was based upon Ephesians 5: 16.[4]

Rev. Jabez and Judith (Reyner) Fox had five children: 1. John, born at Cambridge, May 10, 1678, his father's successor; 2. Thomas, born at Woburn, July 6, 1680, died July 10, 1680; 3. Thomas, born at Woburn, November 13, 1681; 4. Jabez, born at Woburn, December 2, 1684; 5. Judith, born at Woburn, June 19, 1690, and died the same year.

Rev. John Fox, son and successor of Rev. Jabez Fox, was born at Cambridge, May 10, 1678, and graduated from Harvard College in 1698. After serving as master of the Grammar School in Woburn from 1700 about two years and a half, until his father's death, February 28, 1703, he was invited to become the pastor of the church. He had already been, for several months, an assistant of Rev. Samuel Whiting, of Billerica, who was in enfeebled health.[5] Ordained as pastor at Woburn, October 4, 1703, he retained his office and position till his death, December 12, 1756, but by his greatly impaired health he was often unable to preach. For fifteen years before his death he was totally blind. He, however, preached occasionally, notwithstanding these obstacles, and often "catecised" and instructed the youth who were accustomed to meet him at his house.

Rev. Edward Jackson was his colleague for many years, and died in office more than two years before the death of Mr. Fox. Rev. Josiah Sherman was also settled as his colleague nearly one year before the decease of the senior pastor.

Mr. Fox had sore trials beside those of personal infirmities. The lack of harmony between his first colleague and himself from the beginning of their connection, and the consequent unsettled and divided condition of the people, resulting at length in the organization of a new church, must have greatly saddened his last years. Yet there are not wanting decisive indications that his ministry was a useful one, and, for many years before the settlement of a colleague and the loss of his health and sight, one of marked success.

Mr. Fox married Mary Tyng, daughter of Honorable Edward Tyng, who died in France. She survived her husband several years, dying in February, 1764. There are still extant two sermons of Mr. Fox occasioned by the great earthquake of October 29, 1727, and founded on 1 Samuel 14: 15.[6] Another sermon is extant on "time and the end of time."

Rev. John and Mary (Tyng) Fox were the parents of seven children, who, according to Sewall, were:—

[1] Sibley's "Harvard Graduates," vol. ii., pp. 196–198.
[2] Sibley's "Harvard Graduates," vol. ii., pp. 196–198.
[3] Lawrence's "N. H. Churches," p. 320.
[4] Alden's "Am. Epitaphs," vol. i., pp. 225–226; Sewall's "History," pp. 143–145.
[5] Sibley's "Harvard Graduates," vol. i., p. 365.
[6] Alden's "Am. Epitaphs, vol. i., pp. 229–231; Sewall's "History," pp. 331–332; *Am. Qy. Register*, vol. xl., p. 188.

1. John, born February 13, 1704, "who, in early life, went to Ireland to live with a wealthy relative."

2. Jabez, born May 25, 1705. Alden, in his epitaphs mentioned him as "Hon. Jabez Fox, Esq.," as found in his monumental inscription. His first wife, who lived but a short time after her marriage, was from Boston. He married, second, Ann, widow of Phineas Jones, who died June 9, 1768. Mr. Fox graduated from Harvard College 1727, studied theology and entered upon the work of preaching, but was soon obliged by failing health to relinquish the profession. He removed to Falmouth (now Portland), Maine, where he spent an honorable and useful life, and was for several years a member of the Provincial Council of Massachusetts.

3. Mary, born October 26, 1706, married Rev. Hebijah Weld, of Attleborough, October 17, 1728.

4. Edward, born October 26, 1708, lost at sea on his passage to England.

5. Thomas, born April 7, 1711, a goldsmith at Boston.

6. Judith, born August 10, 1712, married Rev. Nathan Stone, of Southborough, October 31, 1734.

7. Jonathan, born March 26, 1716, married Ruth Carter, August 17, 1737; lived and died in Woburn.[1]

Rev. Edward Jackson was the son of Deacon Edward Jackson, of Newton, and a grandson of Edward Jackson who came to New England about 1642, was made freeman in 1645 and settled in Newton, then a part of Cambridge, between 1642 and 1645.[2]

The sources of information in regard to Mr. Jackson are more limited than in the case of most of the pastors. Mr. Sewall seems to have exhausted them with comparatively small results. Born at Newton, April 3, 1700, and a graduate from Harvard College, 1719, he was ordained in Woburn, as colleague of Rev. John Fox, August 1, 1729, but died before the decease of the senior pastor, September 24, 1754, after a ministry of more than twenty-five years. He was never married.

It is not easy, after the lapse of more than 134 years, and with somewhat conflicting accounts of Mr. Jackson's ministry, to form an estimate of Mr. Jackson as a man which is entirely satisfactory, in any sense. Mr. Sewall says of him, "he was sound in doctrine, correct in morals, and his public labors and services were acceptable to his people, though he left nothing in print by which the style, matter and manner of his preaching can now be estimated."[3] That, during a considerable part of his ministry, there were strifes and humiliating criminations, cannot be questioned. But the exact measure of blame which should be attached to the one or the other man or party, we may not now be able to determine. We can only regret that any hearts and any homes were, even for a limited time, overshadowed by a cloud that was so ominously threatening.[4]

Rev. Josiah Sherman[7] (William[6], Joseph[5], Captain John[4], John[3], Henry[2], Henry[1]) was born in Watertown, April 29, 1729. His great-grandfather, Captain John Sherman, came from Dedham, England, in 1634, and was an early settler in Watertown during that year. Rev. Nathaniel Sherman, of Bedford, William Sherman, Esq., of New Milford, Connecticut, and Hon. Roger Sherman, of New Haven, Connecticut, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, were his brothers. He graduated from Nassau Hall, New Jersey, 1754, and received, during the same year, a degree from Yale College, and one from Cambridge in 1758.[5]

After studying theology with Rev. Dr. Bellamy, of Bethlehem, Connecticut, and Rev. Mr. Graham, of Southbury, in the same State, Mr. Sherman was ordained at Woburn, January 28, 1756, as colleague of Rev. John Fox, whose death occurred in a little less than one year afterward, Mr. Sherman thenceforward, till his dismission, April 11, 1775, being the sole pastor.

Mr. Sherman was a man of rare ability. He found the people in a broken and unhappy condition, occasioned by the alienations and divisions during the ministry of his predecessor as colleague, but his eloquence and wondrous power soon drew all hearts together and the recently organized Third Church back into the old fold. History and tradition alike represent him as a master of eloquence that, in his time and neighborhood, had no equal. The house of worship, though considerably enlarged after his settlement, was crowded, and even the aisles and pulpit-stairs were thronged from Sabbath to Sabbath.[6] Whenever he preached in Charlestown, as he occasionally did, there, too, he was sure to have a crowd of hearers so great as to suggest some extraordinary occasion. An old tradition, well remembered by some still, used to say that, on one occasion, a neighboring minister, less popular than himself, asked him why it was, that wherever and whatever he preached, he always so deeply moved the people, while he himself, though preaching the same gospel, could elicit next to no interest at all. Mr. Sherman replied by making this offer: "I will preach one of your sermons to your people and you shall preach one of mine to my people." The offer was accepted. And the result was that Mr. Sherman's people, ignorant of the arrangement, listened to what, as usual, when they heard the same preacher, they thought a dull

[1] Alden" "Am. Epitaphs," vol. ii., pp. 90–92; Sewall's "History," p. 332.

[2] Sewall's "Hist.," p. 325.

[3] "History of Woburn," p. 326.

[4] "History of Woburn," pp. 325–326; *Am. Qy. Register*, vol. xi., p. 188.

[5] Shattuck's "History of Concord," pp. 265–266; The Sherman Family in "New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register," vol. xxiv., p. 158; Letter of Rev. Charles S. Sherman, 1889.

[6] Chickering's "Dedication Discourse," p. 19.

sermon, while his neighbor's people, also ignorant, were charmed with an extraordinary one.

Such being the character of the man and the eloquence of the preacher, it is not strange that the people of Woburn parted with him with great reluctance. But finding himself unable to support his family without a considerable addition to his salary a small increase having been repeatedly inadequate he requested a dismission, which request he repeated and urged before it was finally granted. And even after his dismission, an unsuccessful effort was made to induce him to return and be settled again.

Mr. Sherman, while in Woburn, lived in the large and still remembered house that stood on the east side of Main Street, near the present residence of the widow of the late Lewis Shaw. On leaving Woburn he removed to Milford, Connecticut, where he was for some time pastor of the Second Church. He thence removed to Goshen, in the same State, where he was also a pastor, and finally removed to Woodbridge, near New Haven, where he preached during the remainder of his life and now sleeps in death.[1]

The inscription on the monumental stone at Woodbridge is as follows:

"In
Memory of The
Rev. Josiah Sherman,
Minister of the Gospel,
Obt. Nov. 24th, A.D. 1789.
Æ. 60.
"The learned Scholar, the eloquent Orator, the accomplished Gentleman, the faithful Pastor, the kind Husband and Parent, and the humble follower of Jesus Christ. Piety adorned his useful life, and in the moment of his painful Death, enabled him to triumph in the Hope of Heaven.
"Much impressed himself, as conscious of his awful charge,"—"by him the violated law spoke out its thunders, and by him in strains as sweet as Angels use, the Gospel whispered Peace."[2]

It is not definitely known how many sermons or other addresses Mr. Sherman published. Three are extant. One was addressed to infidels. Others were on "The Redemption by Jesus Christ," and the "History of Melchisedec." In 1770, while at Woburn, he preached the Artillery Election Sermon from Ps. 149: 6.[3] It is not known that this was published.

Mr. Sherman married, January 26, 1757, Martha, daughter of Hon. James and Elizabeth (Merrick) Minott, of Concord. They had six children, of whom the four oldest were daughters and the two youngest sons, all born in Woburn,—

1. Martha, born December 8, 1758, married, first, Rev. Justin Mitchell, of New Canaan, Conn., and second, Joseph Bartlett, of Albany, N. Y. (she was the grandmother of the Hon. Chauncey Mitchell Depew, of New York); 2. Elizabeth, born March 26, 1761, married John Mitchell, of Woodbury, Conn.; 3. Mary, born February 3, 1763, married Joseph Ives, of Conn.; 4. Susanna, born April 7, 1765, married John Baldwin, of Bloomfield, N. J.; 5. Josiah, born —— 1770, married Hannah Jones, of Hartford, Conn., and settled in Albany, N. Y., where he was a highly esteemed merchant and an elder in the Presbyterian Church. He was the father of Rev. Charles S. Sherman, who, after graduating from Yale College in 1835, and from Andover Theological Seminary in 1838, was ordained as a missionary in Woburn, November 30, 1838. He was for some time a missionary in Jerusalem, Palestine, and is now living in Manchester, Conn. Two other sons of Josiah Sherman, Henry and Epaphras, after leaving Yale College, entered the profession of law. The former practiced in Hartford, Conn., in New York and in Washington, D. C., where he died March 24, 1879. The younger practiced chiefly in New York until his death there, January, 1886. 6. Roger Minott, born May 22, 1773, married Elizabeth Gould, of New Haven, Conn., December 13, 1796. At the age of sixteen he entered the Sophomore Class in Yale College, six weeks before the death of his father. By the aid of his uncle, Hon. Roger Sherman, of New Haven, who received him into his family, and by his own exertions in teaching, he was enabled to meet his college expenses and graduated, in 1792, with a high standing as a scholar. He immediately took an academy in Windsor and, at the same time, commenced the study of law under the Hon. Oliver Ellsworth. Subsequently he took a school in Litchfield, where he continued the study of law under the Hon. Tapping Reeve. In March, 1795, he was appointed a tutor in Yale College. He was admitted to the bar in New Haven, May, 1796. After practicing in Norwalk several years, he removed to Fairfield in 1807, where he resided nearly forty years, till his death, December 30, 1844. As a man, as a Christian, as a scholar, as a lawyer and a judge of the Supreme Court, he stood pre-eminent in his State, and was very highly esteemed wherever known.[4]

Rev. Samuel Sargeant.—After the dismission of Mr. Sherman the church was, for nearly ten years, without a pastor. This destitution, together with the still remembered popularity of Mr. Sherman, made it exceedingly difficult for the people to agree upon a successor, and equally difficult for any man to fill the vacancy. Among the many who preached as candidates, at least four received a call to settle, but, in each case the candidate, evidently fearing to incur the risk, in the circumstances, of an affirmative answer, declined acceptance and settled elsewhere. In their sadly disheartening condition, the parish finally extended a call to Rev. Samuel Sargeant. This call,

[1] Rev. Dr. Atwater's Discourse at the funeral of Hon. Roger M. Sherman, p. 9.

[2] Rev. Charles S. Sherman's letter.

[3] Sewall's "History," pp. 356–357.

[4] Dr. Atwater's Funeral Discourse, pp. 9–11; Letter of Rev. Charles S. Sherman.

though not unanimous, was voted December 8, 1784, and it was not till January 24, 1785, that it was answered affirmatively. The ordination seems to have taken place March 14, 1785. Few pastors, at the outset of their ministry, have ever had a more unpromising outlook into the future. The people were divided, uneasy, discouraged and dissatisfied. If the minister had been the best in the country, he could hardly have expected or achieved success. And it was not necessarily to the discredit of Mr. Sargeant that he failed. So far as appears, he tried to do his duty and earnestly desired the welfare of the people. But he had scarcely entered upon his work before a series of agitations respecting him began which continued till its close, nearly fourteen years later. The wonder is that he remained so long, though it should not be forgotten that, in his day, there prevailed, in regard to the length of pastorates, ideas very different from those prevalent to-day.

Without attempting to go into the numerous details of the case, it is sufficient for our present purpose to say that the people voted, July 9, 1798, with the concurrence of Mr. Sargeant, to call a mutual council to consider their condition and give advice. The council convened September 25, 1798. After an address from a joint committee of the church and parish to the persons composing it, and due deliberation, the council gave their result. In view of the very complicated and threatening circumstances of the parish, they unanimously advised Mr. Sargeant to "ask for dismission on condition that the Church and people of his charge shall pay him nine hundred dollars, that sum being judged no more than a reasonable compensation for his relinquishing his contract." At the same time the council bore their testimony to the good moral character of Mr. Sargeant as a man, as a Christian and as a minister, which they declare to be unimpeached, "no charges having been offered of any immoral conduct, false doctrine, or criminal delinquency in office."

The council concluded by addressing wholesome and timely admonition and advice to the people, and commending them and the pastor to the blessing of God.

This result, especially in its recommendation of a compensation of $900 to Mr. Sargeant, was not accepted by the people. After nearly a year of additional agitation, a compromise was made which put an end to the controversy, and Mr. Sargeant was accordingly dismissed, May 27, 1799, after a ministry of a little more than fourteen years.[1]

Rev. Samuel Sargeant was born in Worcester, November 6, 1755. By the author of the "Descendants of William Sargeant," he is said to have been of the Malden family of Sargeants, but no very definite account of him is attempted. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1783, and studied theology under Rev. Professor Ripley, of Hanover, N. H. He was ordained at Woburn March 14, 1785, and dismissed May 27, 1799.[2]

According to a tradition in the Thompson family, he boarded, for some time, in the family of the widow of Daniel Thompson, the martyr-hero of Lexington and Concord, whose well-known house still stands on Main Street, corner of Clinton Street, Central Square. There is reason to believe that he subsequently lived in a house standing on the east side of Main Street, near the present residence of Dr. J. M. Harlow, or perhaps nearer the spot now occupied by the Episcopal Church. It is not known that he published more than one sermon, but a "Right Hand of Fellowship," which he gave to Rev. F. Raynolds at his ordination in Wilmington, October 29, 1795, was printed, with the sermon preached on the same occasion by the Rev. Charles Backus, of Somers, Conn., and the charge to the pastor by the Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Emmons, of Franklin, and is still extant.

After Mr. Sargeant was dismissed from the church in Woburn he removed to Chester, Vt., and without being settled over any church, he preached in various places and in different States, under the direction of the Connecticut and Massachusetts missionary societies. For several years he had also charge of the church in Chester, whose pulpit he regularly supplied, though not as a settled pastor. He died in Chester, June 2, 1818, at the age of 63.[3]

Rev. Samuel Sargeant married, May 10, 1787, Miss Nabby Blaney, of Malden, and four children were born to them in Woburn:

1. Nabby, born February 6, 1788; 2. Jabez, born February 1, 1789; 3. Phineas Osgood, born February 29, 1792; 4. Benjamin Blaney, born August 9, 1793.

From Sargeant's work on "Descendants of William Sargeant," we learn that Rev. Samuel Sargeant had a family of five sons, though the record is confessedly imperfect. The names given are—1. Jabez, a lawyer in Windsor, Vt.; 2. Samuel, who went West; 3. Benjamin; 4. Blaney; 5. Phineas Osgood.

December 18, 1889. Since the foregoing was written the writer has been informed by a letter from a friend in Chester, Vt., that Benjamin Blaney Sargeant died in that town November 29th, in his ninety-seventh year. The writer adds that for many years he was a sheriff, and that he once took the census of Windsor County, traversing the hills on foot.

Rev. Joseph Chickering.—During the interval between the dismission of Mr. Sargeant and the settlement of his successor nearly five years elapsed. Calls were, in the mean time, extended to Mr. Joshua Lane in 1801, and to Mr. Humphrey Moore in 1802, to assume the pastoral charge, but in each case the answer was in the negative.

At a meeting held December 5, 1803, the church

[1] Sewall's "History," pp. 433-446.

[2] "Descendants of William Sargent."

[3] Chester Town Record and Chester Church Manual.

voted a unanimous call to Mr. Joseph Chickering to become their pastor. In this call the town, on the 22d of the same month, unanimously concurred, and voted to give him an annual salary of $650.00 and fifteen cords of good hard wood. On the 26th of January, 1804, the town voted that when, by reason of old age or other infirmity, Mr. Joseph Chickering shall be unable to perform the work of the gospel ministry, he shall then receive one-half of the aforesaid annual salary, to be equally apportioned on the money and wood during the time he shall stand in the connection of a gospel minister in the town of Woburn.[1]

On the 12th of February following, Mr. Chickering signified his acceptance of the invitation, and he was accordingly ordained March 28, 1804, by a large council of the pastors and delegates of fifteen churches, Rev. Jabez Chickering, of Dedham, father of the pastor-elect, preaching the sermon.[2]

It was during Mr. Chickering's ministry that the third meeting-house was destroyed by fire and a new house erected on the site now occupied by the Unitarian Church. This house was dedicated June 28, 1809, the sermon, preached by the pastor, being published and still extant.

Mr. Chickering's ministry was attended by manifest tokens of Divine acceptance. He had warm friends; the attendance upon his ministrations was full and increasing; new and earnest interest was awakened in the work of various benevolent associations, and a large number of persons were added to the church, there being, during his ministry, 164. To human view it seems as if this prosperity might continue indefinitely. But the last few years of his pastorate became, through an unfortunate business transaction between him and a prominent member of his society, a source of great disquietude to him and of anxiety to his people. All efforts intended to restore peace failed, and, at length, amid the tears and sobs of a large part of the congregation the beloved pastor read, January 28, 1821, his resignation, and he was accordingly dismissed April 11th following. The council bore strong testimony to the moral, Christian and ministerial character of the retiring pastor, and cordially recommended him to any Christian community, wherever the providence of God might call him. The council also commended the church for the Christian spirit which had actuated them in the trying circumstances which had led to the severance of the tie that had bound them to a pastor whom they loved and, in other circumstances, would gladly have retained.

After leaving Woburn Mr. Chickering was installed, July 10, 1822, as pastor of the church in Phillipston, Mass., where he remained as pastor till July 16, 1835, when, at his own request, on account of enfeebled health, he was dismissed. He died in Phillipston, January 27, 1844.

Rev. Joseph Chickering, son of Rev. Jabez Chickering, was born April 30, 1780, in that part of Dedham which is now known as the town of Norwood, where his father was pastor of the Congregational Church. He graduated from Harvard College, 1799, studied theology with Rev. Professor Tappan, of Cambridge, and was ordained at Woburn, as before stated, March 28, 1804.[3]

Mr. Chickering was twice married. He married, first, September 1, 1805, Betsey, only daughter of Deacon John White, of Concord, Mass. They had five children:

1. John White, born March 19, 1808; graduated from Middlebury College, 1826, and from Andover Theological Seminary, 1829; for many years a beloved pastor in Portland, Me. Married, November 9, 1838, Frances Evelina Knowlton, of Phillipston. Of his children, John White, Jr., graduated Bowdoin College, 1852; was a pastor at Exeter, N. H., and is now professor in the College for the Deaf and Dumb, at Washington, D. C. Joseph Knowlton, graduated Amherst College, 1869; for some time professor in that college, and now (1889) residing in Washington. Rev. John W. Chickering, D.D., died suddenly at the house of a friend in Brooklyn, N. Y., December 9, 1888, when on his way to his winter home in Washington. 2. Joseph, born January 9, 1810; married at Phillipston, April 3, 1833, Emeline Jones, of Gloucester- who died September 25, 1886. Since 1835 he has resided at La Harpe and Oquawka, Ill. His present home is the latter place. 3. Ruth, born 1812; died October 27, 1815, aged three years and four months. 4. Henry, born 1814; died November 14, 1815. 5. Elizabeth, born October, 1815; died October 19, 1815. Mrs. Betsey (White) Chickering dying November 3, 1815, Rev. Joseph Chickering married, second, Sarah Abbott Holt, daughter of Jacob Holt, of Andover, and had other children: 6. Betsey, born May 3, 1818; unmarried and residing in Pittsfield, Mass. 7. Henry, born September 3, 1819; married, first, Martha, daughter of Ward Newton, of Phillipston; second, Elvira P. Allen, of Barre. He resided in Athol, Barre, North Adams and Pittsfield, where he died March 5, 1881. He was a printer by trade; was for many years proprietor of the *Berkshire County Eagle*, and for twenty years was postmaster of Pittsfield. He was a deacon in the First Congregational Church in Pittsfield, where his widow still resides. His only surviving son graduated from Amherst College, 1871, and is a lawyer in San Francisco, Cal. 8. Abbott, born December 6, 1821; died at Phillipston June 11, 1842. 9. Benjamin, born in Phillipston November 18, 1824; married there, May 21, 1846, Deborah Louisa, daughter of Tilly Baldwin. She died in Pittsfield September 1, 1863, and he married, second, October 5, 1865, Mary Safford Smith, daughter of Cyrus Smith, of Reading. Their only child, a daughter,

[1] Parish Records. [2] Rev. S. Sewall. [3] Letter of Miss Betsey Chickering.

died in July, 1874, at eight years of age. Mr. Chickering resided for many years in Pittsfield, where, for a considerable number of years, he was the principal of Chickering's Commercial College,[1] and where he died August 3, 1889.

Rev. Joseph Bennett.—On the 19th of November following Mr. Chickering's dismission a unanimous call to settle, as his successor, was extended by church and parish to Mr. Joseph Bennett, then a recent graduate from the Theological Seminary at Andover. Having signified his acceptance December 6th, he was ordained by a large council, January 1, 1822. Like similar occasions elsewhere at that time, it was a memorable day. Assembled on the Common, from all quarters, was an immense crowd of people, not one-fourth part of whom could find room for them in the church, even if they had desired it. The whole aspect of the place was that of a gala day. A procession of the council and members of the church and parish marched into the meeting-house, preceded by instrumental music, the players on instruments also performing at intervals select pieces during the protracted exercises.

The ministry of Mr. Bennett, continuing nearly twenty-six years, is so recent and so well remembered by a large number of the people yet living, that it seems unnecessary to go into details in an account of it. Mr. Bennett was a man of marvelous energy. Inheriting a perilous amount of nervous force, he was the *Boanerges* of the Woburn pulpit. There were occasions when he was like a war-horse on the field of battle. His commanding figure and his strong voice made him the "observed of all observers." On several occasions, when, in a crowded and somewhat tumultuous miscellaneous assembly, the moderator failed to secure a proper degree of order, he rose, and, with an air of majesty and a tone of startling significance, commanded silence, and instantly there followed a great calm, and business was quietly resumed.

The revival of religion, which began in the autumn of 1826, and continued through two years or more, was one of wondrous power, and resulted in an admission, during a single year, of 225 persons, and during the next year, 62, or 287 in two years, to the church. During his ministry in Woburn there were 760 additions. A new meeting-house was erected in 1840, and signs of external and internal prosperity were visible on every hand.

Doubtless it should be distinctly understood that no small part of the success attributed to Mr. Bennett was due, humanly speaking, to his excellent wife. She was a woman of rare qualities, always calm, self-poised and self-possessed, and, in every respect, just the helpmeet for such a man. She was often called, and admitted by him to be, his "balance-wheel." Having a remarkable control over him, she could, by a single quiet word, and often by a look, still his undue excitement and soothe his unsteady nerves as by a lullaby. And it was a sad day for him when death snatched her away. His work was done. He survived her for a short time, and even married again. But his excited nerves were never again quieted. His inherited and long approaching insanity led him at last, Nov. 19, 1847, to take his own life.

Rev. Joseph Bennett was born in Framingham May 13, 1798; graduated from Harvard College in 1818; studied theology at Andover; was ordained at Woburn Jan. 1, 1822; and, during the month of February following, married Mary Lamson, of Charlestown. He lived first in the historic house at North Woburn of late known as the Wheeler house, then in the historic Clapp house at Central Square. But his home, during most of his ministry, was in the house on Pleasant Street next to the new railroad depot. He had only two children,—

1. Joseph Lamson, born Nov. 8, 1823; graduated Amherst College, 1845; Andover, 1848; was pastor of Churches, at Hannibal, Mo., East Cambridge, Mass., Lockport, N. Y., Indianapolis, Ind., Springfield, O., Suspension Bridge and Spencerport, N. Y. He married Eliza Ann Tilson, of Boston, had four children, and died May 22, 1882.

2. Mary Lamson, born Sept. 14, 1829; married Rev. Thomas Morong, who graduated Amherst College, 1848; Andover, 1853; has been pastor at Pepperell, Mass., Iowa City, Iowa, Ipswich and since 1878 at Ashland, Mass. They have two children, one of whom, Arthur Bennett, graduated Amherst College, 1871, and is a physician in Boston.[2]

Rev. Jonathan Edwards.—During the month of March, succeeding Mr. Bennett's death, the church and society extended a unanimous call to Mr. Jonathan Edwards, of Andover, to the pastoral charge. On the 26th of May following the call was accepted, and Sept. 7, 1848, the pastor-elect was publicly ordained. The sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. E. N. Kirk, of Boston; the charge was delivered by Rev. Dr. Justin Edwards, of Andover, and the address to the people by Rev. Dr. John W. Chickering, of Portland, Me.

The ministry of Mr. Edwards was characterized by a gratifying degree of prosperity. The uniform urbanity and culture as well as fidelity of the pastor were met by respect, confidence and kindness on the part of the people. The salary was largely increased without solicitation, and nothing is known to have occured to jar or mar the mutual harmony.

But, after more than seven years of useful labor, Mr. Edwards received an urgent invitation to engage in a new enterprise elsewhere, which seemed to him to promise, on the whole, a more satisfactory degree of usefulness, and the people reluctantly consented, at his own request, to release him. He was accordingly dismissed Jan. 9, 1856.

[1] Letter of Miss Betsey Chickering.

[2] Woburn Record of Births.—Biographical Record of the Amherst Alumni, p. 206, p. 227, p. 470.

Rev. Jonathan Edwards, son of Rev. Dr. Justin and Lydia (Bigelow) Edwards, was born at Andover July 17, 1820; graduated from Yale College in 1840; studied theology at New Haven and Andover Theological Seminaries, graduating from the latter in 1847. After spending an additional year at Andover as "Abbot Resident," and, in the mean time, accepting a call to settle in Woburn, he was ordained, as before mentioned, Sept. 7, 1848. Leaving Woburn early in 1856, he became, Feb. 14th of that year, the first pastor of the Plymouth Congregational Church in Rochester, N. Y. On the 1st day of January, 1863, he was installed pastor of the First Congregational Church in Dedham, Mass. Since 1876 he has been pastor of the Congregational Church at Wellesley Hills, Mass.

Mr. Edwards married, Aug. 31, 1848, at Augusta, Me., Frances Swan Bronson, eldest daughter of Hon. David Bronson, of Augusta. Their children, all born in Rochester, N. Y., are:

1. Augusta Bigelow, born Feb. 26, 1857; married Frederick W. Brooks Dec. 13, 1876.
2. Mary Newton, born Jan. 4, 1859.
3. Justin, born Nov. 30, 1861.[1]

Rev. Daniel March.—Rev. Daniel March, recently from Brooklyn, N. Y., was the immediate successor of Mr. Edwards. A unanimous call having been extended to him August 18, 1856, he accepted it and was installed October 1st, following; the sermon being preached by Rev. Dr. A. L. Stone, of the Park Street Church, Boston. This pastorate, like that of his predecessor, was a highly prosperous and happy one, and though short—between five and six years—was rich in results. As, however, Dr. March, after a ministry of several years in Philadelphia, Pa., resumed his former charge in Woburn, which he still retains, a more extended notice of his connection with the church and society is here deferred and will be given farther on. It need only be said here that it was during his first pastorate in Woburn, and not, as stated in Sewall's History, in Dr. Bodwell's, that the present spacious church edifice was erected.

Rev. Joseph C. Bodwell.—Dr. March having been dismissed February 17, 1862, Rev. Joseph C. Bodwell, then of Framingham, accepted a unanimous invitation, voted October 6th of the same year, to become his successor, and was installed November 11th following. A written statement of his theological views and a verbal account of his personal experience were highly satisfactory, both to the council and to the people. Richly furnished by personal and professional training and culture, Mr. Bodwell entered upon his work with rare promise of usefulness. During a part of his subsequent ministry his happiness was somewhat disturbed and his usefulness more or less abridged by an untimely, if not wicked, interference of a few persons, led on by men who did not accept his theological views and were only transient residents in Woburn. But the large majority of his people had the fullest confidence in him and, in various ways, manifested for him a warm affection. That he was a man of unusual culture and ability, none could deny, and the council that dismissed him August 3, 1866, bore the highest testimony to his character, as a genial man, a sound theologian, an able preacher, a successful pastor and a wise winner of souls to Christ. The council also warmly commended the church and society for their steadfast sympathy with him, their "warmest attachment and unwavering confidence."

But the urgent call from the Board of Trustees of Theological Seminary at Hartford, Conn., to a professorship in that institution, and considerations connected with the offered position, were accepted as unmistakable indications that God had for him there a more important field of usefulness even than the wide field in Woburn. And accordingly, amid the great regrets of his flock, he was dismissed and commended to those who were specially interested in his new sphere of labor.

Rev. Joseph Conner Bodwell, D.D., was born in Sanbornton, N. H., June 11, 1812, and was the son of Rev. Abraham Bodwell, pastor for many years of the Congregational Church in that place. He fitted for college mostly in his native town, where, at a very early age, he was a teacher. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1833, and during the following year taught the academy at Haverhill, N. H., and in 1835–36 the Woodman Academy in Sanbornton. Encouraged and advised by Rev. Mr. Gibbs, of Haverhill, a native of England, he pursued his theological studies in 1836–37, at Highbury College, London. On the 3d of April, 1839, he was ordained pastor of the Independent Church, Weymouth, Dorsetshire, from which he was dismissed in 1845. In June, 1847, he was installed at Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk. Dismissed from this charge in 1850, he returned to the United States, and June 30, 1852, he was installed pastor of the Congregational Church at Framingham, Mass. Dismissed November 5, 1862, he was installed at Woburn November 11th, following. He was dismissed from his charge in Woburn August 3, 1866, to become "Professor of Pulpit-Training and Pastoral Care" in the Hartford Theological Seminary, where he remained for seven years. He died of carbuncle at Southwest Harbor, Mount Desert Island, Me., June 17, 1876, and was buried in Sanbornton, N. H., by the side of his parents.

He received the degree of S.T.D. from his *alma mater* in 1864.

Dr. Bodwell published "A Pastor's Farewell to his Flock," preached in the First Congregational Church in Woburn, August 5, 1866; "The Preachers demanded in Our Day, and How to secure them," inaugural discourse as professor at Hartford; "Historical Address" at the centennial celebration of the San-

[1] Letter of Rev. J. Edwards.

bornton Congregational Church November 13, 1871. He was one of the founders of the *American Theological Review*, and one of four original proprietors of the *Boston Congregational Review*.

Dr. Bodwell married, May 16, 1839, Catharine Sykes, only daughter of John Sykes, Esq., of Highbury Park, London. Their children were:

1. Joseph Conner, born February 29, 1840, in Weymouth, Eng. He graduated from Dartmouth College 1863; was admitted to practice in the courts of Massachusetts, at Cambridge, 1864; graduated from Hartford Theological Seminary 1871; ordained at Thompson, Conn., March 13, 1872; installed over the Congregational Church there in December following; dismissed September 25, 1874, and installed over the church in Stockbridge, Mass., October 6th following. He has since labored in Leavenworth City, Kansas, two years, and has been, for some time, pastor of the Congregational Church in Bridgewater, Mass. He is now (1889) pastor of the Congregational Church in Lyndonville, Vt., where he was installed June 23, 1887. He married Lydia Anne, daughter of Deacon John R. Kimball, of Woburn, June 15, 1871; 2. Katharine Sykes, born in Weymouth, Eng., August 15, 1841; 3. Charlotte Elizabeth, born in Weymouth, Eng., September 3, 1843; 4. John Abraham, born September 13, 1844, died June 25, 1847; 5. Helena Jane, born in Islington, Eng., October 2, 1846, died November 27, 1846; 6. Herbert James Lovell, born at Bury St. Edmund's, Eng., June 24, 1849; 7. Albert Edward, born in Framingham, Mass., June 26, 1853.[1]

Rev. Stephen R. Dennen.—After the dismission of Dr. Bodwell, August 3, 1866, the church and society were without a pastor till June 24, 1868, when Rev. Stephen R. Dennen, who had accepted a call to succeed him, was duly installed, Rev. Dr. Thatcher Thayer, of Newport, R. I., preaching the sermon from Matt. 5: 17. Mr. Dennen, like his predecessor, had the advantage of ripe experience in the pastoral office, and his power, as an able and impressive preacher, was soon felt and acknowledged. During the interval of nearly two years which preceded his installation, the parish, though without a pastor, had enjoyed unusual religious interest and about sixty persons, mostly young, had been admitted to membership in the church. An encouraging degree of this interest continued for some time under the ministry of the new pastor, and those of only recent Christian experience at the time, especially needed the strong and instructive discourses with which he fed them. A good degree of prosperity, in various ways, continued to crown the labor of both pastor and people from year to year. But with another field in view, which he thought, on the whole, promised more satisfactory results, the pastor resigned his position and, at his own request, was dismissed December 27, 1871.

[1] Runnel's "History of Sanbornton, N. H.," pp. 42–44.

Rev. Stephen Rollins Dennen, D.D., was born in Poland, Me., November 6, 1826; graduated from Colby University in 1849; from the theological seminary at Bangor, Me., in 1852, and spent 1853 as resident licentiate at Andover. He has been a pastor in Providence, R. I., in New Haven, Conn., and in Lynn and Watertown, Mass., and now (1889) resides in West Newton.

Dr. Dennen married, November 2, 1854, at Thomaston, Me., Clara Whitney Ludwig, and their children were: 1. Clara Rollins, born at Watertown, December 14, 1856; 2. Lucy Whitney, born at Watertown, April 12, 1859; 3. William Ludwig, born at Watertown, October 22, 1860, died September 21, 1862; 4. Jane Whitney, born at Watertown, January 16, 1863; 5. Stephen Howard, born at Somerville, February 2, 1865, died at West Newton, November 1, 1888; 6. Walter Knight, born at Providence, R. I., April 22, 1868, died at Woburn, May 15, 1870; 7. Grace Atherton, born at Woburn, September 28, 1872.[2]

Rev. Henry S. Kelsey was installed pastor March 19, 1873. Rev. Dr. Webb, of Boston, preached the sermon; Rev. Mr. Bissell, of Winchester, gave the right hand of fellowship; Rev. Mr. McCollom, of Medford, gave the address to the people, and Rev. Dr. Wallace, of Manchester, N. H., the charge to the pastor. Mr. Kelsey also had been previously a pastor. His ministry in Woburn was short, it being only about three years and six months. During this time there were admitted, by profession and by letter, about 100 persons to membership in the church. He was dismissed, at his own request, October 8, 1876. Before coming to Woburn he had been pastor of churches in Granby, Mass., Rockville, Conn., and Holliston, Mass. After leaving Woburn he was pastor of the College Street Church, New Haven, Conn., and now (1889) resides, without charge, in Chicago, Ill.

Henry Sylvester Kelsey, son of Sylvester and Polly (Gates) Kelsey, was born at LeRoy, N. Y., December 5, 1830; fitted for college at Williston Seminary, Easthampton, Mass.; graduated from Amherst College 1855, and from East Windsor (now Hartford) Theological Seminary in 1857; was tutor in mathematics, Amherst College, 1857–60; professor of mathematics and physics, Beloit College, 1860–63. He married, first, Harriet A., daughter of Philip Schuyler, of Litchfield, Conn., October 8, 1861, who died August 3, 1865; second, Mrs. Eliza Leavitt Fiske, daughter of Rev. Aaron Foster, of East Charlemont, Mass., October 16, 1869. She was the widow of Samuel Fiske, A.M., a tutor in Amherst College.[3]

Rev. Daniel March, D.D.—Soon after Mr. Kelsey's dismission in 1876, Rev. Dr. March, after a successful pastorate in Philadelphia, yielded to the strong and anxious desire of the people of his former charge in Woburn, to resume his residence and work among

[2] Letter of Rev. S. R. Dennen, D.D.

[3] "Biographical Record of Amherst Alumni," p. 294.

them. Moved by their destitute and, at the time, somewhat discouraging circumstances, he consented, at first conditionally, and with the mutual understanding that he should not immediately take the regular charge, but would ere long do it if it was deemed best. To this they gladly consented, provided only they might expect him after the proposed delay. At the expected time he came, and after about two years of stated labor as acting pastor, he accepted a cordial invitation to be reinstalled, and was accordingly installed by a large council, Jan. 22, 1879, in the same office which he had resigned seventeen years before. This position he still, and never more acceptably, fills in 1889.

Dr. March has been an extensive traveller; "The Land of the Midnight Sun," and the more prominent States in Europe, Western Asia, India, China, Egypt, and various islands of the sea have been visited by him. During a portion of 1887 and nearly all of 1888 he made the most prolonged and widely extended of all his repeated journeys.

Dr. March has also been a voluminous writer. Among his published works the following have been well and widely known: "Night Scenes in the Bible," "Our Father's House, or the Unwritten Word," "Home Life in the Bible," "From Dark to Dawn, or Second Series of Night Scenes in the Bible," "Walks and Homes of Jesus," "Days of the Son of Man," "The First Khedive, or Lessons from the Life of Joseph." Many sermons in newspaper and pamphlet form he has also published.

Rev. Daniel March, D.D., son of Samuel March, was born in Millbury, Mass., July 21, 1816. After spending some time in Amherst College, from 1834 to 1836, he left that institution and spent a year in other pursuits, but at length entered Yale College, from which he graduated in 1840. He has been a pastor in Cheshire, Conn., in Nashua, N. H., in Brooklyn, N. Y., and in Philadelphia, Pa., besides being twice settled as pastor in Woburn.

Dr. March married, first, Jane P. Gilson, of Proctorsville, Vt., Oct. 8, 1841, and she dying Feb. 27, 1857, he married, second, Anna B. Leconte, of Cheshire, Conn., April 29, 1859, who died in Woburn, April 8, 1878.[1]

Dr. Daniel and Jane P. (Gilson) March had four children:

1. Anna P., born in Proctorsville, Vt., Oct. 13, 1842, and died in Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 26, 1863.[2] 2. Daniel, born in New Haven, Conn., May 25, 1844, graduated from Amherst College in 1865, married, Oct. 3, 1878, Jean H. Stephenson, of Cambridge, N. Y., and is a physician in Winchester, Mass.[3] 3. Frederick William, born in Cheshire, Conn., March 6, 1847, graduated from Amherst College in 1867, studied theology in Princeton, N. J., married, Sept. 13, 1880, Jennie, daughter of Dr. Thomas Hill, of Newton, Mass., and is a missionary of the Presbyterian Board in Syria.[4] 4. Charles Augustus, born in Cheshire, Conn., Nov. 26, 1848, was a member of Amherst College, 1866–68, graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, 1870, and is a stenographer in the employ of the United States Government, Washington, D. C.[5]

HOUSES OF WORSHIP.[6]—The First Congregational Church and Society now worship in the sixth and by far the largest and most imposing structure ever occupied by them or their predecessors.

The first was doubtless very rude in appearance and small in dimensions. It stood on the southerly border of the Common and on the north side of a narrow lane which is now expanded into Common Street, leading from Pleasant to Main Street, and not far from the Armory and Municipal Building. The exact date of its erection has not been certainly ascertained; but it must have been previous to 1642, for the ordination of Mr. Carter in that year was doubtless within its walls. The house was so frail and inadequate to the growing wants of the people that in about thirty years it became necessary to take measures for the erection of another. In November, 1671, a committee was appointed to confer with carpenters in relation to it, and on the 20th of that month, after hearing their report, the town voted to build a new house forty feet square. In the autumn of 1672 it was ready for occupation.

The second house stood on the hill east of the Common and a short distance northeast of the "Zeb. Wyman" house and store, lately the home of Miss Ruth Maria Leathe. It was considerably more imposing than the first house, and was surmounted by a "turret" or cupola, in which was a bell. On the sides of the house within were galleries, which were constructed not at first, but from time to time subsequently as needed, and then in part by private parties. For more than forty years there were only two pews on the main floor of the house, and these were occupied by the families of the minister and deacons. The people generally, under the guidance of the "Seating Committee," were seated on benches with high backs, the men and women apart, and the boys on long benches on the sides of the house, under the windows.

In 1678 the house, proving too limited in capacity for the accommodation of increasing numbers, was enlarged. And in 1709 it was repaired and again enlarged by an addition of twenty feet to the east end. This house stood eighty years, and for fifty-eight years was the only place of worship for the

[1] "Biographical Record of Non-Graduates of Amherst College," p. 49.
[2] Letter of Rev. Dr. March.
[3] "Biographical Record of Amherst Alumni," p. 405.
[4] "Biographical Record of Amherst Alumni," p. 427.
[5] "Biographical Record of Non-Graduates of A. C." p. 142.
[6] The material for this brief sketch is largely from Mr. Sewall's "History of Woburn," severely condensed, and from various old records, private papers, tradition and memory.

entire town, then including Wilmington, Burlington and Winchester.

The third meeting-house, after many delays and many changes of the proposed location, was built on the easterly side of the Common, not far from the building formerly occupied as the post-office, now the store of William H. Curtis, and near the flagstaff on the west side of the street (now Main Street). This house, according to a note found in the Family Record of Zebediah Wyman, was erected (or raised) in the first week in December, 1748, and its steeple was put up in June, 1749. Mr. Sewall says it was not fully completed for more than three years, and was "probably" finished about March, 1752. It is described as "58 feet long, 42 feet wide, with 24 feet post." After being used nearly sixty years, it was, on the night of June 17, 1808, destroyed by fire.

The fourth meeting-house is still well remembered by many of our oldest citizens. After the destruction of the third house, the people were prompt and zealous in their measures for erecting another. In one year from the loss of one, the other (June 28, 1809) was dedicated. Rev. Joseph Chickering, the pastor, preached an appropriate sermon from Acts 7: 48,—"The Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands." The house stood on the site of the present Unitarian Church. It greatly exceeded either of its predecessors in capacity, architectural beauty and general appearance. But after it had been occupied a little more than thirty years, it was discovered that there was a degree of decay in the timber used in its construction that rendered, or was likely very soon to render, it unsafe. It was, therefore, taken down, and on the same site was erected, in 1840, another house.

The fifth meeting-house, like the fourth, on Pleasant Street, looking easterly upon the Common, was dedicated December 31, 1840, the sermon being preached by the pastor, Rev. Joseph Bennett, from Haggai 2: 9,—"The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former."

Such was the growth of the parish and the increased demand for seats to accommodate new families, that in less than twenty years it was found necessary to dispose of this spacious house and erect a much larger one. It became the property of the Unitarian Society, and by them has been so remodeled and beautified as to be almost beyond recognition by its former occupants.

The sixth and latest church edifice was erected during the first pastorate of Dr. March, and dedicated October 31, 1860. It is one of the largest in New England, and its conveniences are in all respects so excellent as hardly to leave anything to desire. Its location, on Main Street, corner of Church Avenue, is easily accessible. One hundred and fifty feet in length, eighty feet wide, with a steeple one hundred and ninety-six feet in height, it has a substantial and majestic aspect not often seen outside our large cities.

During the absence of the pastor (Dr. March, in 1887–88) this stately edifice was, at large expense, repaired and refurnished, and so was the more appropriate place in which, after his far-off journeyings, to welcome him home.

COLONIES FROM THE FIRST CHURCH.—In an account of the churches which, at different times, have gone from the old First Church and become distinct organizations, there should be special mention of the Second, the Third, the South and the North Churches. It is proper, however, to note the fact that the church in Wilmington was originally almost wholly, and the churches in Billerica and Arlington largely, composed of members who took letters from the First Church in Woburn.

Wilmington was for nearly a century a part of Woburn, and the people of that distant portion of the town worshiped with all the other inhabitants, near and remote, in the one and then only meeting-house in what has been called the Centre of the town. About three years after the incorporation of this northern portion of the town, then called Goshen, October 24, 1733, a new church organization was effected by seventeen men, and immediately after this act, performed, as was then the custom, by men only, the membership was increased by the addition of twenty-two other persons, men and women, making thirty-nine in all. Nearly all of these are believed to have taken letters from the old Woburn Church, one of them, James Thompson, having been a deacon of that church, as he was the first deacon chosen by the Wilmington Church. But as at the date of organization the town was a separate municipality, we do not propose further to trace the history.[1]

It may properly be said here that the Congregational Church in Billerica, organized in 1829, embraced originally a considerable number of persons who had previously been members of the Woburn Church, including one who became the first deacon of the new church.

The church in West Cambridge (now Arlington), organized in 1842, also embraced a considerable number of members of the Woburn Church, and among them Deacon Luke Wyman, one of its officers.

We come now to the colonies whose separate organizations were within the boundaries of Woburn.

The Second Church.—This church was organized October 29, 1735, in that part of Woburn which, for some time previously and for more than sixty years subsequently, was known as Woburn Precinct. A meeting-house was erected in 1732, but for some time previous to this the people met for worship in the house of Simon Thompson, near the centre of the present town of Burlington.

Following the usual custom of the times, the church was organized by men only, ten of whom, in-

[1] "Wilmington Church Manual." Rev. D. P. Noyes' Historical Address.

cluding Rev. Supply Clapp, the first minister, signed the covenant at the date given above, or November 8, 1735, N. S. The names were as follows: Supply Clapp, George Reed, Ebenezer Johnson, Samuel Walker, James Thompson, Joseph Pierce, Edward Johnson, William Bruce, Simon Thompson, John Spear.

Two of these ten organizers—Samuel Walker and George Reed—had been deacons in the First Church. They were soon followed by twenty-three other persons, thirty-three in all, most of them having been dismissed from the First Church for this purpose.[1]

The first minister of this church was Rev. Supply Clapp. He had preached for the first time as a candidate December 15, 1734, and he received a call to settle March 5, 1735, more than six months before the church was organized. He accepted the call "upon conditions," May 19th, and "in full" August 25th of the same year. He was accordingly ordained pastor. October 29, 1735, the day on which the church was organized, and he remained in office twelve years, or till his death, December 28, 1747.

Mr. Clapp, the son of Deacon Samuel and Mary (Paul) Clapp, of Dorchester, was born in that town June 1, 1711. Graduating from Harvard College in 1731, he immediately engaged in the work of teaching in his native town. This work he followed two or three years, preparing himself in the mean time for the higher work of preaching. In 1734 he occupied for most of the year a pulpit in Roxbury, going thence to Woburn. His first sermon, after his ordination, was founded upon Luke 12: 42, 43, "Who then is that faithful and wise steward, etc."

Mr. Clapp married August 11, 1737, Martha Fowle, daughter of the wife of Deacon Samuel Walker, by a previous marriage. A little more than two years after Mr. Clapp's death she married Nathaniel Thwing, of Boston, whose son James, seven years later, married her oldest daughter, Martha Clapp.

Mr. Clapp was a man of very feeble constitution, and was often seriously ill. He died when comparatively young, between thirty-six and thirty-seven years of age. He was highly esteemed as a good man and a faithful minister of Jesus Christ. On his gravestone in the old cemetery in Burlington is the following inscription:—

"Here lie interred the Remains of the
Revd. Mr. Supply Clap, late Pastor
of the 2nd Church of Christ in Woburn,
Who departed this Life
December the 28th, 1747,
in the 37th Year of his age,
and the 13th of his ministry.
He was a good Christian, and a faithful
Pastor, and being dead Yet Speaketh,
Especially to the People that were
his charge, Saying, remember how
Ye have received and heard, etc.
hold fast."[2]

[1] Letter of Mr. Samuel Sewall.

[2] "Clapp Memorial," pp. 19–21.

Rev. Supply and Martha (Fowle) Clapp had three children:—

1. Martha, born August 6, 1738, died in 1807; she married James Thwing, and had children:—Nathaniel, Supply, James, Rebecca and Samuel. Of these, Rebecca married William Furness and was the mother of Rev. William H. Furness, D.D., of Philadelphia, Pa.

2. Supply, born January 3, 1742; he lived in Portsmouth, N. H., and was never married. Died March 24, 1811, aged sixty-nine years.

3. Samuel, born about June, 1745, lived in Boston, where he died in 1809.[3]

The compiler of the "Clapp Memorial" says, "The children of Rev. Supply Clapp ever retained a grateful recollection of their native town; they made frequent visits to it, lingering about the spot which was the scene of their childhood. About 1790 they presented the church, over which their father had labored, a large folio Bible for the use of the pulpit."[4]

Mr. Clapp's immediate successor was Rev. Thomas Jones. He was the son of Ebenezer and Waitstill Jones, of Dorchester, where he was born April 20, 1721; graduated from Harvard College 1741, and during the same year taught the school in his native town, at the rate for the first quarter of £85 per annum, and for the next three months at the rate of £95, probably old tenor money. He also taught in 1742. He was ordained and installed as pastor of the Second Church, January 2, 1751, Rev. Ebenezer Gay, of Hingham, preaching the sermon. After a ministry of a little more than twenty-three years, he died suddenly March 13, 1774. While engaged in the Sabbath morning service he was stricken with apoplexy in the pulpit, and was immediately carried to his home, where, at sunset, he expired, much lamented by his people. His widow survived him many years, and died at the great age of ninety years, in consequence of a fall in 1814.[5]

Rev. Thomas Jones married Abigail Wiswall, of Dorchester, September 5, 1751. They had three children:—1. Lucy, baptized July 8, 1753, married Rev. Joseph Lee, of Royalston. 2. Martha, born May 17, 1758, married Rev. John Marrett, the successor of Mr. Jones as pastor of the Second Church. 3. Mary, twin of Martha, born May, 17, 1758, married Edward Walker, of Burlington.

Rev. Samuel Sewell, in 1857, says of the house in which Mr. Jones and his two immediate successors lived: "The house I live in was purchased by Mr. Jones soon after his ordination, was his dwelling while he lived the abode of his widow till her decease, and also of her son and daughter Marrett; so that it has been a ministerial abode above a century. And it is a memorable house, as the place of refuge to

[3] "Clapp Memorial," p. 21. "The Thwing Family," p. 34.

[4] "Clapp Memorial," p. 21.

[5] "Am. Qy. Register," vol. xi. p. 379 and p. 392, and "History of Dorchester," pp. 524–525.

Hancock and Samuel Adams on the 19th of April, 1775."[1]

Mr. Jones was succeeded by Rev. John Marrett, the son of Amos and Mary (Dunster) Marrett, of Cambridge, where he was born September 21, 1741. He was a direct descendant from one of the first settlers of Cambridge and also from Rev. Henry Dunster, the first President of Harvard College. Having graduated from Harvard College in 1763, he was ordained and installed pastor of the Second Church December 21, 1774, and died in office February 18, 1813.[2]

Mr. Marrett is supposed by his son-in-law, Rev. Samuel Sewall, to have studied divinity at Cambridge, where he resided several years during the interval between his leaving college and his settlement at Woburn Precinct. At the time of his ordination he had likewise a call to take charge of the church in Topsfield.[3]

Mr. Marrett married Martha, a daughter of his predecessor, Rev. Thomas Jones, December 16, 1779. He had an only son, who died in infancy, and, at his death, February 18, 1813, left an only daughter, Martha, who became the wife of his successor, Rev. Samuel Sewall. Mrs. Marrett died September 11, 1803.

It is not the object of this sketch to trace the history of the Second Church of Woburn after it became the First Church of Burlington, incorporated as a separate town in 1799. We can only say here that Mr. Marrett was succeeded, in 1814, by Rev. Samuel Sewall, who remained in office, honored and esteemed by all who knew him, till 1842, when, at his own request, he was released from service, but continued to reside in Burlington till his death, February 18, 1868.

It is worthy of mention that the house of worship, built in 1732, is still, in 1889, occupied as it has ever been from the first. It was, however, remodeled in 1846, and again in 1888, and is now more attractive and convenient than ever, and dearer than ever, as the place where the fathers worshiped one hundred and fifty-seven years ago.

The Third Church.—It is not possible to give an intelligible account of the Third Church without assuming the difficult and unwelcome task involved in at least a brief description of the long-continued controversy that led to it. Allusion has already been made to a serious alienation between Rev. John Fox and his colleague, Rev. Edward Jackson. It was a source of great trouble for many years, and gradually disturbed the peace and prosperity of the entire parish. Doubtless the greatly enfeebled health of the senior pastor, which often disqualified him for any share in the active work of a pastor, and, added to this, his total blindness during the last fifteen years of his life, complicated, in some measure, the mutual relations of the two men. Even before his loss of sight, Mr. Fox, in an important communication, described, in terms which long-continued suffering made strikingly pathetic, his almost utter helplessness at times and his general disability for labor. And after the added privation, involved in his blindness, came upon him, his case seemed sufficiently hopeless to elicit universal sympathy instead of censure for failing to do his share of the mutual work. This claim for sympathy was the more emphatic, when to the reality of his sufferings, as related by him, responsible physicians sent their unqualified testimony.

But, besides all this, there seems to have been an utter incompatibility between the men—a striking lack of congeniality in each for the other. Mr. Fox was much the older, more grave, more reverent, and, to use a common phrase, "more ministerial," than Mr. Jackson. So far as appears, he was also more conscientious, more self-respecting and more deeply religious.

Mr. Jackson was comparatively young, lacking in moral balance, careless in the use of language, and often very severe in his criticisms of Mr. Fox.

Within the past two years a large collection of valuable papers have been deposited in our Public Library, which, after being, for several of the later generations, unknown to the people of Woburn, have proved to be a new revelation touching this old controversy. They were discovered by Hon. Joseph B. Walker, of Concord, N. H., among the papers of Rev. Timothy Walker, the first minister of that place and a native of Woburn, and they were kindly placed by him in their present accessible position.[4]

It is not possible nor necessary here to go into details in our mention of these papers; but it is proper to say, in general, that the controversy which, to Mr. Sewall and others, once seemed, in some respects, inexplicable, receive, in the light they shed, an explanation which is sufficiently plain to be painful in a high degree. It is evident from them that Mr. Fox sought repeatedly and earnestly, both by proposals to Mr. Jackson and by correspondence with others whose kind mediation he solicited, to heal the open wounds. Rev. Dr. Coleman and other ministers in Boston also labored in vain to effect a reconciliation. But, strangely, Mr. Jackson seems to have refused every overture; had no confession to make, no apology to offer and no proposal to suggest

[1] "History of Dorchester," pp. 524–525.

[2] "Am. Qy. Register," vol. xi. p. 392, and "Letter of Samuel Sewall, Esq."

[3] "Am. Qy. Register," vol. xi. p. 392, and "Letter of Samuel Sewall, Esq."

[4] To these Walker Papers may be added a pamphlet of six pages in the form of a letter dated Woburn, September 13, 1747. It is without signature, printed about 1750, and was lately presented to the Library by Isaac Brooks Dodge, of Amherst, N. H. No other copy of it is known to exist. It relates wholly to the controversy between Mr. Fox and Mr. Jackson, and, so far as it goes, it essentially corroborates the statements found in the Walker Papers and gives reasons for the organization of the Third Church.

for an adjustment of existing difficulties in any feasible way. Meanwhile grave and numerous charges were made against him, by one and another of the people, of conduct which, if not wholly unchristian, was, at least, if the charges were sustained, highly impudent and unbecoming his office and profession. Mr. Jackson, too, brought charges against Mr. Fox, particularly of writing to him a scurrilous letter, which Mr. Fox, on the other hand, instantly and utterly denied ever writing.

While this unhappy controversy was going on, a considerable number of the people, most dissatisfied with Mr. Jackson, after various hindrances and delays, separated from the parish and received the necessary permission to form another, and organized a new church, which, the church at Woburn Precinct being the Second, should be known as the Third. Deferring more particular notice of this new organization for the present, it seems proper here to note the fact that it did not and, in the nature of the case, could not, bring peace to those who remained in the old parish. Mr. Fox was still the senior pastor and Mr. Jackson was the same as before. Their relations to each other were none the less unhappy, and the sad work of dissension went on.

About three months after the organization of the Third Church, Mr. Jackson, goaded on every side by the outspoken or whispered criticisms of the people, called an *ex-parte* council of six ministers and their delegates to consider his case and give advice. It seems strange, in view of the circumstances, and especially in view of the refusal of the church to join in the movement, that any council should have been found willing to undertake the difficult and dangerous and even thankless work. It is charitable to believe that they but faintly understood the nature of the enterprise. They, however, assembled. The charges that they took into consideration were numerous, and some of them were very serious. In reading their Result, which is very long and minute, one would, if the subject were not so serious, be tempted to smile at what seems to be a special painstaking to preserve a prudent equipoise between the two ministers, the two parties, and the measure of approval and censure for the man who had called them together. Yet after all their nice and praiseworthy adjustments of the balance, there seems to be a preponderance of censure, either expressed or implied, for Mr. Jackson, and a very cautious and apparently kind reference to Mr. Fox. On the whole, one cannot well avoid the conviction that he who called the council, after being "weighed," is found "wanting." They say they have found Mr. Jackson blameworthy to some extent and expect him to confess it and behave himself thereafter with Christian propriety. The church is exhorted to act wisely and kindly, bury the past and the new Third Church and Society are called upon to consider their course and its divisive consequences.

So far as appears, this elaborate Result had not the weight of a feather in the scale of public opinion. The unhappy schism remained. There was, perhaps, several years later, a slight and transient change in Mr. Jackson's favor. From some obscure origin a charge of scandalous immorality against him was found to be in circulation. Too hastily and very unwisely the people of the new society, including their minister, accepted it for truth and helped to circulate it as such. The result proved their mistake. Mr. Jackson was publicly vindicated, and Mr. Cotton, the minister of the Third Church, publicly confessed himself to have been deceived and in the wrong. This sad affair and the vindication of its intended victim, did not long precede his death. In the autumn of the same year Mr. Jackson died, and all controversy with him ended. Most fortunately, or rather providentially, his successor, as Mr. Fox's colleague, was Rev. Josiah Sherman, a man of great wisdom, of unblemished reputation and of unquestionable piety. Being also an orator of almost peerless eloquence, he soon drew all parties to himself. The aged senior pastor and the people were alike moved by his wondrous power, and, more strange than all, as already related, the recent Third Church organization was abandoned, the minister voluntarily retiring from his charge, and the people returning to the old church and parish.

The way is now prepared for a more particular notice of the Third Church.

On the 17th of September, 1746, a council, called for the purpose of organizing, if thought best, this church, after hearing and duly considering the statements bearing upon the case, adopted, with only one dissentient vote in relation to one article, the following

RESULT.

"The Result of a Council of seven Churches met here at Woburn to embodye the new Society into a Church state and to hear the grounds and causes of their separation from the First Church in said Woburn, Edward Jackson, pastor :—

"At the desire of a number of the inhabitants, several of them members of the Church there and some of other churches, disatisfied at the conduct of their minister, the Rev. Mr. Edward Jackson, and being sett off a distinct Society by the General Court, applied to us for advice and assistance in embodying into a Church State.

"After many prayers to God for his direction and several days unsuccessful endeavors with Mr. Jackson and the Church to bring them to joyn on reasonable terms with their aggrieved brethren in calling a Mutual Council; and hearing what the disatisfied had to lay befor us, we came to the following Result, viz. :—

"It appears to this Council that Mr. Jackson's conduct, in many articles, has been very offensive and the disatisfied have been unreasonably denied proper means of redress in their grievances and have, therefore, just and sufficient cause to withdraw from him as their pastor, and that it is advisable for them now to embody into a Church State.

"The Church in this place, not having, when desired, objected any particular of disorderly walking against them, we heartily lament the deplorable circumstances in which we find the people of this Precinct, broken into parties, and earnestly exhort all concerned to examine themselves and be deeply humbled for all that has been amiss in their temper and behaviour towards each other. Seeking God's pardon and grace, exercise mutual Christian forgiveness and endeavor by all mean the recovery and preservation of the unity of the Spirit among them in the bonds of peace. Amen.

"NATHANIEL EELLS, Scituate, Moderator.
"DANIEL LEWIS, of Pembroke,
"JOHN BARNARD, of Andover,

"Ebenezer Gay, of Hingham (except the article of embodying *now* in a Church State),
"Shearjashub Brown, of Scituate,
"Stephen Chase, of Lynn End,
"Signed also by all their messengers."

"The solemn Covenant, entered into at the time of Embodying the Church, was read distinctly by the Moderator of the Council and subscribed by those that were embodied as follows, viz. :—

"We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, being desirous of embodying into a particular Church of Christ in order thereunto ; We do, in the presence of God, the holy angels and this assembly, solemnly, seriously and sincerely, so far as we know our hearts, this day avouch the Lord Jehovah, the only living and true God, to be our God. We take God the Father, to be our Father and Sovereign; God the Son to be our Saviour and Redeemer, our Prophet, Priest and King and only Mediator of the Covenant of grace, and God the Holy Ghost to be our Sanctifier and Comforter. And we give up ourselves one unto another in the Lord, solemnly promising by God's gracious assistance to walk with Him and one with another in a Church relation in ways of Holy Communion and due observation of, and subjection to, all Christ's commandments and ordinances. Amen."

Thirty-eight persons subscribed and assented to the covenant, of whom twenty-three were females and fifteen males, as follows:

Roland Cotton, John Lock, Gershom Flagg, John Russell, Samuel Carter, Zachariah Flagg, John Carter, members of the First Church.

John Fowle, Joseph Richardson, Jr., Jacob Wright, Philip Alexander, Gershom Flagg, Jr., Peter Wyman, Samuel Tidd, James Sawyer, members of other churches.

Mary Fowle, Joanne Alexander, Elizabeth Flagg, Mary Sawyer, Sarah Kendall, Sarah Richardson, Mary Fowle, Phebe Tidd, Mary Richardson, Phebe Richardson, Isabel Bruce, Mary Fowle, Sarah Ames, Sarah Winn, Abigail Carter, Sarah Sawyer, Abigail Richardson, Pegg Grigree, members of the First Church.

Martha Richardson, Betty Flagg, Elizabeth Alexander, from other churches.

There are found but meagre data for the brief subsequent history of this church, its records being long since lost. John Leathe was chosen deacon and was also parish clerk. Rev. Josiah Cotton, previously a pastor of the church in Providence, Rhode Island, was installed pastor of the Third Church, July 15, 1747. The congregation worshiped in an unfinished building nearly opposite the old and still remembered Plympton House on Main Street. Not long after the settlement of Mr. Sherman, who lived in this house, Mr. Cotton became aware that his own people were increasingly attracted by the preaching of the popular successor of Mr. Jackson, and inclined to re-unite with the First Church and Parish. This measure he did not oppose, and wisely resigned his office as pastor. He was dismissed June 30, 1756. The re-union of the two churches soon happily followed, and Deacon John Leathe, of the Third Church, was ere long chosen deacon of the re-united church.

Rev. Josiah Cotton, the only pastor of the Third Church, was a son of Rev. Roland Cotton, of Sandwich. His grandfather, his father and three of his brothers were also ministers of the Gospel, and were descendants from Rev. John Cotton, minister of the First Church, Boston. Rev. Josiah Cotton was born in Sandwich, June, 1703, and graduated from Harvard College, 1722.[1] After leaving Woburn he was installed at Sandown, New Hampshire, November 28, 1759, and died there May 27, 1780.[2]

The South Congregational Church.—The largest colony that has ever gone from the First Church was that which, November 19, 1840, organized a new church in that part of Woburn which, in 1850, became a separate municipality bearing the name of Winchester. This colony, numbering one hundred and two persons, included many of the most valuable members and three of the six deacons of the mother church. Deacons Nathan B. Johnson, Benjamin F. Thompson and Marshall Wyman had long been pillars in the old church and their names were synonyms for consistent Christian character and usefulness wherever they were known. It is not strange, therefore, that the church parted with such men as they and those they represented with reluctance. But, after much hesitation and some delay, they consented and bade the new enterprise a sincere God-speed.

A council was called which was convened November 19, 1840. After the customary preliminaries, they proceeded to organize and recognize the new church. Following an invocation by Rev. Mr. Dennis, Rev. Jacob Coggin, of Tewksbury, a native of Woburn, offered the consecrating prayer, Rev. Reuben Emerson, of South Reading, gave the charge, and Rev. Joseph Bennett, pastor of the mother church, offered the concluding prayer. In the celebration of the Lord's Supper which followed, Rev. Messrs. Emerson, the moderator, Cleaveland and Bennett officiated.

A house of worship having been erected in 1840, was dedicated December 30th of that year to the worship of God, Rev. Daniel Crosby, pastor of the Winthrop Church in Charlestown, preaching the sermon.

The church, after an unsuccessful effort to obtain the services of Rev. James Boutwell, as pastor, extended, in the spring of 1841, a unanimous call, in which the society unanimously concurred, to Mr. George P. Smith, of Salem, to assume the duties of the pastoral office. He accepted the invitation and was ordained June 17th following.

Rev. T. P. Field, of Danvers, offered the invocation and read the Scriptures; Rev. Reuben Emerson, of South Reading, offered the introductory prayer; Rev. Dr. Nehemiah Adams, of Boston, preached the sermon; Rev. J. Mann, of Salem, offered the ordaining prayer; Rev. J. Towne, of Boston, gave the charge to the pastor; Rev. Abijah R. Baker, of Medford, expressed the fellowship of the churches; Rev. Joseph Bennett, of the First Church, made the address to

[1] "Sewall's History," pp. 337-338.
[2] Lawrence's "New Hampshire Churches," p. 132.

the people; Rev. W. J. Budington, of Charlestown, offered the concluding prayer.

Two original hymns, written for the occasion by the wife of the pastor of the First Church, were sung as peculiarly appropriate parts of the service.

At a meeting of the church, held December 31, 1840, Nathan B. Johnson, Benjamin F. Thompson and Marshall Wyman, who had been office-bearers in the First Church, were chosen as the first deacons of the South Church. And in January, 1841, when the Sabbath-school was organized, Deacon Benjamin F. Thompson, who had been also the superintendent of the school in the First Church, was chosen to the same office in the new organization.

The ministry of Mr. Smith, though short, was one of vigor and great usefulness. A delightful harmony and a "mind to work" pervaded the church, which at once took rank among the most active and efficient in every Christian enterprise.

To the great regret and deep sorrow of all, the young pastor, worn with care and heavy bereavement in his family, felt under the necessity of resigning his position and even of repeating his request for a release. He was accordingly dismissed March 11, 1845.

Mr. Smith was succeeded in the pastoral office by William T. Eustis, Jr., of Boston, who was ordained and installed April 8, 1846, Rev. Dr. R. S. Stows preaching the ordination discourse. Mr. Eustis remained in the pastoral office less than two years. He was dismissed January 27, 1848, and became pastor of a church in New Haven, Conn.

Mr. Eustis was followed by Rev. John M. Steele, who was ordained August 10, 1848, and dismissed February 11, 1852.

As South Woburn was incorporated in 1850, as a separate town, bearing the name of Winchester, the South Church of Woburn may more properly, from this year onward, be described as the First Church in Winchester, and, of course, belongs to the history of that town. [1]

Congregational Church at North Woburn.—In the month of September, 1846, a number of persons, then residing in North Woburn and accustomed to attend church at the Centre village, began to consider the propriety and feasibility of establishing separate religious worship among themselves. Securing permission to occupy for this purpose the large upper room of the village school-house, and bespeaking the services of Rev. Samuel Sewell, of Burlington, there was preaching there for the first time, October 11th of that year. The service from Sabbath to Sabbath being well attended and increasingly hopeful, the arrangement continued for three years. In the mean time a religious society was legally organized, March 1, 1849, and in June following, the foundations were laid for a house of worship, which was dedicated October 11th of the same year. On the 22d of November following, an ecclesiastical council, consisting of Rev. Jonathan Edwards of the First Church, Rev. Barnabas M. Fay of the church in Wilmington, Rev. Harrison G. Park of the church in Burlington, and their respective delegates, Deacons Stephen Richardson, Benjamin Foster, John Marion and Mr. Sumner Richardson, delegate from the church at South Woburn, convened for the purpose, if deemed proper, of organizing an Evangelical Church of the Congregational denomination. Forty persons presented themselves and offered their letters of dismission from other churches, for the purpose of uniting with the proposed church. Of these forty, whose autograph signatures are appended to the request, twelve were males and twenty-eight were females. Thirty-three were from the First Church of Woburn; two were from the Mt. Vernon Church, Boston; two were from the church in Wilton, Me.; one from the church in Wilton, N. H.; one from the church in Reading, and one from the Union Church, in Groton.

Rev. Mr. Fay offered the introductory prayer; Rev. Mr. Park propounded the articles of the Confession of Faith and the church covenant for the public assent of the persons who desired to become a church, and offered the prayer of consecration; and Rev. Mr. Edwards, in the name and in behalf of the First Church, extended to Deacon Charles Thompson, as a representative of the new church, the right hand of fellowship. Mr. Edwards also, in behalf of individual members of the First Church and Society, presented a set of communion and other church furniture, in an address to Rev. Mr. Sewall, as the stated preacher, to which the latter made a suitable response. At the same time the newly-organized church voted unanimously to concur with the society in an invitation to Rev. Mr. Sewall to officiate for another year as preacher, and now as pastor. These interesting exercises were closed by the administration of the Lord's Supper to the new church and invited members of other churches then present, Rev. Messrs. Sewall and Fay, and Deacons Charles Thompson, Richardson, Foster and Marion officiating in their respective spheres.

Rev. Mr. Sewall continued to supply the pulpit and officiate as pastor till January, 1852, when he announced his intention, after his engagement should cease, of withdrawing from service.

During the following summer (June, 1852) Rev. George T. Dole, who had been pastor of a church in Beverly, was engaged to supply, temporarily, the vacant pulpit. In August he was invited to assume the pastoral office. Having signified his acceptance of the invitation, he was installed October 12th, the first regular pastor. During the three years of his official relation to the church, he labored, amid many difficulties and discouragements, wisely and usefully. He was an unusually pure writer and always an able

[1] The authorities for the sketch of the South Church of Woburn are the Woburn Church Records, the Winchester Church Manual, and various articles in Vols. I. and II. of the *Winchester Record*.

preacher. But, his frail health seriously crippled him, and, at his own request, he was dismissed October 30, 1855. He was never again settled as a pastor, but though struggling with shattered health he supplied, for several years, two more pulpits in Berkshire County, Mass. He at length retired from the active duties of the ministry, and, in 1875, bought a comfortable house in Reading, where he died March 26, 1884.

Rev. George Thurlow Dole was born in Byfield, Mass., October 30, 1808; graduated from Yale College in 1838; studied theology at New Haven and Andover, leaving the latter place in 1841. He married Jane P. Treat, of New Haven, Conn. They had three children, all daughters: 1, Susan Jane; 2, Alice Hooper; 3, Bertha Cordelia.

During the years intervening between the dismission of Mr. Dole, October 30, 1855, and the installation of his successor in the pastoral office, July 26, 1865, the pulpit was supplied, for seasons of greater or less duration, by Messrs. E. S. Fairchild, G. D. Pike, A. S. Nickerson and others from the Theological Seminary at Andover, and Henry Kimball, of New York, and by Rev. Messrs. Byington and Harding, who had been pastors of other churches. During these years the progress of the church was slow, but, notwithstanding some sore trials, especially in 1857, there was, on the whole, some advance in strength, and more in its well-defined and recognized character as an unswerving Evangelical organization.

Early in July, 1865, an invitation was extended to Rev. Melancthon G. Wheeler, then of West Roxbury, to assume the pastoral office. This invitation being accepted, he was installed on the 26th of the same month, the First Church in Woburn, the South and Bethesda Churches, in Reading, the churches in Stoneham and West Amesbury, Winchester, South Reading, Wilmington and Burlington being represented on the council.

After so many years of destitution of a regular pastor, the church took fresh courage, and, with renewed zeal, engaged in their appropriate work. The pastor, also, with the advantage of much previous experience, was earnest and active in his work. But his work was short. Failing health made it more and more evident that he could not perform the duties of his office; and, after a lingering and painful illness of several months, he died in office, February 9, 1870.

Rev. Melancthon Gilbert Wheeler was born May 22, 1802, in Charlotte, Vt.; graduated from Union College in 1825; studied theology at Princeton, N. J. and at Andover, leaving the latter place in 1829. Before coming to Woburn he had been a pastor in Abington, Conway, Williamsburg and at South Dartmouth, and, for brief periods, stated supply in other places. He was twice married, his first wife leaving at her death two sons and a daughter. He married, second, Frances C. Parkinson, of New Boston, N. H., a graduate of the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, and a teacher in various places. They had five children: 1, Elizabeth P., married John R. Carter, of Woburn, June 22, 1873, and died July 25, 1888. 2, Caroline A., married Charles H. Cooper, professor in Carleton College, Northfield, Minn., June 10, 1883. 3, Cornelia F., married William W. Hill, of Woburn, June 21, 1882. 4, John H., graduated from Harvard College in 1871. Distinguished as a scholar and teacher. In 1875–6 he was Fellow of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. The next three years he spent at various universities in Germany and Italy, receiving the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Bohn, in 1879. Returning to this country in 1880, he was successively tutor at Harvard University, Professor of Latin at Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me., and Profe-sor of Greek in University of Virginia. This last professorship failing health compelled him to resign in the summer of 1887. Retiring to the former home of his wife, in Newbury, Vt., he gradually failed, and died greatly lamented, October 10, 1887, at the age of thirty-seven years. 5, Edward F., graduated from Bowdoin College 1883, and now, 1889, a member of the Senior Class in the Theological Seminary, at Hartford, Conn.

For several months before and for more than three years after the death of Mr. Wheeler the pulpit was supplied by Rev. L. Thompson, a native of the village, and, for thirteen years previously, the pastor of the Congregational Church in West Amesbury (now Merrimac.) After Mr. Wheeler's death he was invited to officiate as pastor. This he did till April, 1873, when he declined a new engagement. Among the many men from Andover and elsewhere who, for one Sabbath or more, supplied the vacant pulpit, during the subsequent year and five months, Mr. Charles Anderson, then a student at Andover, was prominent and the preacher for a considerable time. Receiving a unanimous call to become pastor, in the summer of 1874, he accepted it, and was ordained and installed September 2d following, with the mutual understanding that he should also serve as pastor of the neighboring church in Burlington.

Mr. Anderson's pastorate of fourteen years is perhaps too recent for history. But it is proper to say that he was most indefatigable and efficient in his work. In season and out of season he was actively engaged in efforts to build up and benefit the people. Nor did he labor in vain. Several seasons of special religious interest resulted in numerous accessions to the church, and there was, throughout his ministry, a degree of harmony rarely witnessed, for the same length of time, in any church.

In 1881–82 it became so apparent that something must be done to secure better accommodations for the church work and worship, that, after mature deliberation and the consideration of various plans, it was decided to erect a new house of worship. "The people had a mind to work," and nearly all, men, women

and children, the pastor leading, pledged their aid in such weekly offerings as they saw fit. The result, in the amount raised then and prospectively, astonished every one, and the great enterprise was initiated. The last service in the old sanctuary was held May 28, 1882. From this time till August 19, 1883, the congregation met for worship in the Firemen's Hall. After the last date there was no Sabbath service till September 23d, when, for the first time, the scattered flock met in the new chapel, or lecture-room, which was finished before the main audience-room was in readiness.

On the 19th of February, 1884, the handsome new edifice was dedicated. The audience was large, filling both the main audience-room and the chapel, thrown into one. Dr. Daniel March, of the First Church, preached an appropriate sermon from Ps. 116: 7. There was a solemn act of dedication, in which the church and society formally joined. And the building committee, through their chairman, gave the most gratifying information that, through the persistent and self-denying efforts of the people, aided by the generous gifts of the mother church in Woburn, the sister church in Winchester, and various friends in other places, the house was dedicated *free from debt.* To secure this result, the pastor had labored most assiduously, and both he and the people rejoiced in the auspicious accomplishment of what they had hoped for with not a little misgiving.

Mr. Anderson continued in the pastoral office till July 2, 1888, when, at his own request, and amid the regrets of the church and society he had served so long and so successfully, he was dismissed, it being his intention to assume the duties of a professorship in Robert College, near Constantinople, to which he had been called. In this institution he had spent several years as tutor before his ordination as pastor in Woburn.

Rev. Charles Anderson, son of Rev. Charles Anderson, of Sennett, N. Y., was born in that place April 4, 1847; graduated from Hamilton College, 1869, and studied theology at Auburn, N. Y., and at Andover. He married Abbie F. Hamlin, a daughter of Rev. Cyrus Hamlin, D.D., for many years a missionary in Turkey, and the first president of Robert College. Their children are: 1. Elizabeth Clary, born October 24, 1874, died August 21, 1875; 2. Arthur Hamlin, born August 7, 1876, died September 27, 1876; 3. Robert Harlow, born October 2, 1877; 4. Catharine Roberts, born September 25, 1879; 5. Sarah Whiting, born July 18, 1883; 6. Roger Hamlin, born June 5, 1886.

Mr. Anderson was succeeded by Rev. Charles H. Washburn, lately pastor of the Congregational Church in Berlin, Mass. He has not been formally settled as pastor, but entered upon his work as acting pastor, November 2, 1888.

Since the date of the organization of the church, November 22, 1849, down to April 1, 1889, there have been, including the forty original members, 253 admissions to membership.[1]

The First Baptist Church.—The First Baptist Church of Woburn originated in that part of Cambridge formerly known as West Cambridge and now as Arlington. A meeting of persons interested, to consider, and, if deemed advisable, to complete an organization, was held as early as June 16, 1781. Having adopted a Declaration of Faith and invoked the blessing of God, they proceeded to organize a church embracing twelve men and twenty-three women, in all thirty-five members. A council composed of the First and Second Baptist Churches in Boston and the Baptist Church in Newton was called, and assembled July 5, 1781. At their meeting, after having examined and approved the Articles of the Confession of Faith, they recognized the new church as regularly constituted. Rev. Samuel Stillman, of Boston, preached an appropriate sermon from Isaiah 22 : 24; Rev. Isaac Skilman, of Boston, extended the right hand of fellowship on behalf of the churches represented, and Rev. Caleb Blood, of Newton, offered the concluding prayer.

The church had no settled pastor until November 17, 1783, when Rev. Thomas Green was ordained and installed in that office, Rev. Thomas Gair preaching the sermon. Six years later—November 29, 1789—Thaddeus Davis and Daniel Brooks were publicly set apart as the first deacons. Meanwhile, in 1786, a number of persons claiming to be Baptists, but attendants on the ministry of Rev. Samuel Sargeant in the Congregational Church at Woburn, and disaffected toward him, seceded and began to attend the Baptist meetings in West Cambridge. In 1790 the number had increased to twenty-two, a majority of whom were ere long hopefully converted, and, in due time, notwithstanding the strong opposition then unhappily common in such cases, were baptized by Elder Green and welcomed into the fellowship of his church.

The number of persons residing in Woburn, but connected with the church in West Cambridge, having, in 1791, become so large, it was thought best that the pastor should preach in Woburn one Lord's Day in each month. This was at length accomplished in 1793, the first meeting in Woburn being at the residence of Josiah Converse April 3d of that year.

Mr. Green, after a ministry of ten years, was dismissed at his own request in 1793, and removed to Danvers.

On the 29th of August of this eventful year it was voted that "hereafter half of the Church shall be in Cambridge and half in Woburn, and that the

[1] The materials for the foregoing sketch of the church in North Woburn are from church, parish and private records from town records of marriages, births and deaths, and from Triennial Catalogues of various colleges and seminaries.

pastor, whoever he may be, shall divide his labors equally between the two places." Doubtless the real meaning of this vote was, that in each place half of the church services should be held, and not, as the words seem to imply, that the church should be literally divided into two halves, each place to have one. However this may be, this was the turning point for the Woburn branch of the church. From this time there was a rapid increase in Woburn and as rapid decrease in Cambridge. After a supply of the pulpit by Elder Simon Snow for about one year a call was extended to Rev. John Peak, of Windsor, Vt., to settle. He accepted, and entered upon his work in 1794. It was stipulated that he should preach alternately in Woburn and in Newtown, N. H., two weeks successively in each town. Notwithstanding this arrangement, his ministry was a successful one. Through his influence a society was organized and a beginning made in the erection of a house of worship. A revival of religion resulted in an addition of thirty-five persons to the church, there being also a branch of the church in Reading which shared in the blessing. Meanwhile the people held their meetings in a chamber of the house of Benjamin Edgell, near Central Square. The whole of the second story was one unfinished room, furnished with plain benches and reached by a narrow stairway in the rear of the house.[1] Not waiting for the completion and furnishing of the meeting-house, the almost impatient people first opened it for worship July 20, 1794. This well-remembered house stood on the east side of Main Street, near where the residences of the late Colonel William and Timothy Winn now stand. It was 40 feet by 30 feet in dimensions. Five or six years after it was first opened for worship it was greatly improved by thirty-five square pews, a sounding-board over the pulpit, and the usual "deacons' seats" in front and below it. This once honored building still exists, and is used for secular purposes a few rods north of its original location.

About 1797 the church voted to hold their services wholly in Woburn, and assumed the name of the "First Baptist Church of Woburn." Elder Peak having, in October, 1795, closed his labors in Woburn, removed to Newtown, N. H., where he devoted himself exclusively to the church in that place. The vacancy in Woburn was not filled till November, 1798, when Elder Elias Smith, a man of great eccentricity and, as the sequel proved, given to change, became the pastor. He remained only about two years, and withdrew both from the position and from the denomination.

Mr. Smith was succeeded by Elder Ebenezer Nelson, who, though not settled as a pastor, preached from 1802 to 1804. After his retirement the Church had for a part of one year the services of Elder Isaiah Stone. Meanwhile, in 1804, there was an interesting revival of religion, largely under the ministrations of Rev. Thomas Paul, acting as an evangelist. Though belonging to the despised race of colored men, he was a man of rare excellence and marked success, and subsequently was a highly useful pastor of an African church in Boston. Thirty persons, the fruits of the work in 1804, were baptized and received to the fellowship of the church. Some, who subsequently united with the Congregational Church, were also the fruits of Mr. Paul's faithful labor.

In August, 1808, an invitation was extended to the Rev. Samuel Wydown, who, at the time, was preaching in one of the Southern States, to make them a visit. Though not able to come immediately, he came in the following spring, with recommendations from Dr. Rippon, of London, and Rev. Lewis Richards, of Virginia. After preaching for a short time on probation, he accepted a call to settle, and entered upon his work as a pastor, though without the usual formalities of an installation. Mr. Wydown was greatly esteemed as a man and a preacher, but during his short ministry of about two years there existed difficulties in the church which rendered him less happy and less useful than he might and doubtless would otherwise have been.

In the spring of 1811 Rev. Thomas Waterman took the pastoral charge. Educated in an English college, he held a high rank as a man of learning and culture among ministers who are often deficient in both. He had been the first pastor of the First Baptist Church of Charlestown, and came to the church in Woburn in the midst of their troubles. But he entered upon and prosecuted his work, cheered by the esteem and sympathy of his people and respected by all who knew him. Had he not, in addition to his pastoral work, been worn with the care of a select school for young men, there is reason to believe that his ministry would have been richer in results. As it was, it was useful, and the influence of his work for three years—till his sudden and greatly lamented death, March 23, 1814—was highly and thoroughly beneficial. He was buried in Woburn, and his memory has ever been cherished—both in and out of his own society—as precious. After Mr. Waterman's death the church was, during two years, without a pastor. In May, 1817, Rev. Herbert Marshall was ordained as Mr. Waterman's successor. His ministry was short, but greatly blessed, the Spirit being poured out in a wonderful manner upon the church and congregation, and seventy persons being added to the church in one year. It is a singular fact that, during this prosperous year, November 16, 1817, eleven members were dismissed for the purpose of organizing a church in West Cambridge (Arlington), where the Woburn church itself was organized.

[1] In his book of accounts, Capt. Benjamin Edgell says: "The Society met at my house, 1792, April to December, two Sabbaths each month; from April, 1792, to April, 1794, two Sabbaths each month, total, 44 Sabbaths."

Mr. Marshall being dismissed in 1818, Rev. George Phippen, from Lynn, was called to succeed him, and was installed September 16th of that year. He was dismissed September 5, 1820. But little can be said of his ministry. During the year of his dismissal he published a sermon delivered at Woburn, May 17, 1820, before the "Female Missionary and Female Charitable Societies." This sermon—from Matt. 10 : 8—is still extant.

From the close of Mr. Phippen's labors, in September, 1820, to July, 1821, the church depended upon transient supplies from Andover and elsewhere. In July, 1821, Rev. Adoniram Judson, of Nobleboro', Me.,—the father of the distinguished missionary of the same name,—became the pastor. He was a most excellent man and highly esteemed, but, by some unforeseen providence, apparently, his pastorate was very short, it being only nine months.

Mr. Judson was soon followed in 1823—by Rev. James A. Seaman, of Greenfield, N. Y. His ministry, too, was short, it being but a little over two years. At his own request he was dismissed and became the pastor of the Second Baptist Church in Providence, R. I. It is not improbable that his departure was hastened—if not occasioned—by an unhappy division in the church, which continued for some time subsequently.

Rev. Samuel S. Mallory, from the State of New York, was, in March, 1826, called to the vacant pulpit. Very soon after his coming the threatening clouds began to disperse, peace and harmony were restored, and the congregation considerably enlarged. Near the close of the year a work of great power began and continued through the year following, extending to every part of the town. Seventy-one persons were added to the church, and among them were some of the most valuable members the church ever had, the whole number being at this time over two hundred. A spirit of entire harmony prevailed during all these months of joy, and the whole church was pervaded by a deep religious interest. This was the more remarkable, since the prosperity soon rendered the old house of worship so inadequate to the wants of the society as to make it necessary to consider—and soon to enter upon—the work of erecting a new sanctuary in a new and more central locality. This house, begun in 1827, was finished early in the following year, and dedicated May 21, 1828. Facing the Common, at the corner of the present Park Street, it was far more commodious and comfortable than its predecessor, the dimensions being 58 feet by 60 feet, with a vestibule six feet in width in front. Mr. Mallory preached the dedication sermon from Haggai 2 : 9, "The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the Lord of hosts." The house, containing eighty-eight pews on the main floor and twenty in the galleries, was built at a cost—including $1100 for the lot—of about $8000. Twenty-three male members of the church had assumed all pecuniary responsibility, resolved to trust God for the result, and the house was dedicated free from incumbrance.

But the successful pastorate of a man, honored and loved as few have been, was, like that of others before him, soon, and reluctantly on the part of the church, brought to a close. A few restless persons, as often occurs, made Mr. Mallory so uncomfortable that he insisted on closing his labors, after a ministry of three years, March 1, 1829.

On the 10th of December, of the same year, Rev. Benjamin C. Wade became Mr. Mallory's successor, remaining in the pastorate four years and two months. The religious interest during Mr. Mallory's ministry still, in some measure, continued, and with very gratifying, though, in the end, somewhat qualified results. Of one hundred persons admitted to the church, a very considerable number were ultimately cut off from membership, and another season of trial was introduced. After being destitute of a pastor seven months, the church, anxious to secure a man of ripe experience and unblemished character, extended a call to Rev. Thomas B. Ripley, who was settled November 5, 1834. Mr. Ripley was a good and faithful man, and earnestly labored for the highest good of the people. But his usefulness seems to have been embarrassed by circumstances which he did not foresee and which he could not control. The church diminished in numbers, and he was dismissed March 16, 1836. From this time until August 31, 1837, there was again no pastor. At the time just mentioned Mr. Noah Hooper, a student in the Theological Institution at Newton, was ordained and entered upon his work. It was a time, as he soon found, of great trial. The discordant elements of the previous two years became more and more discordant. Various questions of public morals and interest were agitated and charges of a departure from the old faith of the churches were made, all which resulted at length in the dismission of forty-nine members, who, in 1838, conssituted themselves the "Independent Baptist Church." In these circumstances the faith and patience and wisdom of the young pastor were sorely tested. But both he and the church passed the crisis safely and soon welcomed the dawn of a brighter day. Some of those who had left them, dearly beloved members of the old church, ultimately, from time to time, returned, and were welcomed back to the old fellowship.

The church, again harmonious and prosperous, soon enjoyed a season of special religious interest, resulting in the admission to their fellowship of forty-six persons, thus more than supplying the vacancy occasioned by the dismissal of forty-five two years previous.

At his own request, Mr. Hooper, after a pastorate of a little more than three years, was dismissed October 6, 1840.

Rev. Silas P. Randall was settled May 20, 1841, as

Mr. Hooper's successor. His ministry of six years and four months was a faithful one and fruitful in good results, thirty-five persons being baptized by him and received into the church. He, however, resigned his office as pastor, and closed his labors September 1, 1847.

The church next invited Rev. John C. Stockbridge, of Waterville, Me., to supply the vacant pulpit, and, accepting at length a unanimous call, he was installed in January, 1848. During his ministry of four years and eight months the church was greatly prospered and strengthened, forty-four being added to their number. And it was with profound regret and great surprise that they were asked to release him from service. He closed his labors October 3, 1852.

Rev. Joseph Ricker succeeded Mr. Stockbridge in January, 1853. He, too, was a man of great excellence, and a delightful harmony was enjoyed throughout his ministry of more than five years. His success, however, was not so apparent in the numbers added to the church, as in the development of spiritual life and the general uplifting of the standard of the Christian profession.

During Mr. Ricker's ministry, the sanctuary was enlarged by the addition of seventeen feet to its length and thirty-eight pews to its seating capacity.

Mr. Ricker was dismissed April 1, 1858, and on June 1st of the same year he was succeeded by Rev. Benjamin F. Bronson, of Methuen, without any formal act of installation. During his ministry of nearly four years the debt incurred in the enlargement of the house of worship was liquidated, and fifty-three persons, by baptism and by letter, were added to the church, the whole number rising to 289. There was also a large increase in contributions to various benevolent objects.

Mr. Bronson, closing his labors with the church, April 27, 1862, was followed, on the 5th of October of the same year, by Rev. Joseph Spencer Kennard, of Washington, D. C., who was publicly recognized on the 31st of that month. He was an earnest and successful laborer, never sparing his own strength in his efforts to benefit others. As the result of an interesting work, he baptized sixty-two persons, raising the total membership to 347. In the mean time an addition was made to the rear end of the house for the purpose of securing room for a new baptistery.

Mr. Kennard closed his ministry in Woburn December 17, 1865, and removed to Albany, New York, and June 24, 1866, Rev. Hugh C. Townley, from New York, accepted an invitation to succeed him, and was accordingly settled in July following. Mr. Townley was a very active, energetic, popular and useful man. As a member of the School Committee he was useful in a sphere outside his domain as a pastor. But he was ever alive, as he was able, in his more appropriate work, and, as a result, sixty-nine persons were by him added to the church. He was dismissed after a pastorate of five years and nine months, April 23, 1872.

Rev. William Young, D.D., from Oil City, Pennsylvania, entered upon his work, as Mr. Townley's successor, November 17, 1872, and was installed January 2, 1873. Dr. Young was impulsive, frank, generous, and had a high ideal of what every church ought to be. For two years he sought to do his duty manfully and faithfully. And he did not labor without some measure of success, though his usefulness was largely, it may be, out of the usual line of the preacher's work. He closed his labors November 22, 1874, going hence to Meadville, Pennsylvania, and thence to the far West, where, in 1881, he suddenly closed his life.

In March, 1875, Rev. Edward Mills, from Rutland, Vermont, entered upon his work as Dr. Young's successor, and continued it till 1881. During the six years of his pastorate a debt of $3500 was removed, the sanctuary, at a cost of $22,000, was remodeled, benevolent contributions averaged $4500 each year, and, better than all, there was a degree of spiritual prosperity which resulted in the addition to the church of more than ninety new members.

Mr. Mills closed his labors in 1881, and was succeeded, in 1882, by Rev. George A. Simonson, who, though in enfeebled health, labored faithfully and was highly respected by all who knew him. Obliged by increasing illness, he retired from his work in the autumn of 1883 and was dismissed in January, 1884, Rev. Daniel D. Winn supplying the vacant pulpit. Mr. Simonson removed to New Jersey, where he died in 1884. After his death Rev. Daniel D. Winn, a native of Woburn, and a son of the church, assumed the pastoral charge, which he still and successfully retains in 1889.[1]

Independent Baptist Church.—In the historical notice of the First Baptist Church is an allusion to the dismission, June 22, 1838, of forty-five members, under circumstances of sore trial. The dismissed members embraced some of the old and most valued brethren and sisters of the church, and, doubtless, they were believed to be as sincere in their views at the time as were those whom they left behind. It was a time of much excitement and much heated discussion far and wide. The subject of temperance and the question of American slavery greatly agitated the whole community, and, naturally, the excitement invaded the churches even more seriously than it did, or could, the outside world, which was supposed to be less sensitive on moral questions. As the controversy waxed warmer, there was more or less of discussion of, and pointed allusion to, the evils in question in the pulpits. To this the pulpit of the Baptist Church was not an exception. And, as usual, the members of the congregation ranged themselves on the one side or the other of the subjects discussed.

[1] For most of the material of the foregoing sketch, the writer is indebted to a private record of his friend, Alfred A. Newhall, formerly clerk of the Baptist Church, and to an historical discourse preached by Rev. Edward Mills. L. T.

Some thought that such questions could not be brought into the pulpit or the church-meeting without a departure from the simplicity of the gospel, and from a paramount adherence to the old and distinctive faith of the church. At this distance of time we may charitably believe they were honest. And we may, with equal, if not even greater, charity, believe that it never entered into the thought of the majority of the members that they were guilty of any departure whatever from the Gospel. On the contrary, they honestly believed that a due consideration of great moral questions necessarily grew out of a genuine fidelity to the Gospel. But, at such seasons of deep and excited emotion, it is of but little use to attempt argument. And so, trying as it was, the request of forty-five members for dismission from the church was granted to each petitioner separately, the letter including a recommendation to "any church of the same faith and order."

The persons thus dismissed did not think it necessary to effect a new and separate organization, but, by mutual consent, regarded themselves as already organized by virtue of their previous relations to the old church. By the courtesy of the old church, they were allowed, at a merely nominal rent, to worship in their former and their abandoned meeting-house, at the corner of Main and Church Streets. In July, 1849, Sarah Winn Converse died and left a will, made seven years before, in which she bequeathed certain real estate "to the Independent Baptist Church, to be holden and enjoyed by them so long as they shall maintain their present religious belief and faith and shall continue a Church." This bequest led to the erection of the chapel or church on Main Street, just north of the Central House, where they thenceforward worshiped until 1861, under the ministry of men of their own choice. Since 1861 their meetings have been only occasional. A recent writer in one of our local papers[1] says that services are held, generally, on the first Sabbath in each month, and are conducted by Elder Campbell. For the purpose of preaching on these occasions to an audience of from four to six or eight persons, the elder comes on Saturday from another State.

The property is held by trustees, B. F. Flagg, H. Campbell and John B. Horn being a standing committee.

The Unitarian Church.[2]—The history of liberal religion in Woburn in its organized form properly begins with the formation of the "First Universalist Society in Woburn," which took place in the spring of the year 1827. Previous to this, meetings, with preaching by Universalist clergymen, had been held from time to time, the first of these of which we have record being in 1817, held in the hall of a dwelling-house at North Woburn, said to have been built by Colonel Baldwin in expectation that it would be occupied by Count Rumford, should he ever return from his long exile abroad. The preacher was Rev. Edward Turner, of Portsmouth, N. H., who preached by invitation of several citizens, Mr. Samuel Converse being of the number.

Some time after this, in what is still spoken of by the older citizens as "Parson Bennett's time," there was inaugurated in the Congregational Church at the Centre an old-fashioned "revival" of a very stirring kind, in which preachers reveled and rioted in visions of fiery pits and lost souls, frightening the timid into confession of sins of which they were not guilty. Against the violent measures of this campaign many of the more calm and thoughtful citizens revolted, and to voice their protest they engaged Universalist ministers, who came from Sunday to Sunday and preached in a school-house. In this place appeared some of the greatest preachers the Universalist Church has ever had,—Thomas Whittemore, Walter Balfour (author of several works that have become standards in Universalist literature), Sebastian Streeter and Hosea Ballou. In one of the vigorous sermons which Father Ballou gave to this band of Protestants he said to them: "If you want to keep the bell a-ringing you must keep the tongue a-thumping." And they kept the tongue "a-thumping" in the school-house till a society was formed, and the number who wished to hear "the Word" became so great that they were forced to seek more ample accommodations, which they found in a meeting-house that the Baptists had deserted. The formation of this society was regarded by the defenders of Calvinism as the work of Satan himself, and was accordingly duly preached against and condemned. And the young society found no slight element of growth in the opposition which it received. It flourished so abundantly that in the spring of the year 1829 it took measures to have a pastor of its own. The Rev. Otis A. Skinner was called, and, by accepting the invitation, became the first settled Liberal preacher in Woburn. On the first Sunday in April, 1829, he preached his first sermon as pastor of the society. By those still living who remember well the feeling that existed against the society at the time, the writer has been told that on the following Sunday "Parson Bennett" took for his text 1 Peter v : 8: "Your adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion walketh about, seeking whom he may devour," remarking that this Scripture was now being literally fulfilled, for he had himself, during the past week, seen the devil upon the streets of Woburn, referring to the pastor of the Universalist Society. It was a time of fierce contention, and the preachers of the new faith, like inspired war-horses, scented the battle afar off, and they always had their quivers full of Scripture proof-texts ready for the fray. Mr. Skinner was a young man of much power, and soon became a recognized leader of thought in his denomination, and the society soon found it necessary to have a meet-

[1] *City Press*, June 13, 1880.

[2] By H. C. Parker.

ing-house of its own. In August of this same year the frame of a house was raised, on which occasion a public ceremony took place, with an address by the pastor. A writer in the *Universalist Trumpet* said: "A great concourse of people assembled to witness it. The day was fine. The raising was complete without the occurrence of an accident, and without the use of *ardent spirits*, but with the assistance of ardent friends." This house was dedicated December 23, 1829. In his address to the people on this occasion, Mr. Whittemore said: "You have been prospered almost beyond a paralliel. Many societies have to struggle for years before they attain that maturity which you have attained in a short time. I can hardly believe the testimony of my own senses when I see so large a society and so convenient a house erected in a town where a few years ago the name we bear was scarcely known." In his address at the services, Father Streeter charged his hearers if they saw folly on the wing to shoot it down, which figure of speech, in the mouth of the opposition, was interpreted to mean, "If you see an Orthodox anywhere, shoot him!"

On this day Mr. Skinner was publicly installed as pastor of the society, and with him as its leader it seemed to have a brilliant future before it. But if its rise and progress were phenomenal, its decline and fall were equally so. Mr. Skinner was called to Baltimore in 1831, and with his departure the ardor of the young protestants was somewhat abated. He was soon followed by the Rev. Daniel D. Smith in a brief and uneventful ministry. In 1834 the Rev. A. L. Balch became pastor of the society. His term of service was also short. There are records of a "Dorcas Society" formed in January of this year, containing in its list of members many familiar names of ladies, living and dead, who were active in works of benevolence.

The next pastor of the society was Rev. John Gregory, installed in 1836. During his pastorate a wave of temperance agitation swept over the country, engulfing many a weak church and putting asunder many a strong one. It struck both the Baptist and Universalist Societies of Woburn, putting them in peril. Mr. Gregory took ground against the teetotalers, maintaining with Paul that it was a good thing to take a little something for the stomach's sake. He published his views in a little book, which he called "The Bramble," in which he contended that it was right and just and a matter of duty for men to use intoxicating drinks, giving copious Scripture-texts in support of his position. He had many strong opponents in his own flock, and also in the denomination at large. Ministers refused to exchange with him, and attacks poured in upon him. He was a born controversialist and reveled in these fightings. But this kind of controversy was not well calculated to strengthen a young and feeble church. Some who had been earnest workers were alienated by it, and it was deemed necessary that he should retire from the pastorate. So distracted was the society by this agitation that it voted that the doors of the church be closed against all lectures on temperance and abolition.

After Mr. Gregory came a man of very different temperament, a mild and lovable spirit, the Rev. J. C. Waldo, son-in-law of Father Ballou, and under whose ministry a strong Universalist Church had been established in Lynn. He came in 1837 and was engaged with the hope that he might restore peace to the troubled waters. But he remained with the church but a brief time, and with the close of his pastorate the "First Universalist Society of Woburn" became extinct. The property of the society was purchased by the town, and the meeting-house converted into a town hall. It still stands and is near the depot of the Boston and Lowell Railroad, and is now used as an armory.

It was expected by many that when the town purchased this property it would be the end of Universalism in Woburn. But very soon after this (1841) the "Second Universalist Society of Woburn" was formed, adopting what is known as the "Winchester Confession" as its theological basis. At the very outset it voted that it was in no way responsible for any act of the first society, especially the act relating to temperance and abolition lectures. In April, 1843, the Rev. W. B. Randolph was asked to preach for the society for such money as could be raised for his support. A new church was built and dedicated on Nov. 22d of the following year. This house was situated on the corner of Main and Walnut Streets; it was sold to the Methodists in 1865, and was destroyed by fire in 1873. It was in this house, and while Mr. Randolph was pastor, that Rev. Thomas Starr King and Rev. A. D. Mayo preached in Woburn their first sermons, one occupying the pulpit in the morning and the other in the afternoon. The pastorate of Mr. Randolph was a short one, and with his departure the public services of the Second Universalist Society came to an end.

Previous to the coming of Mr. Randolph and the building of the Second Universalist Church, certain liberal-minded persons interested in the principles of the Unitarian faith had held occasional services, the Rev. Mr. Stetson being the first to preach this gospel in Woburn. Their services were for a while held in the Town Hall, alternating with the meetings which the Universalists held there previous to building their new church. During the pastorate of Mr. Randolph the Unitarians held no meetings, but after his retirement they held services regularly in the Town Hall until 1846, when they accepted the offer of the Universalists to use their church "for such preaching as they might wish to obtain." Among the preachers of this time were Rev. Dr. Francis, Rev. W. H. Channing and the Rev. T. W. Higginson, who preached frequently for the society in its inception. On the

31st of March, 1847, a warrant was issued by A. H. Nelson, Esq., upon petition of parties described as "members of a Religious Society not incorporated," summoning all members of said religious society to assemble at the vestry of the Universalist meeting-house in Woburn on the 8th day of April following, to act upon the usual business involved in the organization of a legal society, etc., etc. The meeting was held as directed, with the choice of A. H. Nelson, Esq., moderator, and John Johnson, Jr., clerk. The regular parish officers were chosen, and it was voted that the society be called the First Unitarian Society in Woburn. For six months thereafter the pulpit was supplied by Rev. John A. Buckingham, who devoted himself chiefly to the task of getting the society into condition for doing effectual work. It was during his ministry that the Ladies' Charitable Society was formed, its first recorded meeting being Jan. 6, 1848, at the residence of Mrs. Albert Nelson. Twenty-two ladies were present, and the first officers of the Society were chosen. For many years it has been its custom to hold its meetings on the first Thursday of each month, the ladies gathering at 4 o'clock P.M., and the gentlemen at 6.30 o'clock for tea. The records of this society show that in the year 1862 it met 33 times and made 528 articles for the soldiers, and in 1863 it met 32 times and made 483 articles for the soldiers. From the day of its organization until the present time it has been an indispensable agent in the social and benevolent life and work of the parish.

The first settled pastor of the society was Rev. Henry F. Edes, who was installed July 6, 1848. Early in his pastorate he organized a church body within the parish, which organization adopted a church covenant and certain articles of faith prepared by the pastor. In February of the following year a parish library was formed, Mr. Edes at the time preaching a sermon on books and reading. In 1856 this was merged into the Public Library of the town. Under the lead of J. C. Park, Esq., an attempt was made to organize a Sunday-school, but for some reason the movement failed. Under the pastorate of Mr. Edes the society was not strong, having little of the cohesive power necessary to the life of a fresh enterprise, and owing to some dissatisfaction the pastor was dismissed, June 16, 1843. After his retirement the society continued to hold meetings regularly, although there was very little interest manifested, and it become a debatable question whether it were wise to continue its existence. In October, 1851, an informal meeting was called to consider the question of closing up its affairs. In March of the next year another meeting was called to see if the two elements—Unitarians and Universalists could not unite and form a strong society, and another warrant was issued by John Nelson, Esq., on petition of twenty-one gentlemen, for a meeting of parties interested in organizing a "Unitarian Religious Parish." A new organization, April 10, 1852, was the result of this meeting. It was voted that the clerk be directed to inscribe on the records of the parish the following declaration: "We whose names are hereunder written, desire and agree to become members of the First Unitarian Parish in Woburn, and that all persons who shall sign said declaration shall thereby become members of said Parish." It was voted that the annual meeting of the parish be held the first Monday in April, and this is the organization of the society as it now exists. Nearly a year elapsed after this before the settlement of a pastor, and in this interval there were three clergymen who preached very frequently and very acceptably to the people. They were the Revs. T. W. Higginson and O. W. Wight, both subsequently distinguished in literary circles; and George F. Simmons, a young man of fine culture, who was called (January 10, 1853) to the pastorate of the society, at a salary of $800 a year, but who did not accept the invitation.

At a parish meeting in March, 1853, it was unanimously voted to invite John M. Masters to become pastor of the society at a salary of $1000 a year. At the same meeting a subscription paper was circulated for the purchase of an organ, resulting in the sum of $1000, and a committee was appointed to purchase an instrument. Mr. Masters, accepting the call, was ordained and installed as pastor of the society April 28, 1853. In the services of the occasion many well-known persons took part. Revs. William R. Alger, F. D. Huntington, A. B. Fuller, better known as "Chaplain Fuller," and Thomas Starr King. That the society was prosperous at this time is evident from the fact that it was necessary to add twenty pews to the church to accommodate those who wished to attend the services (in 1854).

In 1853, under the lead of Mr. George M. Champney, a Sunday-school was organized, with Mr. Champney as its first superintendent, a position which he held for many years. The school soon numbered sixty-five scholars and has continued a prosperous life down to the present time. Mr. Masters' health failing, he was compelled to resign March 25, 1855.

At a meeting held April 7, 1856, which was described as large and spirited, a "unanimous, enthusiastic and warm-hearted" call was extended to the Rev. Mr. Pope of Somerville to become pastor of the society, but the call was declined. It was not till April, 1857, that the Rev. R. P. Stebbins, D.D., formerly president of the Meadville Theological School, was installed as the successor of Mr. Masters. The pastorate of Dr. Stebbins covered a period of about six years, during which time the society steadily increased in numbers and influence. He was much interested in the public schools and did much to increase their usefulness. He was a preacher of great rhetorical power and a zealous defender of the faith he cherished. His resignation as pastor of the society came as a great surprise, November 28, 1863.

The society was not long in finding his successor, the Rev. Eli Fay, who was installed as pastor April 14, 1864. Very soon after his settlement the Unitarian Society of Winchester was organized, which drew away members from both the Medford and Woburn parishes.

In 1866 the Unitarian Society at North Woburn was formed, Mr. Fay assisting in its organization. The chapel which it now owns and in which religious services are occasionally held was dedicated on January 10, 1875. Through its Sewing Circle and its Sunday-school, which meets every Sunday, and has been for many years in charge of Mr. A. R. Linscott, this society has done effectual work for the cause of liberal religion.

For some time before the coming of Mr. Fay the meeting-house belonging to the Second Universalist Society had been inadequate to the needs of the parish. To accommodate the growing congregation, it was finally decided to purchase the house that the Congregationalists had vacated, which was done at a cost of $4250, and on the purchasing of this property the old meeting-house was turned over to the Methodists. The Unitarians at once proceeded to enlarge and remodel their house, and it was dedicated to Unitarian purposes April 12, 1865. The cost of the property in its enlarged and improved state was about $42,500. That the society was able to raise so much money at this time—it all being paid for into about $2500—shows that it had gained very rapidly in members and power since its reorganization in 1853. Mr. Fay was very popular as a lecturer on practical themes, and his Sunday evening discourses always drew very large congregations.

In the time of Dr. Stebbins' pastorate a Natural History Association had been organized, and under the auspices of this society many public lectures on scientific themes were given in the Unitarian vestry during the ministry of Mr. Fay, and lectures of this character given from time to time have constituted a part of the parish work for many years. Owing to ill-health, Mr. Fay resigned February 20, 1867. The society gave him a year's absence, supplying the pulpit in the mean time, hoping that the rest would restore him to health. But finding at the end of the year that he was unable to resume his charge, the relation was severed at his request, and the society was again forced to look for another pastor. He was found in the person of William S. Barnes, who was installed January 17, 1869, and for more than ten years, or until April 1, 1879, ministered devotedly to his people. In 1870 a large organ of fine tone and mechanism was placed in the church at an expense of $9000. In 1874 the parish received a generous legacy of $5000 under the provision of the will of Mr. Timothy Winn, who had long been actively interested in the welfare of the society. By vote of the parish this sum was appropriated in part towards the cancellation of the debt of the parish. The remainder, added to the gifts of individuals, was used in the purchase of an estate on Main Street to be used on a parsonage, the purchase price of which was $7000. This estate was deeded to the parish without encumbrance other than certain restrictions relating to its use as a parsonage.

The death of Hon. Jonathan Bowers Winn, which occurred December 12, 1873, removed from the parish one who had been its strongest support. By his will he gave to the society the sum of $5000 which was set apart as a prominent fund, the income to be used for current parish expenses. To this fund was added, in 1876, the munificent legacy to the parish of the sum of $1500 by his son, Charles Bowers Winn, lamented for his early taking off and immortalized in the hearts of the inhabitants of Woburn for his gift to them of a princely sum in trust for library purposes.

In November, 1879, Rev. George H. Young became the minister of the society, and after a faithful service of nearly four years resigned October 29, 1883, to enter a wider field of work.

By the will of Hon. Charles Choate, who died February 15, 1883, the church and parish of which he was a stanch friend and zealous upholder were not forgotten, and the society received from his executor the sum of $5000, which was added to the permanent fund of the parish.

A code of by-laws adopted by the parish May 8, 1883, recognized the equality of women in the parish, and they were given all the privileges of parish membership, and since that time have been represented on each successive Board of Parish Committee.

Rev. Henry A. Westall was chosen pastor April 11, 1884, and his resignation was accepted December 1, 1886. It was during his pastorate that the Friday Night Club was formed, October 30, 1886, its purpose being to cultivate the literary and social life of the young people of the parish. And it has been of great help to the society in many ways. Its first president was Albert Thompson and its secretary Harry A. Brackett, and the club has had, from the first, an average membership of over one hundred.

March 27, 1888, Rev. Henry C. Parker was invited to the pastorate, and at this writing holds that position.

In October of the same year the Unitarian Club was organized, with Colonel Grosvenor as its president, and Charles B. Bryant secretary, a club for men only, its purpose being to increase the interest of the men in the work of the church. Fortnightly meetings are held, at which papers are read on subjects of general interest to the members. The club has already proven itself a valuable auxiliary of the parish.

In January, 1889, a society called the Merry Workers, composed of children of the Sunday-school, was organized. By fairs and entertainments it raises money for what is called Country Week. It gives each year twelve poor children from the city a visit in the country of about two weeks; and it is expected

that this will be a permanent society within the parish.

Since the reorganization of the parish, in 1853, there has been no serious break or falling away of members, but for the greater part a steady increase of interest on the part of all, and the church has become more and more a power for good in the community. The old bitterness that existed between the first Liberal Societies and the churches of a different faith has entirely died away. Only the most pleasant and friendly, social relations exist between it and the other parishes of the city. And with its various organizations it can, perhaps, be truly said, that it was never in better condition for doing real constructive religious work than at this present time.

Methodist Episcopal Church.[1] — The Methodist Episcopal Church in Woburn was organized by Rev. Amos Binney, presiding elder, February 1, 1851. It embraced ten members. Previous to this date there had been, for a greater part of a year, occasional preaching in the town house, Revs. Horace Vail, Leonard P. Frost and John W. Merrill, D.D., being the preachers. There had been also resident in town a few Methodists—some, if not most, of whom were members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Medford. These had, for some time, been organized as a class, whose meetings nearly all punctually attended. During the spring, after the regular organization of the church, in 1851, Rev. Hollis Kendall was appointed, by the presiding elder, as a stated preacher. The town-house, which had been rented, August 11, 1850, as the place of assembly, was still used for that purpose. And Mr. Kendall, who was earnest and laborious in his work, was successful beyond the expectation of any of the people. When he left his charge, in 1852, though only a single year had elapsed, the original ten had nearly trebled, so that he left to the charge of his successor twenty-seven members in full church fellowship and twelve probationers.

Mr. Kendall was succeeded, in April, 1852, by Rev. J. B. Holman, who is said to have made the first permanent church record. His term of service, like that of his predecessor, was short, closing in the spring of 1853.

The first preacher, regularly appointed by the Conference, was Rev. Mr. Cary, who entered upon his labor in the spring of 1853, but, leaving before the expiration of that year, was succeeded by the Rev. H. R. Parmenter, from the Biblical Institute at Concord, N. H., who supplied the pulpit for the remainder of the Conference year.

In the spring of 1854 Rev. George Sutherland became, by appointment, the minister of the church. He remained two years and was very successful in his work. During his ministry a small chapel, located on Main Street, corner of Mann's Court, was filled to overflowing with attentive and earnest hearers.

In 1856 Mr. Sutherland was succeeded by Rev. Thomas B. Treadwell, who, after serving one year, was succeeded, in 1857, by Rev. J. A. Ames, who remained through two years of marked prosperity.

In 1859 Rev. Moses P. Webster was sent by the Conference and served one year, when, in the spring of 1860, he was succeeded by Rev. Bartholomew Othman, who remained two years. In 1862, the church having failed to ask for a preacher, the bishop and presiding elder sent, as a supply, Rev. Kinsman Atkinson, who remained one year. In April, 1863, Rev. Miles Barney, a student from Concord, N. H., succeeded, and remained one year.

According to the testimony of a subsequent pastor, the years 1862 and 1863 were a season of great trial. "Many were ready to give up the organization, and, but for a few determined spirits, the church must have broken up. For a long time the records show no conversions, no baptisms and no marriages. In fact, the church seems to have been crippled socially, financially and spiritually." [2]

In the spring of 1864, Rev. N. D. George, who was sent by the presiding elder, succeeded, with the aid of the church, in obtaining money or pledges nearly sufficient to enable them to purchase the Unitarian Church on Main Street, which its owners were about to abandon. About one-half of the needed $5000 was collected, when, in 1865, Mr. George was succeeded by Rev. Matthew M. Parkhurst. The building was purchased in the spring of that year, the balance of the subscription, $2500, being collected and paid. The house, after being repaired, furnished with carpet, cushions, a new pulpit, altar, chairs and gas-fixtures, was re-opened May 17, 1865. In 1867 it was raised sufficiently to admit of the construction of vestries beneath the main audience-rooms.

Rev. Mr. Parkhurst, leaving in the spring of 1868, was immediately succeeded by Rev. John A. Lansing, who, in 1870, was succeeded by Rev. Cyrus L. Eastman, and he, in 1872, by Rev. William J. Hambleton. During the ministry of Mr. Hambleton the church edifice, which the society had, at the cost of so much labor and sacrifice, happily secured, was, with other buildings adjacent, laid in ashes by the most disastrous fire ever known in Woburn. March 6, 1873, the day of this event, will long be remembered as a day of sore trial. Yet the people speedily rallied and, as soon as possible, proceeded to erect, on nearly the same spot, the edifice now occupied by them. On Fast Day, April 2, 1874, a little more than one year after their loss, they publicly dedicated the new sanctuary, Rev. R. R. Meredith, then of Springfield, preaching the sermon. Rev. Mr. Hambleton, who had witnessed

[1] For a large part of the material of this sketch the writer gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. Thomas Wilson, who, as secretary of the Methodist Episcopal Church for many years, both kindly and promptly rendered the needed assistance. L. T.

[2] Rev. M. M. Parkhurst.

the loss of the former house, was permitted, before he left for another field, to witness and rejoice over the consecration of the new and more convenient church-home.

Mr. Hambleton was succeeded, in the spring of 1874, by Rev. Charles A. Merrill, who, in 1876, was succeeded by Rev. Charles H. Hannaford, and he, in 1878, by Rev. William J. Pomfret, each remaining two years.

In April, 1880, Rev. Volney M. Simons succeeded Mr. Pomfret and, in 1883, Rev. Nathaniel B. Fisk succeeded Mr. Simons, each supplying three years. From the spring of 1886 to the spring of 1888 the pulpit was occupied by Rev. M. Emory Wright, and from 1888 to April, 1889, by Rev. Lyman D. Bragg. In 1889 Rev. Hugh Montgomery succeeded Mr. Bragg, and is now the minister.

In concluding this sketch of a history covering less than forty years, the present writer is happy to say that the Methodist Episcopal Church of Woburn has, with the exception of brief seasons of trial, been blessed with marked prosperity and tokens of usefulness.

The North Woburn Chapel Association.—From the families in North Woburn affiliating with the Unitarian Society in Woburn there was organized, July 17, 1860, a society bearing the name of "The Young Men's Liberal Christian Association." No regular worship was maintained and they had no stated place for worship. But the association retained their organization and met at some appointed place, on special occasions. In 1874 a neat and convenient chapel was erected on Minot Street, which was dedicated January 10, 1875. Rev. William S. Barnes, then the pastor of the Unitarian Church at Woburn Centre, preached a sermon on the occasion, from John 1: 14: "And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us."

In October, 1876, the association was reorganized under the name of the "North Woburn Chapel Association." This name it still bears. There has, however, never been stated religious worship, even since the erection of the chapel. But a Sabbath-school has there each Sunday its meeting-place, and the minister of the Centre Church and clergymen from elsewhere occasionally occupy the pulpit as preachers.

Roman Catholic Church.[1]—Previous to the year 1843 the few Roman Catholics residing in the town of Woburn were obliged, in order to attend divine worship, to go either as far as Boston or, later on, to East Cambridge, where a Roman Catholic Church had recently been established. The conveniences of travel at that time being, of course, but scanty, these journeys were oftentimes made on foot, the travelers going and returning the same day, a distance of more than twenty miles.

[1] By Josette Gertrude Menard.

In 1843, however, Rev. James Strain, of East Cambridge, decided to visit Woburn, which was one of the outlying towns included in his parish, in order to ascertain if the number of its Catholic families was not sufficient to warrant his performing the holy sacrifice of the Mass for them at intervals in their own town.

He found this to be the case. A large house, situated at the Watering Station, and owned by the Boston and Lowell Railroad Company, was selected as a temporary place of worship, and here, in the same year, the first service was held. It was not long, however, before it was found that this accommodation was insufficient for the increasing congregation, while it also proved inconvenient for those residing in the westerly and southerly portions of the town. At length the town hall in Woburn Centre was hired, and here a monthly service continued to be held by Rev. Father Strain until 1846, when, to the sincere regret of his little flock, he was called to the West. He was succeeded at East Cambridge and also at Woburn by Rev. Father Doherty.

About this time a portion of the people, becoming dissatisfied with their accommodation, the question of building a small church was agitated, but the size and condition of the congregation not seeming just as yet to authorize the necessary outlay, Father Doherty decided, after some consideration, to continue celebrating the Mass in the building chosen by his predecessor. This custom was continued during the following three years.

In 1849 a change was once more made, and Father Doherty's place was filled by Rev. Father Reardon, also from East Cambridge. As this latter clergyman remained in the town but a short time, no further effort toward building a church was made. Such had been the growth of the congregation, however, during the last few years, that it became apparent to all that the use of the town hall would very soon have to be discontinued, and when, in 1851, Rev. Father Carroll was given charge of the parish, steps towards raising funds were at once taken by him.

His labors in this direction were, after a time, crowned with success. A lot of land, situated upon Main Street, at the corner of Summer Street, was purchased, and in 1853 the first Roman Catholic Church, a small wooden structure, was erected.

Although Father Carroll remained pastor of the new church until 1859, he did not at any time reside in Woburn, nor did his successor, Rev. Father Branigan, who acted as officiating priest for the following two years.

The history of this denomination in Woburn is henceforward one of continuous growth and prosperity. The clergymen of East Cambridge could no longer give it the care and attention necessary to its spiritual welfare. The monthly service became inadequate, and in 1862 Rev. John McCarthy came to Woburn as a resident pastor.

A house situated upon Pleasant Street, near Ben-

net, formerly the Baptist parsonage, was chosen as a parochial residence, and was occupied by him for a period of two years. It was at the end of this time, in January, 1864, that Rev. John Queally, then at Worcester, was appointed pastor at Woburn, a position which he holds at the present date (1890).

The parish at the time of his coming covered considerable territory, consisting, as it did, of the towns of Woburn, Winchester and Burlington. The wooden church became overcrowded, and the demand for a larger edifice became once more urgent. It was decided to move the building then in use and erect a brick church on the same site. Subscriptions to this end were solicited by Father Quealey, and at length, in the month of December, 1867, the corner-stone of the present church was laid. In September, 1869, it was dedicated to Saint Charles Borromeo and formally consecrated.

Two years previous to this, Father Quealy finding that a residence at such a distance from the church was a source of much inconvenience, the estate located upon the corner of Summer and Main Streets, and directly opposite the church property, was purchased, upon which he still resides.

Not long after the completion of the new building, the services of an assistant becoming indispensable, Rev. Thomas H. Kenney, was sent as curate to share with Father Quealy in the labors of the parish. Father Kenney died in Woburn in March, 1872, and was succeeded by Rev. Edward L. McClure. After a time, this last curate being called upon to assume the duties of pastor elsewhere, the vacancy was filled by Rev. Michael Gleason and Rev. Michael D. Murphy. They, in turn, were substituted by Rev. Matthew F. McDonnell and Rev. Lawrence W. Slattery, who are now in the parish.

In 1884 an event of some importance took place in the establishing in Woburn of a parochial school. A large building, situated upon Main Street, belonging to the church property, and formerly dedicated to the use of the temperance society, was fitted up as a school-house. Twelve of the Sisters of Notre Dame were secured to take charge of the children and act as teachers, and a convent pleasantly located upon Summer Street, in convenient proximity to the church and school, was opened for them. The school, which is for girls only, is at present in a prosperous condition, having a full attendance of five hundred and thirty pupils.

The Roman Catholic Chapel, located at Montvale, or East Woburn, which has a congregation numbering about five hundred, is included in the Winchester parish, and was erected some ten years ago by the clergymen of that place.

Trinity Church and Antecedents.[1]—The earliest efforts to establish an Episcopal congregation in Woburn, recorded by the historian, was a movement made 138 years ago, A.D. 1751, when Benjamin Simonds, William Smith, Robert Reed, Swithin Reed, Ebenezer Reed, George Reed, Jr., Eliphas Reed, James Perry, Thomas Skelton, Jr., Caleb Simonds, Caleb Simonds, Jr., Seth Johnson and John Cutler, thirteen men, "signed off," *i. e.*, declared themselves Episcopal.[2] "Benjamin Simonds, of the First Parish," became "a very important man among them." He was the head and front of the movement, being at the time twenty-seven years of age. He occupied the Simonds homestead at Dry Brook, Cumminsville, with his great-uncle, Caleb Simonds, Sr., who was the fourth child of the first pair, William and Judith Simonds, who settled here A. D. 1643, and built the house which may be seen to-day near Cambridge Street, in Woburn, and of special interest to us, as that west room was no doubt the first Episcopal church in Woburn.

Let us go a little further back while in these early days of the town. It was April 2, 1635, that the good ship "Planter," Captain Nicholas Trarice, sailed from England, having among his forty passengers most, if not all, the ancestors of the thirteen men who organized in 1751, and Thomas Carter, a graduate of Cambridge, who is to be the first pastor of the First Church of Woburn.

The old historic house referred to may have been forty-six feet long by twenty wide, and fourteen feet high to the eaves. The room so long sanctified by prayer and praise is fifteen feet by nineteen. A tall man must remove his hat and bend as he passes under the heavy beams that sustain the floor above. Before the cheering flames of a large, old-fashioned fireplace, the services were led by a clergyman from Boston or from Cambridge at times, but more frequently by Thomas Skelton, Jr., and the large quarto prayer-book used by him on such occasions was, until her death, in possession of his grandchild, Mrs. A. J. Kendall, of West Swansea, N. H. A grand old elm, whose limbs extend forty-five feet from the trunk, holds one arm over this consecrated room. Out there, in mild weather, the services were conducted. Who, that understands the affection of Churchmen for that old, familiar service, is prepared to believe that the incense from that domestic altar did not rise like that of Noah from Ararat?

The services, inaugurated by the thirteen in 17[illegible]d continued with more or less regularity for thirty ye[illegible] Benjamin Simonds had all his children baptized [illegible]ston Caleb Simonds' children—Gideon, Calvin and J[illegible]1776, here received holy baptism. The little flock b[illegible]eived gether, the last recorded service being Dece[illegible]R. I.," 1781, the marriage of Ebenezer Page, of B[illegible], where Susanna, daughter of Benjamin Simonds, in[illegible]egiment, room by Rev. Samuel Parker, D.D., of Bo[illegible] of April, the use of the prayer-book did not end th[illegible] have this [illegible]h of eight [illegible] to continue

[1] By the Rev. J. Frank Winkley.

[2] The greater part were members of the Second Par[illegible] "Woburn," p. 500.

Simonds lived on Pleasant Street until 1805, when he sold his house to the Congregational minister and lived in Bedford with his son Zebedee, where he died January 4, 1811, aged ninety-one. Zebedee died in 1826; Edward, the son of Zebedee, several years collector of taxes in Woburn, resided with his mother in Bedford until 1837, down to which date the prayer-book services had been regularly maintained in that home, and he believes were continued to his mother's death, in 1853. Lucy Simonds no doubt maintained this service in the old temple home by Dry Brook to the last year of her life, 1842. In A.D. 1846, only four years after Lucy Simonds left her prayer-book in the old homestead, seven years before the saintly mother of our collector Simonds lay her prayer-book by to go to the paradise of God, the Rev. George Packard, D.D., began to officiate every third Sunday in the town-hall, alternating with Beverly and Lawrence until September, when the movement of manufacturers developing in Lawrence, decided him to establish himself in that place, and build a church there. The Universalists had made a beginning in Woburn in 1828, and again in 1841. In 1847 they united with the Unitarians in forming the present society, and the Roman Catholics began in the same year. The Methodists broke ground in 1850, but the Episcopal element stood still twenty years. Then Mrs. Eliza Wyman visited various church families, and, late in 1865, met the Rev. Frederick D. Huntington, D.D., in "the old Corner Book-Store" in Boston, and on Sunday, January 21, 1866, the Rev. George L. Converse, rector of St. James', Roxbury, inaugurated a series of services with a good congregation. He was followed on succeeding Sundays by the Rev. Drs. Huntington, Randall and Babbitt. On the 20th of May Rev. Charles H. Learoyd, of Medford, was appointed provisional rector, and on the 26th Rev. E. H. Chapin commenced under the Eastern District Association, concluding his work of four Sundays by organizing a Sunday-school, St. John's Day, June 24th, having a library of 150 volumes, the gift of Boston Churchmen. He was followed by Rev. Messrs. Slack, Babbitt, Foxcraft, Carter, Bradley, Downing and Munroe. An interregnum of three Sundays followed August 12th. A petition for organization produced a warrant, September 27, 1866, naming October 4th, 2 P.M., at which time Parker L. Converse, justice of the peace, was present, and the organization made the election of officers and adopting the name—Trinity Church. A delegation of nine clergymen of the District Association visited the field October 31, and located Rev. E. H. Downing was left in charge, the Catholic Rector. He worked seven months, and worked with conveniences are the first records extant, since that of 1781. George Thompson, W. A. Haslam but scant on foot, the Little appeared as committee soliciting day, a dista in aid of the building enterprise. A [illegible]ar prayer-books, presented by the Rev. ther books by Bishop Eastburn, fifty-four prayer-books by the Margaret Coffin P. B. S., altar, chancel chair, little melodeon and communion service remain as witnesses of that enterprise. The first baptism was March 16, 1867.

But the effort was futile. Miss Wyman, the Mrs. Margaret Farmer, Eleanor T. Long Haslam, Mary McCarthy, Josephine W. Rogers and Thomas G. Davis worked zealously to get up a fair and rescue the falling house, but it was a failure; and on April 22, 1867, the second organization was effected under a warrant of Parker L. Converse, Esq., at which Thomas G. Davis was elected clerk; Joseph McCarthy, senior warden; O. W. Rogers, junior warden; Richard Barrington, Daniel Chamberlain, Joseph G. Frampton, Oliver W. Rogers and Thomas T. Long, vestrymen; and at the adoption of a constitution, May 5th, the additional name of Charles Trull appears with the above signatures. Committee on building: Joseph M Carthy, O. W. Rogers and the Rector Nicholson. Outside help was asked, and subscriptions to the amount of $3657.06, were obtained and ground was broken September 25, 1867. The corner-stone was laid with usual ceremonies by the Rev. F. D. Huntington, D.D., on Tuesday, October 27th. Rev. H. A. Nicholson resigned March 11, 1868, after a rectorship of nine months, and Rev. C. C. Chapin succeeded. May 4th building committee report cost $6574.55; debt, $2618.49. The debt, January 18, 1869, was $5000. Rev. J. W. Porter, D.D., succeeded C. C. Chapin. He collected $5000 in Boston and paid the debt. Rev. Charles A. Rand succeeded Doctor Porter, Whit-Sunday, May 28th. Rev. George Pomeroy Allen assumed charge December 25, 1872, and his last recorded act was a baptism, December 25, 1873. Rev. Sumner U. Shearman, succeeded, and resigned November 3, 1876. Rev. George Denham commenced December 10, 1876, and his resignation was accepted April 15, 1877. August 6th Rev. J. Frank Winkley was called, and entered upon the duties of his office, September 8, 1877. His resignation took effect May 8, 1885. The Rev. Samuel Hazen Hilliard succeeded, and following him the Rev. James P. Ware, and the Rev. Dr. Harris followed him, leaving in July, 1887. Between that January 21, 1866, and July 31, 1887, are twenty-one years and seven months, during which 41 adults and 258 infants were baptized, 141 confirmed. The largest class at confirmation, 24; of the names recorded as communicants, 90 are believed to have received communion within two years preceding May 8, 1885.

The parish began with the pew system, passed to envelopes, then subscriptions and free. The most prosperous season for finances was the era of inflation after the great war. The gentleman longest in office, clerical or lay, was Dr. James Folsom, of Montvale, warden between eight and nine years, to Easter, 1885. The largest amount raised in any one year was to April 10, 1870; offerings, $348.49; pew-rents, $619.98; subscriptions, $48.36=$1038.80; and the

same year received from missions, $550; borrowed, $116.49. Of the illustrious dead who assisted in starting this parish is George M. Randall, first bishop of Colorado, but then rector of the Church of the Messiah, Boston, and of the living clergy not mentioned above, Rev. Dr. Wharton, who, in 1867, subscribed $500. In 1873 the quorum at parish meeting was reduced to four, and in 1879 raised to ten. Other gentlemen acting as senior warden were Robert Eaton, 1873; Richard Barrington, 1874. From 1879 the rector's duties called him to Winchester, Wilmington, Lexington and Bedford, three of which now have established services and resident clergymen.

New Jerusalem Church.—The society bearing this name, sometimes also called the Swedenborgian Church, formerly worshiped for several years in an edifice on Central Street, Montvale. Of late its members seem to have been, from various causes, so weakened in numbers and ability as to practically abandon their enterprise, and their house of worship, now called All Saints' Chapel, is used for services which are not strictly denominational.

All Saints' Chapel.—Those who now worship in this edifice, formerly known as the New Jerusalem Church, on Central Street, Montvale, do not represent any one religious denomination. "Union Services" are held regularly every Sunday afternoon and conducted by representatives from various churches.

The Scandinavian Evangelical Society.—This religious organization is one of the most recent of similar organizations in Woburn. Previous to 1882 there were hardly a dozen persons of Scandinavian origin in town. During that year Messrs. Bryant and King introduced a considerable number of workmen in their manufactory. Of these, but very few had even an imperfect acquaintance with the English language, while the great majority knew nothing of it; and as only a very small number were professing Christians, it was, for the few who were, a difficult enterprise to introduce and establish in the Scandinavian language a regular ministration of the Gospel. In July of the year before mentioned, one of their number, a Swede, succeeded in inducing a Swedish evangelist from Cambridgeport to come to Woburn and preach for a single Sunday. At this first service ever held in town in the Scandinavian language about thirty persons (Swedes, Norwegians and Danes) were present. Such an interest was now awakened that, at different times and at different places, services were subsequently held. Generally these services were held in dwelling-houses of Swedish families, and nearly once each week with a single family residing at No. 7 Greenwood Avenue. Toward the close of October of that eventful year the Young Men's Christian Association opened their rooms, then at 127 Main Street, for a regular weekly service in the Scandinavian language. The work was signally blessed, and, as more frequent meetings became desirable, permission was given in May, 1883, to hold two meetings in those rooms each week. Such was the success of the enterprise that on the 2d day of June, 1884, the "Scandinavian Evangelical Society" was organized. It consisted of seven members, whose names were Charles R. Rosenquist, Mrs. Charles R. Rosenquist, Claes H. Svenson, Mrs. Claes H. Svenson, Sven Froberg, Mrs. Sven Froberg and Gustaf J. Olson. At an adjourned meeting on the following evening five more members were added to the seven of the previous meeting—Olof Johnson, Mrs. Olof Johnson, Magnus Carlson, Swan Ekmark and Miss Augusta C. Johnson. These twelve persons included nearly all the Scandinavians who were professing Christians at that time in Woburn. But from the date of the organization onward, the church, so feeble in its beginnings, has been wonderfully blessed. A large number of persons have been, it is believed, savingly benefited. Meanwhile the society has moved steadily forward, and in June, 1889, the original seven had increased to eighty-three members, the Scandinavian population being, at the last-named date, nearly six hundred, and on the 27th day of June the church was incorporated. But, from this time up to January, 1890, a large number, for reasons chiefly connected with the uncertainties of business, have left the city and settled in the West as farmers. This reduced the Scandinavian population during the closing months of the year to about four hundred, and of course, has seriously affected, financially and otherwise, the church.

But the church, though "faint, is yet pursuing." Meetings for worship are now held in Concert Hall, Savings Bank Building, Sunday mornings at 10.30, Sunday evenings at 7, and Wednesday evenings at 7.30 o'clock. The present members (January, 1890) number fifty-eight. The officers of the church, 1890, are: Elder, A. F. Simonson; Deacons, Sven Froberg, Aug. Erlandson, Alfred L. Olson and N. C. Olson; Moderator, Chas. R. Rosenquist; Secretary, Gustaf Anderson; Treasurer, Neils Olson; Standing Committee, Swan Ekmark, Sven Froberg, Alfred L. Olson and Ludvig Froberg; Organist, Gustav A Svenson.

The communion service is on the second Sunda afternoon of each month. A Sunday-School an Bible Class were organized January 1, 1887, wi twenty-five members. This number has since d creased to seventy. The present officers are A Simonson, superintendent; G. A. Svenson, secre ton A. L. Olson, treasurer.

The church has not, as it needs to have, a pastor. Indeed, it has had but one, Rev. M. A who came in 1889, and remained less than a departure of so many during the year lea penses.

The church holds meetings every seco evening in the Congregational Church a

1776, R. I.," where egiment, of April, have this h of eight to continue

with Scandinavians in that place. From one to three evenings each week, meetings for prayer and Bible study are held in Scandinavian homes in Woburn, from ten to thirty-five persons attending.

Considering the circumstances, the Scandinavian Evangelical Church and Society have accomplished a great and good work, and, indirectly, have thus favorably affected the whole community. They greatly need a religious home in a church edifice of their own, and, in the judgment of the present writer, the large-hearted members of other churches could hardly do a wiser or better deed of Christian kindness than to help them to secure it.[1]

St. John Baptist Church.—This organization, originating with and sustained by the people of color in Woburn, is of very recent date. From the local papers we learn that the first meeting took place November 18, 1886, at the residence of Saunders Sims, on Everett Street. On the 5th of July, 1887, the organization was effected with seventeen members, and on the 17th of May, 1888, the church was formally recognized by delegates from other churches. Wilson Fitchett, John White and H. W. Dearborn were chosen the first deacons. Rev. J. M. Taylor had previously officiated as the first pastor. On the 5th of February, 1888, Rev. George G. Robinson had succeeded, but remained only till the following September, and, in 1889, he was followed by Rev. T. H. Thompson.

The society purchased a lot on Fowle Street for a house of worship, but, finding it to lack adaptation to their wants, at length abandoned it. During the summer of 1889 another and more desirable lot was presented to them by Geo. W. Holden, Esq., of Somerville, formerly of Woburn. On this lot, on Green Street, the corner-stone was accordingly laid with the usual ceremonies. Rev. Arthur Crane, of Boston read a manuscript history of the church, which was placed under the stone. Rev. Mr. Crane also preached a sermon from Luke vi. 43. After prayer and singing the audience was dismissed by the benediction from the pastor.

The Salvation Army.—The religious organization commonly known as "The Salvation Army" has, for some time, had an existence in Woburn. After considerable, though perhaps less systematic, work for several years, a regular "Branch," on the 7th of January, 1890, commenced operations, with a more definite and permanent aim in view for future work. In the words of one of their number: "Our aim is to evangelize the non-church-goers. We hold meetings nightly. We generally have an outdoor, late service; then a service in our hall. Our meetings are carried on in about the same line as all conventional meetings; opened with singing and prayer, a portion of Scripture being read. We are strictly temperate; no user of alcoholic drinks can be a member of our organization. We are a permanent society and always endeavor to get the good will of all churches. We are a law-abiding people.

"Our local forces consist of about fifteen members at present. The meetings are conducted by Army officers, the officers being generally changed once or twice a year.

"Meetings during the week commence at 8 P.M. Meetings, Sunday, at 11 A.M., 3 P.M. and 8 P.M.

"Captain George J. Henninger and Lieutenant H. Spange are the present (1890) officers in command."

[1] For the material of the foregoing sketch, the writer is indebted to Mr. Jonas Jonasonquist, one of the original members and an active worker in the Scandinavian Evangelical Society. L. T.

BIOGRAPHICAL.[2]

LOAMMI BALDWIN.

Among the most prominent men of Woburn at the opening of the Revolutionary War and for more than a quarter of a century subsequently, Loammi Baldwin was universally acknowledged to be conspicuous. The fact that he descended from one of the oldest, most wealthy and most influential families of the town doubtless gave him, even in early life, advantages which but few enjoyed. But his native and acquired ability would have, in any circumstances, raised him far above the common level. His emigrant ancestor, Henry Baldwin, from Devonshire, England, was one of the subscribers to the "Town Orders" in December, 1641, at Charlestown, with the new settlement in view which, in 1642, was incorporated as Woburn, and he became one of the first settles of the new town and of that part of it which is now known as North Woburn. Here, in 1661, he built the palatial house which is still one of the most imposing in the town, and which, though with some changes and occasional improvements, has been owned and occupied by his descendants down through six generations.

Loammi Baldwin[4], (James[3], Henry[2], Henry[1]), the son of James and Ruth (Richardson) Baldwin, was born January 10, 1745. Evincing even in early life an unusual taste for study, he was long a pupil of "Master Fowle," who was celebrated as a teacher in Woburn for many years. On reaching young man-

[2] By Rev. L. Thompson. [a]

[a] It may be proper to say that, though the ordinary sources of information concerning the life and career of Colonel Baldwin are numerous and familiar to the writer of this sketch, he has thought it best, for obvious reasons, to draw the material for it almost wholly from the comparatively little known diary and numerous letters of Colonel Baldwin himself, kindly lent for the purpose by his granddaughter, Mrs. W. A. Griffith. Many family traditions and historical facts, furnished by George R. Baldwin, Esq., before his late decease, have also been freely used. In two or three instances, when the writer has gone outside of these sources, he has indicated the authorities for his statements. L. T.

hood he eagerly longed for larger opportunities for acquiring knowledge, and, having sought and obtained permission to attend the lectures of Professor Winthrop, of Cambridge College, he used, with his life-long friend, Benjamin Thompson, afterward known as Count Rumford, a young man of kindred tastes and aspirations, to walk to and fro, in order to enjoy the luxury of listening. On reaching home from time to time, they busied themselves, heedless of weariness, in constructing rude instruments for the purpose of illustrating the principles in natural philosophy which they had been taught in the Cambridge lecture-room.

There is evidence that Loammi Baldwin, in his younger years, had also a taste for military life. As early as 1768, when in his twenty-fourth year, a paper signed at Cambridge by "David Phips, Col.," certifies that "Mr. Loammi Baldwin has Inlisted himself with His Excellency's Troop of Horse Guards, under my command." He was not, therefore, like many others, wholly destitute of military experience when suddenly summoned to join the Army of the Revolution. His own diary, though bringing to view no facts not otherwise known, has the freshness of a personal testimony:

"1775, April 19, Wednesday. This morning a little before break of day, we were alarmed by Mr. Stedman's Express from Cambridge. Informed us that the Regulars were upon the move for Concord. We mustered as fast as possible. The Town turned out extraordinary, and proceeded toward Lexington. I rode along a little before the main body, and, when I was nigh Jacob Reed's, I heard a great firing; proceeded on,—soon heard that the Regulars had fired upon Lexington people and killed a large number of them. We proceeded on as fast as possible and came to Lexington and saw about 8 or 10 dead and numbers wounded. . . . We proceeded to Concord by way of Lincoln meeting-house, . . . ascended the hill and pitched and refreshed ourselves a little. . . . The people under my command and also some others came running off the East end of the hill while I was at a house—and we proceeded down the road and could see behind us the Regulars following. We came to Tanner Brook, at Lincoln Bridge, and then concluded to scatter and make use of trees and walls for to defend us, and attack them. We did so and pursued on, flanking them (Mr. Daniel Thompson was killed, and others), till we came to Lexington. I had several good shots. The enemy marched very fast and left many dead and wounded and a few tired. I proceeded on till coming between the meeting-house and Buckman's tavern with a prisoner before me, when the cannon began to play, the balls flew near me, I judged not more than 2 yards off. I immediately retreated back behind the meeting-house, and had not been there ten seconds before a ball came through the meeting-house near my head. I retreated back towards the meadow, north of the meeting-house, and lay and heard the balls in the air and saw them strike the ground."

The foregoing extract assumes that the writer was already an officer in command. From other sources we learn that he bore the rank of major, and that Woburn sent to the rescue no less than 180 men. Having enlisted in the regiment of foot under the command of Col. Samuel Gerrish, he was promoted June 16th, to the office of lieutenant-colonel, and, on the historic 17th of June, he was designated in the general orders as the field officer of the main guard. He was for some time stationed at Chelsea, and, while there with a small party of Americans, he was fired upon by a party of British soldiers, the attack being so vigorously and successfully met as to elicit marked commendation. To his wife, who had anxiously written to him in regard to his condition, he says, March 6, 1776, "I received your kind letter of yesterday, filled with expressions of anxiety and concern for me, during the late cannonade and bombardment. I have been pretty much fatigued and broken of rest. . . . I have had much to do, constantly keeping a party on Noddle's Island for spies to discover all the movements of the enemy. . . . We have been under arms and at a moment's warning ever since the cannonade began, some expecting the enemy would seek revenge by coming out against us and destroying what they could at Chelsea. But, through the goodness of God, I am still alive and in good health, and, if called to battle, I pray that the same Almighty Being will give me courage, and, if consistent with His divine will, protection also.

"Our works on Dorchester Hills are completing as fast as possible. The enemy's ships are all drawn up in line of battle before them, but are very quiet at present."

Upon the retirement of Colonel Gerrish from the army in August, 1775, Lieutenant Colonel Baldwin assumed the command of the regiment as colonel, though his commission as colonel of "the 26th Regiment of Foot in the Army of the United States," signed by "John Hancock, President of the Congress of the United States," is dated January 1, 1776. His regiment, which had been designated as the Thirty-eighth, and consisted of eight companies, all stationed in the vicinity of Boston, was, near the close of the year, enlarged to ten companies and thenceforward known as the Twenty-sixth Regiment.

Having been ordered to follow General Washington to New York, Colonel Baldwin writes, April 1, 1776, from Grafton, Mass., "I have this moment received orders to alter the route and go to Providence, R. I.," and, on April 3, he writes from Providence, where he arrived the previous night, and, with his regiment, is "quartered in the College." On the 6th of April, "Saturday, 2 o'clock, P.M.," he writes, "I have this moment arrived in Norwich, after a march of eight days. . . . I have just received orders to continue

my march to New London, where I expect to embark for New York."

April 10th in a long and interesting letter to his wife, Colonel Baldwin announces his arrival in New York, and relates some of his observations in and around the city, with evident zest. And on the 19th he writes: "This is the anniversary of the ever memorable 19th of April, when the present war commenced. I have been in the war during the whole time and am in good health. May I, with a grateful heart, ascribe all to God Almighty, who is the author of all our mercies. . . . This city is grand, the buildings lofty and elegant. The streets are not so fine as those of Boston, but the buildings, I think, exceed."

"April 28: I know not when we shall leave New York; we go into tents this week. The encampment for my regiment is laid out near the Jews' burying-ground, joining the northerly part of the city. The army is healthy. . . . I have just returned from hearing the last of two of the best sermons (I think) that I ever heard in my life, preached this day to my regiment and some others, at Dr. Rogers' meeting-house, the afternoon sermon preached by the Doctor himself."

May 2d, he learns indirectly that his youngest child is ill with the "canker-rash," and on the 15th he hears directly that the child is very sick and declares that nothing short of his duty to his imperiled country could keep him from home and induce him to undergo, at such a distance from his family, the anxiety he feels for them.

May 21st: Still anxious for the sick child.

June 18th: Receiving a letter, dated June 1st, from his wife, announcing the death of the child and her own feebleness, he says of the news: "It so shocked me, I am unable to contain myself. . . . This is new trouble to us, and aggravated by our being at such a distance apart. My earnest desire is that we may not be separated from God's grace and favor, although we are separated so far from each other as not to be able to assist and comfort one another."

Four days later he writes: "We have this morning discovered a hellish plot, led by the Tories, to assassinate His Excellency, General Washington, and the principal officers of the army, and to afford all possible assistance to the enemy when they should attack us, having agreed on the place where they were to make their feint, and where their grand attacks, to blow up our magazine, etc. They have bribed a number of our soldiers in the Continental Army, four or five in the general's select guard, one or two in my regiment, chiefly old countrymen, and some in other regiments to the number of about fifteen, already found out, that belong to the army, and near fifty Tories. The mayor of the city of New York is one of the said infernal crew, and is in the dungeon, chief of the prisoners and in irons."

July 5th: "I have but just time to inform you that the enemy's fleet arrived at Sandy Hook the 29th and 30th of June, and on the 2d, 3d and 4th of July came up through the Narrows and anchored off the northeast side of Staten Island, about four miles southwest of the city of New York, to the number of about 120 sail, all in plain view of our encampment. We have expected a battle every day since they came up to the island. This island is inhabited by none but Tories."

July 14th: After giving further details of the subject of the last letter, Colonel Baldwin adds: "Gen. Heath is this moment come to Camp, he informs me that a flag of Truce from Lord How, newly arrived from England, brother of General How, with a packet or single letter directed to 'George Washington, Esq.', was rejected and sent back on account of the direction. I suppose the generals insist upon its being directed to 'His Excellency, George Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States.' So we know nothing of the contents of the packet."

Thus far, in every letter to his family, Colonel Baldwin has described himself as enjoying vigorous health. But, on the 5th of August, he writes a few lines and employs a friend to write more fully, to inform his family that for a fortnight he has been seriously ill with universal pain, sickness and weakness of the stomach, inability to bear any food, great loss of strength and sleeplessness. For the comfort of his family, he adds that he has around him faithful friends who kindly care for him. As soon as he was able he came home for rest and recovery, and while here he received from Isaac Sherman, near the close of August and again on the 1st of September, detailed accounts of the progress of events at the seat of war. Those accounts were so full of startling incident that he could remain no longer at home, but hurried on his way as fast as he could safely do it, in order to rejoin his regiment. At Stratford, Conn., when on his journey, he learned that General Washington, in accordance with a plan previously arranged, had evacuated New York, and that the enemy was in possession of the city. September 28th he reports himself at Fort Constitution, New Jersey, where he arrived on the 25th, after a journey of nine days. "I found my regiment encamped," he says, "upon the utmost heights of the Highlands, about one mile west of Hudson River and nearly opposite Fort Washington, about twelve miles from the city of New York. It seems impossible to set a foot upon the ground for stones, or behold a star for trees; where we can scarcely build a fire-place because of the flat stones, or make a fire on account of the plenty of wood. You smile, but you would laugh if you were to see us here, elevated at least 400 feet above the level of mankind, where scarcely earth enough can be procured to eat with our victuals, or water to wash it down."

In a previous communication Colonel Baldwin

had, in allusion to a well-known rocky eminence in Woburn, described a portion of the region of New York as so rough a country that "Rag Rock would appear an inconsiderable knoll to some of the rocky and woody eminences on the Island and the Jersey shore."

October 1; Colonel Baldwin, still at Fort Constitution, reports himself "comfortable, but not strong and hearty," as he used to be, and the expectation of a "general engagement very soon."

October 12: Health quite feeble. Alarms and skirmishes.

October 20–23: "Camp at Mile Square, about five miles north of King's Bridge and near General Lee's quarters." Health increasingly poor. Account of various skirmishes and battle-scenes at White Plains, etc.

October 31: In a letter to his wife from the "Camp at White Plains," he gives a more detailed account of the recent fighting and the general anticipation of a more serious battle, and, in a long letter to his friend, Dr. Samuel Blodgett, of Woburn, dated North Castle, November 9th, he writes more in detail:

"The movements of the enemy made it necessary for the regiment to remove from New Jersey to York Island,—from thence to King's Bridge, East Chester, Mile Square, &c. About this time my regiment pitched and decamped nine times in seven days, and sometimes had to remove the whole baggage of the regiment without any assistance by wagons, carts or the like, or even of the soldiers, except a few overslows.[1] Once, in particular, I had to make a remove under these circumstances upward of two miles and in the night, after I had been fatigued all day in the skirmish and exercised at the same time with a dysentery which has now followed me for near seven weeks. But I stood the hardships beyond my expectation, never having been discouraged nor found my spirits fail in the least. I have always endeavored to take lodging in a house, barn or some other place, so as to keep my body from the damps of the ground. However, I have been obliged sometimes to lodge in the common tent; at other times, on the bare floor or soft side of a board, without blanket or even anything but the common clothes to my back, and sometimes, though very seldom, in a good feather bed, and all the time to watch the motions, and defend or secure ourselves against the attacks of a restless and powerful enemy, whose movements have made it necessary to be under arms a great part of the time since our troops left New Jersey. Sometimes we have had to remove 12 or 14 hundred barrels of pork and flour a mile or two by hand to keep it out of the hands of the enemy. . . . Sometimes my regiment, together with others, have had to lodge two or three nights together upon the bare ground without any tents to cover them. I have not had my clothes off but three times for about a fortnight. . . : *Thus a soldier lives, sometimes better, but never worse.*"

The letter from which the foregoing extract is given proceeds to give a full and deeply interesting account of the scenes that preceded, accompanied and followed the battle at White Plains. But it is far too extended for insertion here.

Omitting, from necessity in this sketch, a large amount of Colonel Baldwin's narratives of his army experience, our limits admit of only the following from a letter to his wife dated from "Camp, 5 miles west of the Delaware, and 30 miles above Philadelphia," December 19, 1776:

"If I were at home, I should think myself sick enough to keep house, but *here* feel myself in good spirits. . . . I am determined to exert myself to the last, and have no neglect of mine to reflect upon. I trust in the skill of my commanders, and have cheerfully executed the orders I have from time to time received from them. . . . The enemy have penetrated much further into the country than I expected they would be able to do this fall. They have made great destruction in their route through New Jersey. They now lay at Burlington and Trenton, on the east side of the River Delaware, and Gen. Washington's Army are on the west over against them, where I expect we shall arrive and form a junction to-morrow.

"On the 3d inst. marched from Peekskill for King's Ferry. Very rainy all day. Crossed the river just before night. Pitched our tents in New Jersey by the side of the mountains, took my lodging in a common tent upon the wet ground; very cold, there being no house to go to. In the night the rain increased, and the flood came down from the mountains, and ran in torrents among and through our tents, and almost washed them away. I had no bed nor blanket except a thin piece of drugget. . . ."

All the marching army under Gen. Lee received orders at Peekskill not to take anything with them but one shirt and one pair hose more than what they commonly wore.

"Dec. 4: Struck our tents in the morning and marched to Haverstraw. Rained by showers all day, exceeding bad traveling. Ordered to pitch our tents about one o'clock, which we did. Soon after came orders to strike and march two miles further, which we did, and pitched under the grand mountains at the landing at Haverstraw Bay. Lay in my tent."

Thus the long communication notes the incidents of experience from day to day; the marches and countermarches, the snow, the rain, the cold weather, with no house nor refuge; yet, on his part, excruciating suffering. It is not strange that, at the close of his letter, he hints an intention to be ere long at home. It does not appear from his communication when he resigned his commission, but there is reason to believe that it was not long after the battle of Trenton, December 26th, as he expresses a hope that he shall be at home "some time in the latter part of January, and sooner, if possible." It appears, in any case, to have been early in 1777 when he received an honorable discharge from the army. It is proper, in this connection, to say that he had been on the most friendly terms with both officers and men. From Gen. Washington he had received special commendation for his fidelity and skill, and in repeated instances notes of invitation to dine with him.[2] In his resignation, therefore, there is no evidence that he was influenced by the slightest disaffection, either on his own part or on the part of others, but abundant evidence in the nature of his physical ailments that he did not retire from the army a day too soon.

Of Col. Baldwin's life and career at home our limits do not admit of minute detail. He was far from being an idle man. In one enterprise and another he was incessantly engaged. Honored by the town as an

[1] This word, nearly illegible in the manuscript, seems to designate those soldiers who did not keep up with the army,—the laggards or stragglers.

[2] "General Washington's compliments to Col. Baldwin. Requests the favor of his company at dinner to-day, at three o'clock. Thursday morning, April 25th."

"General Washington's compliments to Col. Baldwin. Requests the favor of his company at dinner to-day, at three o'clock. Thursday morning, June 20, 1776."

officer in 1781; as a member of nearly every committee, and generally chairman, for many years; as representative in the General Court in 1778, 1779 and in 1780, and again in 1800 and the four immediately succeeding years, he must have felt that his fellow-citizens respected and trusted him.

Nor were Col. Baldwin's offices and honors limited to Woburn. In 1780 he was appointed high sheriff of the county of Middlesex, the first after the adoption of the State Constitution to hold that office. He was candidate for State Senator, for Lieut.-Governor of Massachusetts, and elector of President of the United States. "At the election of representative to Congress in 1794 he had all the votes cast in Woburn but one. In August and September, 1796, he had all the votes, and in November of that year, at the third trial for the choice of the same officer, he had 74 out of 76 that were then cast in Woburn."[1]

On January 30, 1782, Col. Baldwin was elected a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; was member of the Council from 1785 to 1796, and again from 1797 to 1807, and a member of the Committee of Publication from 1784 to 1785. To the publications of the Academy he contributed two articles, one on "The curious appearance of the celestial fluid produced by raising an electrical kite in the time of a thunder shower," and another entitled "Observations of electricity and an improved mode of constructing lightning-rods." Both these papers clearly show that he had by no means lost his early taste for scientific study and experiment.

In 1785 Col. Baldwin was made Master of Arts by the Corporation of Harvard College, and manifested in various ways, ever after, as before, his warm interest in that venerable institution.

The name of Loammi Baldwin is widely associated with that of Benjamin Thompson, better known now and famed afar as Count Rumford. In childhood they were near neighbors, playmates and schoolmates. As young men they were associated in attending scientific lectures at Harvard College and in practical experimenting. In maturer life, when Thompson was under suspicion and hasty accusation, Baldwin steadily befriended him; was a member of the court that tried and acquitted him,[2] and in various ways, notwithstanding his own lofty and undisputed patriotism, he vindicated his neighbor's loyalty, and in their subsequent life the two were, to the last, enthusiastic friends and correspondents, though separated by the waters of the Atlantic. All this seems the more remarkable when it is considered that in his letters to his family he repeatedly expresses the most intense antipathy and disgust for *Tories* with whom he came in contact while in the army. Though he evidently regretted certain unfortunate errors and circumstances in Thompson's career, he clearly did not believe that he was a genuine Tory.

Colonel Baldwin was widely and favorably known as a projector, one of the principal proprietors and an assistant engineer in surveying the route and in the construction of the Middlesex Canal. From first to last, while the work was progressing he was most assiduous in the responsible business of superintending and guiding the numerous workmen. And when, in 1803, the work was completed, he arranged for a grand jubilee in the spacious house near his home, which he had previously bought of his old friend, Dr. Samuel Blodgett. This well-known house, owned by the Baldwin family for many years, at length passed out of it, and at present is known as the "Wheeler house."

Colonel Baldwin was also extensively known in connection with the famous apple which he zealously cultivated and introduced to the public and which now bears his name. After bearing for many years, the names successfully, of Butters, Thompson and Pecker, it came at length, long after his death, to be known by his name in honor of his interest in it and his special efficiency in spreading it abroad.

From the material at hand, it would be both easy and pleasant to extend to far greater length, this sketch of the life of this distinguished son of Woburn. But our limits do not admit of it.

In his domestic relations Colonel Baldwin was signally favored. He married, first, July 9, 1772, Mary, daughter of James Fowle, one of three or four of the old Fowle family who, at the same time, bore the same name. She was the mother of five children—Cyrus, Mary, Benjamin Franklin, Loammi and James Fowle. All except Mary, who died in childhood, lived to maturity, had families, and were in various ways highly distinguished.

Colonel Baldwin's first wife dying suddenly September 26, 1786, he married, second, May 26, 1791, her cousin Margaret, daughter of Josiah Fowle. She was the mother of two children—Clarissa, who married Thomas B. Cooledge, and George Rumford, who, as the last representative of the old family, bearing the name of Baldwin, in Woburn, died in the Baldwin Mansion October 12, 1888, leaving one daughter (now Mrs. W. A. Griffith).

Colonel Baldwin's second wife, Margaret, died October 8, 1799. He survived her eight years and died October 20, 1807. From manuscript notes of William R. Cutter, the librarian of Woburn, we are permitted to take the following:

"A marble tablet on a granite obelisk surmounting a tomb of probably later construction on the highest

[1] Sewall's *History of Woburn*, p. 387.

[2] Among Col. Baldwin's frequent allusions to Thompson in his diary and letters is the following:

"1775, May 29, Monday: Obtained leave of the General to go to Woburn. Went. Decided the affair of Major Thompson and acquitted him."

At a previous date, May 18, 1775, we have the following entry in his journal:

"At a Court of Inquiry into the conduct of Major Thompson, of Concord, New Hampshire, convened at the Meeting-house of the 1st Parish, in Woburn, on Thursday, the 18th of May, 1775, at 2 o'clock P.M., by the Committee of Correspondence of said town."



Loammi Baldwin

summit in the Woburn first burying-ground, contains the following inscription, put in place, it is supposed about 1810, after the town had granted permission that such a tomb be built.

"To the memory of the Honorable Loammi Baldwin, who died October 20, 1807, æt. sixty-three. Erected by his children.

"For a long period this monument was the most imposing structure of the kind to be seen in the town. It is about ten feet high and is constructed of nine courses of granite ashlars, crowned by a pyramidical granite cap. The entrance to the tomb beneath the obelisk is concealed with earth."

GEN. ABIJAH THOMPSON.[1]

Not many men have lived in Woburn more favorably known and respected in the world of honorable and successful enterprise than the man whose once familiar name is at the head of this sketch. Descended from the emigrant, James Thompson, who, in 1630, came in Winthrop's choice company to the new world and settled, first in Charlestown, and, in 1642, became one of the first settlers and magistrates in the newly incorporated town of Woburn, General Abijah Thompson could trace his line of descent back through six generations of men, all of whom lived and died in that part of the town now known as North Woburn. His father, Major Abijah Thompson, was the oldest son of Sheriff Abijah Thompson, in whose large house, formerly a public-house, but now owned and occupied by the heirs of the late Oliver Fisher, the subject of this sketch was born May 20, 1793. In 1800 Major Abijah Thompson built a house a few rods north of the old homestead. In this new house, now owned and occupied by Henry Thompson, he reared his young family and had his home till his death, in 1820. Besides his business as a mechanic he kept, in a part of his house, a country store. But, though highly respectable in character and comfortable in circumstances, he could afford to give his sons only the very limited opportunities, common at the time, for educational culture. The wide world was before them as they grew to manhood, and they had to find their way through it. At the early age of seventeen, Abijah, the oldest of the children, embarked, without experience and wholly unaided from without, upon the tumultuous, and, to him unknown sea of business life. In a loose paper, discovered after his death, was found, in his own handwriting, the following condensed account of what followed this first step in his career: "In 1810 I left home at the age of seventeen to become an apprentice in the business of tanning and currying leather, and served four years. At the age of twenty-one I commenced business for myself, buying leather in the rough and dressing it with my own hands, in Medford. I began with two dollars capital, selling in small lots, from one to six sides, to shoemakers from adjoining towns, for one year. I then left and built a small tannery with sixteen vats, in the west part of Woburn, grinding my bark with a horse and stone, and tanning what few hides I could find among the farmers,—from one hundred to one hundred and fifty a year.

"I had two apprentices. Buying leather from the tanneries in the county, and dressing it, I then took my horse and went to Reading, Stoneham, Malden and other adjoining towns, where I sold to shoemakers from four to five sides each about every other week. At the same time I picked up the hides among the farmers as they killed their animals in the fall of the year. Thus I increased my business, as capital increased, for about ten years. I then bought a tract of fifteen acres of land, with a small water privilege, near the centre of the town. It was a very rough place, but I commenced clearing it up, built a dam, and erecting a building, put down twenty vats, enlarging by degrees my business as I gained in capital, and each year putting down more vats. In 1835, finding my water-power not sufficient for the business, I put in steam-power and other machinery, and, in 1836, I took in Stephen Dow as a partner."

This short account involves details which a stranger to the business would not even suspect. From these small beginnings General Thompson's business went on increasing in its extent and importance until he was one of the largest and most successful manufacturers of leather in the United States; and by all who knew him he was ever regarded as no less honorable than he was successful. And when, in 1866, he retired from active participation in the business, though tanning and finishing leather at the rate of fifty thousand sides per annum, and having a large leather store in Boston, not one unpleasant word and not one suspicious look had ever occasioned a jar between him and his partner, or between him and any man with whom he was concerned. No suspicion of trick, or unworthy resort to any species of sham, ever rested upon him for a single day. He well knew what "the day of small things" meant; and he had his trials, sometimes numerous and severe. But whatever else he sacrificed, he never sacrificed a principle nor had a principle for sale.

In the early days of his enterprise General Thompson was obliged and not ashamed to practice rigid economy. When his young wife, then in very poor health, needed a nurse, which he was not able to employ, he cheerfully became nurse himself, but removed his carrying-beam from his shop to the sick-room, so that he could perform the double duty of shaving leather and caring for the sick one until her recovery.

Immense as his business finally became, and great as was the burden of care and responsibility resting upon him, no man was ever further removed from bluster or noisy pretence than General Thompson.

[1] By Rev. L. Thompson.

With wonderful equanimity he always seemed calm, self-contained and unpretending. His speech never betrayed a loss of balance or self-respect. Seeing and deploring the evils of intemperance and low and profane talk around him, he, for years, made it a law of his establishment that no intoxicating liquors and no profane language should be used by men in his employ. Those who were addicted to either and unwilling to abandon the bad habits, need not apply for employment. Yet the law was made and enforced so quietly, so wisely and so kindly that there was never any "strike" and never any serious difficulty. To some of his workmen the measure was the means of permanent reformation and very manifest benefit.

Though General Thompson was one of those men who never sought and apparently never desired office —offices from all quarters sought him. He had an inherited fondness for military life and early joined a company of artillery in Lexington. From the office of sergeant, in 1824, he rose, in 1826, to that of captain, in 1828 to that of major and in 1835 to that of brigadier-general — the last-mentioned commission being given by Governor Armstrong and the two former by Governor Lincoln. In the town he served several years on the Board of Selectmen. He was for many years president of the Woburn Bank, and also of the Woburn Five-Cent Savings Bank; one of the original directors of Faneuil Hall Bank, of Boston, a director of a bank in Charlestown and, for many years, one of the active managers of the Middlesex Insurance Company in Concord.

General Thompson was unquestionably one of the most public-spirited men ever resident in Woburn. No great and important enterprise failed to enlist his sympathy and aid. He was among the first, if not the first, to move in the effort to secure the Woburn Branch Railroad, the Woburn Gas Company and the bank, of which he was long the president. In his relations to the parish and church of his choice, he was also ever ready to help on every good work. And always regretting his own early lack of educational advantages, he evinced a like interest in the schools, and especially the academy of his native town, of which he was a trustee and the treasurer, and to which he left, in his will, a considerable sum of money, as he did also to the First Congregational Church, of which, from his early manhood, he had been a member. Of his large fortune, accumulated by his own honest industry and enterprise, it is pleasant to know that a large number of worthy objects received a share.

In his domestic relations General Thompson was peculiarly happy. On the 29th of April, 1814, when he was not quite twenty-one years of age, he married Celende, daughter of Captain William and Arethusa (Munroe) Fox, of Woburn. The mutual experiences of joy and sorrow, of adversity and prosperity, continued through more than fifty years of married life, proved that she was one of the best of wives and mothers, and he one of the best of husbands and fathers. Of their "golden wedding," observed April 29, 1864, the local papers gave a deeply interesting account. After various appropriate exercises, including music, addresses from Rev. Jonathan Edwards, a former pastor of the family, and Rev. Dr. J. C. Bodwell, the pastor at the time of the festival—the latter read a beautiful poem, suited to the occasion and subsequently published.

General Thompson survived his wife nearly two years, she dying September 11, 1866, and he June 7, 1868.

They had four children: 1. Celende, born February 13, 1816, married Stephen Dow, May 24, 1836, and had seven children; 2. Abijah, born June 13, 1818, died September 11, 1826; 3. Julia Ann, born September 16, 1827, married J. B. Doyle, June 1, 1854, and died in 1867—had two children; 4. Abijah Franklin, born September 17, 1829, married Mary E. Wyman, May 15, 1851, and died August 5, 1861, leaving one child, Arthur Abijah, now of Brooklyn, New York.

Of the business firm of which General Thompson was the founder, it is proper to add to the foregoing sketch that, though represented from time to time since his death by various other names, it is still in existence and still vigorously prosecuting its appropriate enterprise under the names of his grandsons,— Messrs. Alfred Abijah and Edward Augustus Dow.

JONATHAN B. WINN.[1]

Jonathan Bowers Winn, to whose liberality and property the Woburn Public Library owes its existence and its present extensive endowment, belonged to a family which had contributed to Woburn, from the period of the town's first settlement, many of its most prominent and influential citizens. The first-born child recorded in Woburn was Increase Winn, born December 5, 1641, the son of Edward and Joanna Winn, the ancestors of all the Winns of Woburn. Edward Winn was of Woburn, 1641; made freeman 1643, and taxed in Woburn, in the rate for the county, September 8, 1645. His daughter Ann, the wife of Moses Cleveland, of Woburn, is the ancestor of Grover Cleveland, ex-President of the United States. Edward Winn, the family ancestor, died in Woburn, September 5, 1682. From Edward Winn, the early settler, the Hon. Jonathan Bowers Winn traced his descent, through Edward's son Joseph, who was born in England, and who, known as "Ensign Joseph Winn," died in Woburn on February 22, A.D. 1714–15; and Timothy Winn, son of Joseph, born in Woburn, February 27, 1686–7, died January 5, 1752, aged sixty-five. His gravestone is standing in the Woburn first burying-ground. His son, Timothy Winn, born about July, 1712, was a gentleman

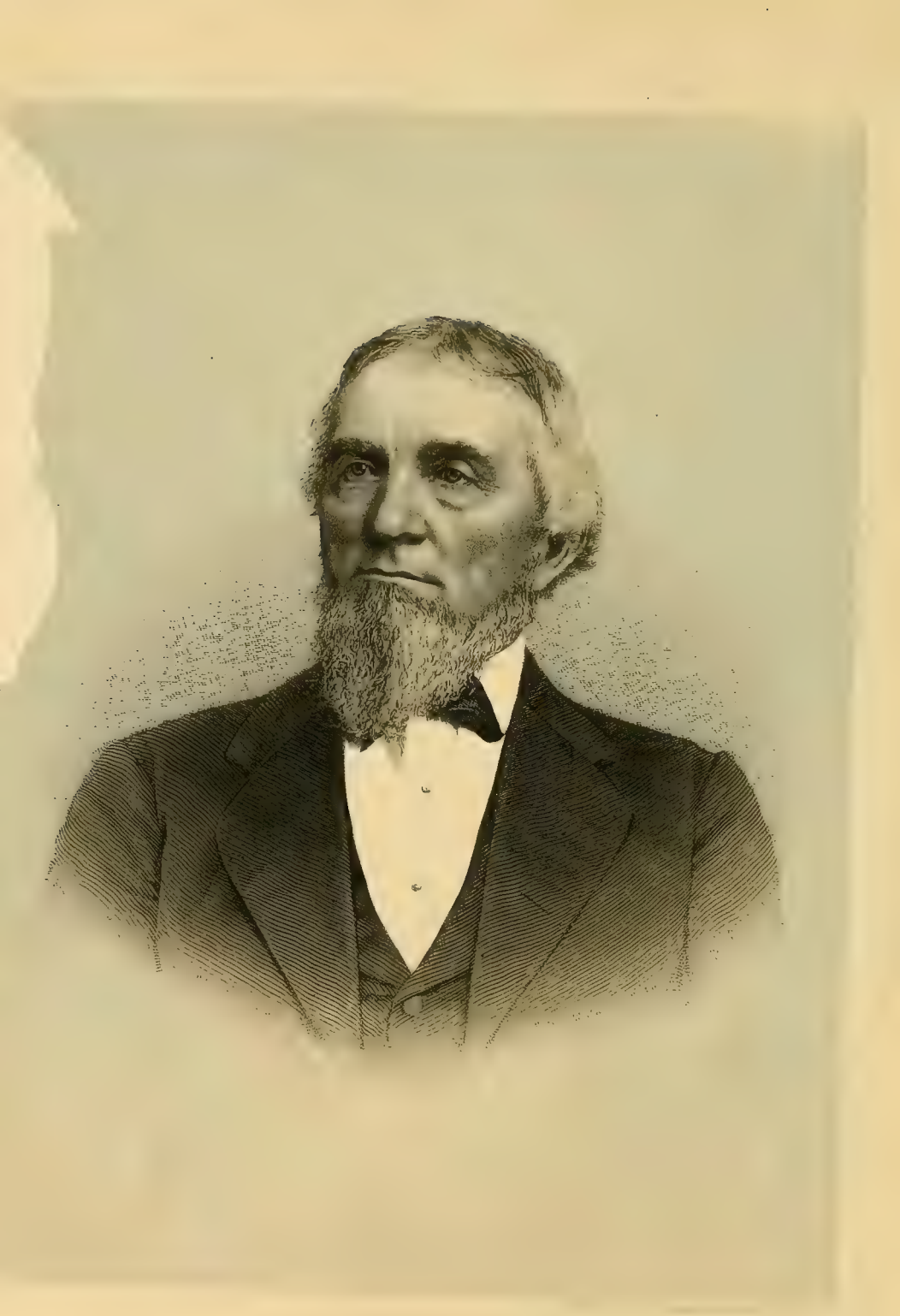
[1] By W. R. Cutter.



M. F. Winn



John Johnson





Timothy Winn

of note and of much influence in his day. He was a native of Woburn, and his place of residence falling within the bounds of Woburn Precinct, he joined the Precinct Church May 4, 1740, and was chosen a deacon of that church December 26, 1752, an office which he held during life, and hence came the reason why he was better known and generally recognized as Deacon Timothy Winn. He was a man noted for his industry, economy and success in amassing wealth. He was chosen one of the selectmen of the town in 1756–57, and again in 1773–74–75. He represented Woburn in the General Court 1787–88 and 1791; and in December, 1787, he and James Fowle, Jr., were chosen delegates for Woburn to the convention which met in Boston, January 9, 1788, respecting the ratification of the Constitution of the United States. In all the early attempts to set off Woburn Precinct as a separate town, he was opposed, it is said, to the measure; but he favored, it is understood, the last attempt, which proved successful. But he did not live long to enjoy the success of it. He died March 3, 1800, aged eighty-seven years and eight months, a few days more than a year after the act of Court incorporating the Second Precinct as a town, by the name of Burlington. By his wife, Mary (Bowers) Winn, Dea. Winn had two children that lived to mature age, viz., Timothy, born at Woburn December 20, 1740; and Mary, born June 21, 1743, and married, January 2, 1777, to Col. John Waldron, of Dover, N. H. Dea. Winn's son Timothy, distinguished in Woburn records as Timothy Winn, Jr., and as Ensign Timothy Winn, was a gentleman highly respected and esteemed. He married for his second wife Mary Bridge, daughter of Rev. Ebenezer Bridge, of Chelmsford. By her he had, among other children, the late Col. William Winn, of Burlington and Woburn, who was the father of the Hon. Jonathan Bowers Winn, of Woburn. Among other families descended from the first settlers of Woburn, Mr. Winn traced his descent to those of Reed and Brooks and Walker.

Hon. Jonathan Bowers Winn was born in Burlington, August 24, 1811, a son of Col. William and Abigail (Walker) Winn. As we have shown, he traced his lineage through Col. William[6] (his father), and Ensign Timothy[5], Deacon Timothy[4], Timothy[3] (died 1752), and Ensign Joseph[2] (died 1715), to Edward[1] Winn (died 1682), one of the first settlers of Woburn. He was, therefore, in the seventh generation of the family in this country. His father died April 13, 1856, aged seventy-one; his mother, May 11, 1826, aged forty.—Family monument. Hon. J. B. Winn, in early life, taught school at Wilmington and North Woburn, and, after learning the currier's trade, became a partner of the leather-manufacturing firm of John Cummings & Co., and in 1837 started in business for himself, and in 1841 established the leather-manufacturing firm of J. B. Winn & Co. In 1843–44 he commanded the local military company known as the Woburn Mechanic Phalanx. He filled many minor offices in the town, and in monetary and other institutions. He was elected delegate to the State Constitutional Convention in 1853, and, as already shown, gave the money he received for his services to establish the Woburn town library. During the Civil War of 1861–65 he was the most active citizen in raising money for furnishing soldiers, and became responsible for large sums of money, when the town was in doubt about their legal right to pay bounties to soldiers enlisted by the town. He was one of the founders of the present Woburn National Bank, and was elected president of that institution at the decease of General Abijah Thompson. In 1869 he was elected a member of the Governor's Council of Massachusetts, and was re-elected to that high executive office till the year 1873, when declining health admonished him to retire from public life. He was a liberal supporter of the Unitarian Church in the town of Woburn, and appeals for assistance by other churches seldom were unheeded. He was a man of strong will and unswerving integrity—his word was as good as his bond, and his death was deeply felt by the citizens of Woburn. He died at his residence, on Pleasant Street, in Woburn, at one-and-a-quarter o'clock, Friday morning, December 12, 1873, aged sixty-two years.

His funeral was a notable event in Woburn; attended by the Governor and Council, and a large company of strangers and citizens.

The Hon. J. B. Winn married Nancy W. Cummings, daughter of Deacon John Cummings, of Woburn, born December 16, 1814. She died at Woburn, March 24, 1863. By her he had two children only, both born at Woburn, viz.:

Marcia Ann, born August 25, 1836; married Hon. Edward D. Hayden, of Woburn, and died at Woburn January 8, 1862.

Charles Bowers, born May 15, 1838; unmarried; died December 19, 1875. A notice of him is given under the title of the Woburn Public Library, of which he was the generous benefactor.

TIMOTHY WINN.[1]

Timothy Winn, a brother of the Hon. Jonathan Bowers Winn, was the son of Colonel William and Abigail (Walker) Winn, and was born in Burlington, September 25, 1817. He was a partner of the firm of J. B. Winn & Co., leather manufacturers, and by his ability and strict attention to business contributed much to the success of that firm. He commanded for many years the military corps known as the Woburn Mechanic Phalanx, which, during his captaincy became one of the best drilled companies in the State. By a coalition of the Democratic and Free Soil parties in 1851, he was elected as a representative

[1] By W. R. Cutter.

to the Legislature of 1852, and in 1860 he was chosen a delegate to the National Republican Convention, held at Chicago, which nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency. Although not holding any local town office, and always declining every attempt to put him in nomination for one, he was always active, by influence and vote, for all those measures which tended to elevate and improve the town.

He had a more extensive acquaintance with the leading military and public men of the county, and was probably better known to them than any other person in Woburn. There was a magnetism about him that seemed to inspire others with the energy and spirit which animated him. In the caucus, at the military parade, in the social circle, his presence was a power which largely contributed to success.

He married Abigail Maria, daughter of Ezra and Susanna Kendall, April 20, 1843, by whom he had two children—Otis Kendall, born June 17, 1844, married Addie B. Norris, June 17, 1866, and died January 23, 1868; Susan Maria, born May 1, 1849, married Daniel H. Lane, of Boston, January 11, 1871. About eight years before his death he was attacked with a disease which the best medical skill was powerless to cure, and at times his sufferings were intense; yet he bore them all with a brave and manly spirit. He died in Woburn, November 28, 1873, aged fifty-six, and his funeral services were held in the Unitarian Church, Tuesday afternoon, December 2d.

In his charities he was generous without parade, and there were many in the community whose burdens in life were made lighter by his timely bounty. He left a property estimated at a large amount. He gave, among other bequests, $3000 to the town library, $3000 to the town for the cemetery, and $5000 to the Unitarian Church.

COL. MOSES F. WINN.

Col. Moses F. Winn, son of Moses and Sally (Johnson) Winn, was born in North Woburn, March 5, 1806. He married Abigail, daughter of Stephen and Abigail (Tidd) Nichols, August 30, 1830, and died August 8, 1875. On his father's side he was a descendant of Increase Winn, the first child born in Woburn, and on his mother's, from Edward Johnson, author of a rare work entitled "The Wonder-Working Providence." Mr. Winn was so largely identified with the growth and progress of the town that a mention of the public places he has filled will suggest the respect and esteem in which he was held by his fellow-townsmen. He was one of the selectmen in 1855 and 1856, for several years an overseer of the poor, one of the committee to lay out the cemetery in 1844, and the beauty of the "city of the dead" is largely due to his good taste. He retained his position on the cemetery committee up to the time of his death, a period of thirty-two years. He was prominent as a member of various committees for public buildings and other purposes. He was elected one of the directors of the Woburn Bank at the time of its incorporation in 1853, director of the Woburn Agricultural and Mechanics' Association in 1841, and trustee of the Woburn Five Cent Savings Bank in 1854. All of these positions he held at the time of his death. He was also president of the North Woburn Street Railroad Company and one of the firm of Nichols, Winn & Co., shoe manufacturers, and Winn, Eaton & Co., leather manufacturers at North Woburn. He was colonel of the Fifth Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, and was the predecessor of Colonel Green, commanding the regiment at the muster at Groton. But he excelled mainly in the sweet and unostentatious charity of his neighborhood life. He was foremost in everything that tended to develop the natural beauty of the town or promote the good morals of the community.

He aided largely in building the Congregational meeting-house.

The poor and suffering found in him a sympathizing friend. He felt a tender interest in young men, and counseled them to manliness, honesty, sobriety and economy, that they might win for themselves the respect of their fellows and live lives of real value to the world. Colonel Winn was one of Woburn's most esteemed citizens, and his many good works are held in grateful remembrance.

JOHN JOHNSON.

Mr. John Johnson is the eldest son of John and Sarah (Kendall) Johnson, and was born in that part of Woburn known as Cummingsville, Feb. 12, 1814. He is a lineal descendant, in the eighth generation, of Capt. Edward Johnson, the line of descent extending through Edward[1], William[2], Edward[3], Samuel[4], Reuben[5], Reuben[6], and John[7]. According to the will of George Johnson, who died in Maryland in 1681, Capt. Edward Johnson was the son of William Johnson, who owned property "in Canterbury, Kent County, Old England, in a parish called Alfidge, over against the Bishop's Palace."[1]

As a boy, the subject of this sketch attended the "Mountain School" in Burlington, and the "West-Side School" on Cambridge Street, in Woburn, for about three months in winter and six weeks in summer. In Oct., 1831, he took charge of his grandfather Kendall's farm, receiving for his services seven dollars a month in winter and twelve dollars a month in summer. Being under age, he gave his father one-half of these wages, and with the residue, in Dec., 1832, he paid his tuition at the Warren Academy for the winter term of 1832–33. It was his intention and ambition to educate himself for the Universalist ministry, but, frustrated in this purpose and dissatisfied with farming, he resolved to learn a trade. His

[1] See the *Woburn Journal*, Jan. 31, 1890.

friend, John Cummings, urged him to become a currier, but the manufacturer of whom he sought employment was unwilling to accept him as an apprentice unless he would attend either the Baptist or Orthodox Church, a condition with which he would not comply. In April, 1833, he went to West Cambridge (now Arlington) and became apprenticed to his uncle, Isaac Hall, a wheelwright, whose wife, *née* Hannah Kendall, was a sister of Mr. Johnson's mother. He remained with Mr. Hall as an apprentice for two years, receiving thirty dollars the first year and thirty-five dollars the second year for his services. In the spring of 1835, about six weeks after he had attained his majority, he left West Cambridge and went to work for Thaddeus Parker, whose shop stood at the junction of Pond and Cambridge Streets, in Woburn. He afterwards worked at his trade for Oliver Parker, and in 1839 he built a shop and excavated the mill-pond on Burlington Street, in Cummingsville, and engaged in business on his own account. He followed his trade here until 1854, doing more or less of a farming business during that period on land purchased of his father.

On March 1, 1854, he was elected treasurer of the Woburn Agricultural and Mechanic Association at an annual salary then of $300 only. He still retains this position.

In Nov., 1864, he succeeded Bowen Buckman as a director of the First National Bank of Woburn, and subsequently became vice-president of that institution, a position which he still holds.

In the administration of municipal affairs he has been somewhat prominent. With the exception of the year 1854 (when he was one of the selectmen) he held the office of town auditor for the twenty-nine successive years beginning in 1847 and ending April, 1876. He was a member of the Board of Selectmen in 1854, an assessor in 1851, 1852 and 1860, and has served on the School Committee seventeen years in all, being a member of that board as early as 1848 and as late as 1880. In April, 1873, he was chosen to succeed Nathan Wyman as town clerk, but declined to serve. He was an executor named in the will of Charles B. Winn, and was one of the committee who had in charge the building of the Woburn Public Library. In politics Mr. Johnson has been a Whig and a Republican, although he voted for Greeley in 1872. He was an active member of the First Universalist Society of Woburn so long as it retained its separate organization, and since its union with the First Unitarian Parish he has been prominently identified with the latter body, and has been one of its deacons for many years.

Mr. Johnson has always evinced an interest in local historical and antiquarian matters and by research among probate papers and early deeds has established the fact that the homestead of his ancestor, Capt. Edward Johnson, is identical with that of the present J. R. Kendall farm, situate on Cambridge and Russell Streets. Capt. Edward Johnson gave it to his grandson William (son of his son John), who sold it to Thomas Kendall by deed dated Dec. 11, 1688, and recorded with Middlesex Registry of Deeds, book 10, page 112. The property has ever since remained in the Kendall family.

Mr. Johnson has been twice married. His first wife was Rosella Malvina Waldo, daughter of Shubael and Rebecca (Crosby) Waldo, of Chesterfield, N. H. She died June 8, 1845, leaving one child, Rosella Annette (born May 11, 1845, died Feb. 22, 1846). His second wife was Julia Ann Bulfinch, daughter of Amos and Hannah (Coombs) Bulfinch, of Woburn. By her he has had three children, all living—Rosella Maria, John Warren and Edward F. Johnson.

HON. JOHN CUMMINGS.[1]

Hon. John Cummings was born in Woburn, October 19, 1812. He came of a Scotch family found in Watertown in the early days of the Massachusetts Colony. His great-grandfather moved from Andover to Woburn in 1756, and bought the estate on which Mr. Cummings now lives.

Mr. Cummings was largely self-taught, but had for a brief time the advantages of the Warren Academy and of the school at South Reading. Entering business, Mr. Cummings engaged in the tanning and currying industry, associating with himself, sooner or later, John B. Alley, Charles Choate, Leonard B. Harrington and Leonard Harrington. In 1868 he became president of the Shawmut National Bank of Boston, which office he now holds. He has served in both Houses of the Massachusetts Legislature; was a member of the Centennial Board of Finance, which redeemed from failure and conducted to a triumphant success the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876, and was also one of the judges of the Exhibition. He has served as a director in the Perkins Institution for the Blind, and in the Massachusetts Institution for Feeble-Minded Children.

Mr. Cummings early developed decided scientific tastes, especially in the department of natural history, and made acquirements which, considering the occupation of his time by business cares and duties, are remarkable. He has always been an enthusiastic agriculturist, with an ardent interest in the application of scientific principles to the cultivation of the soil.

His most intimate public relations, in his later life, have been with the Boston Society of Natural History, the Agricultural College at Amherst and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, to all of which he has rendered inestimable services. Of the last-named institution he was for seventeen years the treasurer, as well as a member of the Executive Committee of the Corporation from the organization of

[1] By Gen. Francis A. Walker.

that committee. To his courageous acceptance of responsibility and his strong financial support the friends of the school largely attribute its rescue from pecuniary embarrassment and its subsequent remarkable development. By a vote of the corporation in 1889, when he retired from the office of treasurer, Mr. Cummings' name was applied, in perpetuity, to the Laboratories of Mining Engineering and Metallurgy, in recognition of his services.

Mr. Cummings' remarkable disinterestedness in public life, his severe integrity, combined with great kindliness in personal intercourse, his powerful intellectual grasp and strong Scotch-American sense have made him one of the most useful citizens of his native Commonwealth.

CHAPTER XXXII.

SHIRLEY.

BY REV. JOSEPH CREHORE.

SHIRLEY was originally a part of Groton. It was set off from the parent town and incorporated as a district of the Province of Massachusetts by an act of the General Court at its session in January, 1753. Six years previously, at the March meeting of the town of Groton, the following petition, signed by John Whitney and thirty-two others, asking for the separation, was presented:

"To the inhabitants of the town of Groton, assembled in town-meeting on the first day of March, 1747:

"The petition of us, the subscribers, being all inhabitants of the town of Groton, aforesaid, humbly showeth that your petitioners all live in the extreme parts of the town, and by that means are incapacitated to attend public worship constantly, either ourselves or families; and being sensible of our being set off in order for a precinct will be of great service to us, we desire that we may be set off by the bounds, viz., beginning at the mouth of the Squannacook river, and so run up said river till it comes to Townsend line, and then by Townsend and Lunenburg lines till it cometh to Groton southwest corner, and so by the south line in said town until it cometh to Lancaster (Nashua) river, and then run down said river till it cometh to Harvard corner, and then about a mile on Harvard north line, and then turn to the north and run to the waste brook in Coicors (Caucus or Nonacaucus) farm, where people generally pass over, and from thence to the mouth of Squannacook river, where we first began; and your petitioners as bound in duty will ever pray, etc. John Whitney, John Williams, David Gould, John Kelsey, Phinehas Burt, Joseph Wilson, Thomas Laughton, James Patterson, Jonathan Gould, Robert Henry, John Williams, Jr., Jacob Williams, William Farwell, Jonas Longley, Oliver Farwell, Isaac Holden, Jarathmael Powers, Philemon Holden, Stephen Holden, Jr., William Simonds, William Preston, William Williams, Henry Farwell, Isaiah Farwell, John Russell, James Park, Daniel Page, Joseph Dodge, Moses Bennett, Jr., Caleb Bartlett, Francis Harris, Caleb Holden, Hezekiah Sawtell."

The petition was read "at the anniversary meeting in Groton, March 1, 1747, and the prayer thereof granted, except the land on the easterly side of Lancaster (Nashua) river." A delay of nearly six years occurred after this action of Groton consenting to the division before an act of incorporation was obtained from the General Court. This was passed and approved at its session in January, 1753. A small addition to the territory embraced in this act was made on the southern line by the Legislature of 1765, and a few changes have been made since that date, the most important of which was in 1871, when all that part on the east of the Nashua River was taken for the new town of Ayer. As at present constituted, it contains an area of about sixteen and a half square miles, and is quite irregular in form. From its extreme north point to its southern line it is seven and one-half miles, and its greatest width four miles. The Squannacook River bounds it north and east, runs southeasterly from the Townsend line on the west to near the centre of its eastern line, making the extreme north an acute angle. Groton joins it on the north, Groton, Ayer and Harvard on the east, Lancaster on the south, Lunenburg and Townsend on the west. Its distance from Boston is thirty-eight miles. The name of Shirley was given it in honor of William Shirley, Governor of the Province of Massachusetts at the time of its incorporation.

The first meeting of the district after the act of incorporation was held March 1, 1753. The warrant calling this meeting reads as follows:

"Middlesex, SS. To Nathaniel Harris, in Shirley, in the District of Groton, in said County of Middlesex. Greeting:

"By virtue of the power and authority given to me, the subscriber, by an act of the Great and General Court of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, for dividing the Town of Groton, and making a District by the name of Shirley, to call the first meeting of the inhabitants of said district, you are hereby required, in his majesty's name, to warn and give notice to all freeholders and other inhabitants qualified by law to vote in Town, District and Parish meetings to assemble and meet at Mr. John Whitney's in said Shirley on the First day of March next at nine of the clock in the Forenoon.

"First to choose a moderator to manage said meeting.

"2ly. To chuse all such officers for said district as other towns by law are enjoyned to chuse at their annual meeting.

"3ly. To conclude where the next district meeting shall be held, and make due return of your doings herein, to myself, at or before nine of the clock of the above said day. Given under my hand and seal at Shirley this ninth day of February, A.D. 1753, in the 26th year of his Majesty's reign. JOHN WHITNEY."

The officers chosen at this meeting were a moderator, town clerk, selectmen, assessors, constable, highway surveyors, tithingmen, sealer of weights and measures, sealer of leather, fence-viewers, field-drivers, carer for swine, deer-reaves, surveyor of lumber, pound-keeper. The number of inhabitants at this time is not definitely known, but it is thought to have been about 400. In 1800 the population was 713; in 1860 it was 1460. But in 1871 the incorporation of the town of Ayer took a part of its territory and reduced its population. The present number is about 1500. The property valuation rises a little above $600,000, and the annual products above $200,000. From 1875 to 1885 there was a decrease of its manufacturing industries from forty-two to eighteen, caused by the fluctuations and depression in the various branches pursued. A gradual recovery from this condition is now being witnessed from year to year, and the water privileges, yet unused, together

with the facilities for transportation and the natural attractions of the place, which in beauty of scenery and healthiness of location is excelled by few, should render the full return of its former activity and prosperity a matter of but a few years.

The first settlement made within the territory included in the district was about 1720, and the first farms cleared and occupied were in the northern part.

The soil presents some features quite distinct from that of the neighboring towns. Along the rivers there are large tracts of intervale land that are excellent for tillage, and that yield large harvests to reward the faithful cultivator; and upon the higher lands there are many valuable farms. There is also much woodland covered with oak, walnut, chestnut, birch, maple and pine. Running through a part of the town is an extensive range of coarse slate, which begins in Boylston and continues through Lancaster, Harvard and Shirley to Pepperell. There is a large acreage of light, sandy soil. But the most important feature, and one that adds much to the beauty of the natural scenery, as well as furnishing valuable power for various mechanical industries, is its numerous water-courses. The largest of these is the Nashua River, which runs through the southern and eastern part, while the next in importance is the Squannacook, which runs along the northeastern boundary and flows into the Nashua near the line between Groton and Ayer. The Catacunemaug is formed by the junction of two streams, one of which rises in Lunenburg, and the other in Lancaster. It flows through the southern part of the town and empties into the Nashua on the southeastern boundary. By residents along a part of its course it is familiarly known as Bow Brook, having received this name from Miss Sarah C. Edgarton, afterwards Mrs. Mayo, who "sang its praises in a beautiful poem," written in 1838, the first two verses of which we here give:

"Far in a wild and tangled glen,
Where purple Arethusas weep—
A bower scarce trod by mortal men—
A haunt where timid dryads sleep—
A little dancing, prattling thing,
Sweet Bow Brook, tutor of my muse!
I've seen thy silver currents spring
From fountains of Castalian dews.

"A wilder or more sylvan spot,
Ne'er wooed a poet's feet to roam;
Not e'en Calypso's classic grot
Would be so fit a fairy's home.
The birchen boughs so interlaced,
That scarce the vault of heaven is seen,
With pendant vines are wildly graced—
An arbor of transcendent green."

Another stream, of much larger importance than its name would imply, is known as Mulpus Brook. On these several water-courses are many fine privileges, the best being upon the Catacunemaug. Some of these are improved by valuable manufacturing interests; but there is still a large amount of water-power unoccupied.

BURIAL-GROUND.—One of the first needs to receive attention after the district was incorporated was a place for the burial of the dead. In September, 1753, a committee of five was chosen "to find a centre for the district, and to find a burying-place." The spot selected by the committee seems not to have been favorably regarded by the inhabitants, as another location was secured. The land chosen for the purpose belonged to the "Proprietors of Groton," and at a meeting held by them March 7, 1755, the following vote was passed: "4ly. Voted to ye District of Shirley four acres of land (where their burying-place now is) for a burying-place and a training field, in said district, and that ye Proprietors' committee be directed to lay out the same, providing it doth not infringe upon any former particular grant."

The committee made the following record of their work:

"Shirley, April 17, 1755. Then we, the subscribers, pursuant to ye vote of ye Proprietors of Groton, have laid out a *peace* of land for a burying-place, etc., in ye district of Shirley, and bounds as followeth: beginning at the northwest corner, at a chestnut tree; thence ye line runs southerly twenty-eight poles, to a red oak tree; thence easterly twenty-four poles, to a red oak; thence northerly twenty-eight poles to a *ded* white oak tree; thence westerly twenty-four poles to ye chestnut first mentioned; the same *peace* of land contains four acres and sixteen poles. JAMES PRESCOTT, Prop'rs Clerk.

"WILLIAM LAWRENCE,
"THOMAS TARBELL,
"SAMUEL TARBELL,
"BENJA. PARKER. } Committee."

This gift called forth the following action at a meeting of the district convened for the purpose: "Voted to chuse a committee to return thanks to the Proprietors of Groton for a Piece of land for burying-place and other uses. Lieutenent Powers, Mr. Samuel Walker, Mr. Richard Herrington, Captain Harris, Ensign Walker *was* chosen this committee." The unstable nature of the landmarks left the land given somewhat open to encroachment in subsequent years, so that land was obliged to be purchased for the enlargement of the burial-ground in 1864, the larger portion of the gift remaining in public possession being then occupied as the church lot and a public common. One and one-quarter acres were at this time purchased. In the following year, 1865, Thomas E. Whitney made a gift of an additional amount, with conditions that were accepted and agreed to by the town. In 1849 a purchase was made by the town for a new cemetery at the South Village. It borders on the Catacunemaug, and is partially covered with a young growth of wood and finely adapted for the purpose. Artistic taste combined with the fine natural scenery will in time make it one of the most beautiful of burial-places. It is enclosed with a fence composed of stone posts and iron rails or bars on three sides. That part of the fence which separates the grounds from the street was the gift of Mr. N. C. Munson, and was built under his supervision at an expense of $5000. It is an iron structure resting on a solid granite foundation, with an elaborate and finely constructed gate-

way at the centre; the columns, arches and entablatures composed of Nova Scotia sandstone.

TOWN-HOUSE.—From the incorporation of the district, in 1753, until the meeting-house was built, in 1754, meetings for municipal purposes were held in private houses. From that time until 1839 the meeting-house was the place for the transaction of the public business. During the larger part of this period, if not the whole of it, the meeting-house was the property of the town. But in the ecclesiastical changes which transpired and the separation of the church from municipal oversight, "The First Congregational Society," which was organized in 1822, became the legitimate successor of the Town Parish, and held the legal claim to the property. Extensive alterations and improvements were made in the house in 1839, and it was then "closed to all secular gatherings and objects." This turned attention to the matter of building a town-house. But no decisive steps were taken to this end till eight years later, in 1847. In March of this year a communication was addressed to the selectmen of the town by the executors of the will of James P. Whitney, notifying them of the bequest of $500 by Mr. Whitney to be appropriated towards the building of a town-house. The terms of the bequest were as follows: "I give and bequeath to the inhabitants of the town of Shirley the sum of five hundred dollars, to be appropriated towards the building of a town-house, with a commodious hall for holding town-meetings, and suitable rooms for the safe keeping of records, books and papers belonging to the town, and for the transaction by the Selectmen, and all other town officers, of all the town business; provided, however, that said town-house shall be located in that part of the town now considered the centre thereof, but not placed near the south side of the land which belonged to my late father, bordering on the Training-Field, so called, without the consent of the owner of said land; and provided, also, that the same shall be built within three years of the time of my decease; and in case of failure on the part of said inhabitants to comply with the provisions aforesaid, I then give and bequeath the said sum, with all the interest that may have accrued thereon, to my said daughter, Henrietta Parker Whitney, or whoever may be my heirs-at-law.

"I also give and bequeath to the inhabitants of said town of Shirley the sum of one hundred dollars, the interest of which is to be annually expended in ornamenting the burying-ground now belonging to the town, by the cultivation of trees and shrubbery, and otherwise improving the same; and the principal sum may be appropriated towards the building of a handsome fence around the same whenever the town shall so determine."

The town voted to accept the legacy and proceeded at once with measures for building the town-house. In the mean time Thomas and George A. Whitney, brothers of James P., and executors of his will, proposed to give $500 in aid of the building, and a lot of land on which to set the same, upon conditions which the town, by vote, accepted and agreed to. A building committee was chosen and the work proceeded with. Ground was broken on the 17th of June, and, on the 5th of July, "the corner-stone was laid with imposing ceremonies." The service was combined with the 4th of July celebration, which came on that day. The address was given by the Hon. Leonard M. Parker, chairman of the building committee.

The building was completed at a cost of $2953.75, including the furnishing, and was opened for a meeting of the town on the 19th of September, 1848. The public recognition and celebration of the completed work was delayed till the 4th of July of the following year, when services fitting to the occasion and to the day were held, with an address by Rev. Seth Chandler, pastor of the First Congregationalist Society.

POST-OFFICE.—Few things in the progress and rapidly-changing customs and methods of our civil and social life mark the difference of the present from a century or even half a century ago more strongly than our postal facilities and methods of communication and transportation. Not till fifty-eight years after the incorporation of the town was there a post-office within its borders. In 1811 one was established at the centre of the town, and Thomas Whitney was appointed postmaster. He remained in office till his death, a term of thirty-three years. About twenty years after the establishment of this office, the growth and business importance of the south part of the town required another in that section, and one was there located, and Dr. Augustus G. Parker appointed postmaster.

ALMSHOUSE.—The custom prevailing throughout the New England towns in the early period of its history for providing for the poor dependent upon them, was adopted in Shirley and continued till 1837, a period of eighty-four years.

"At the annual town-meeting the names of the unfortunates were publicly paraded, and they were auctioned off, one after another, by the moderator to the lowest bidder." The moral sense of the people was, in a measure, awakened to the wrong of this treatment, and, at a town-meeting in March, 1763, a movement was made for providing a home for this class, and a committee was chosen "to provide a work-house in this district." But nothing resulted from this effort, and, for seventy-four years more, "the gavel of the moderator was heard at each annual town-meeting, hammering off the board and lodging of the unfortunate pauper to the lowest bidder." The following are samples of the notices which were accustomed to be posted in the different parts of the town:

"*Notice.* The Poor of the Town of Shirley will be let out in lots, for

one year from the 3rd day of April next, on Saturday, the 29th day of March instant, at one o'clock P.M. at the store of Thomas Whitney & Son.

"JAMES PARKER, JR., for the Overseers."

"Take Notice. At Whitney's store in Shirley, on Monday next, at seven o'clock P.M., the wife of William Longley will be set up at auction to the lowest bidder, at so much per week, from then until the first of April. Shirley, Feb. 13, 1821."

"Notice. David Atherton and Mary Davis will be let out by the week for one year or a shorter time, at Esq. Whitney's store, Monday, 5 o'clock P.M. May 5, 1828."

In 1837 this wrong and oppressive custom was brought to its end. Land and buildings were purchased, and a comfortable and pleasant home provided where all dependent upon the town could be well cared for.

The house was that of Mr. John Whitney, where the first meeting of the district for the transaction of public business, after its incorporation, was held. The farm contained a little more than 100 acres. The number of paupers entered and cared for at this home, the first three years after it was opened, varied from fifteen to thirty each year. After this there was a gradual diminishing of the number, caused chiefly by the effect of the temperance reformation, till "at the close of the twelfth year there were but from three to five who claimed a home in the Alms-house."

This change led to the disposal of the property by a vote of the town, in 1853, as an economic measure. Since then those who are dependent upon it for support have been provided for in private families, under the direction and care of the overseers of the poor.

MILITARY.—The "French War," which terminated in the surrender of the Canadas to the English Government, was in progress at the time of the incorporation of Shirley. Volunteers from this district were in that war. "Joseph Longley, who held the office of first selectman and town clerk, at the organization of the district, entered and died in that service." In the controversies and contests which resulted subsequently with Great Britain, on account of the grievances imposed by the King, the district took an active and decided part in support of measures for maintaining the rights and liberties of the Colonies. The first public action recorded was in reference to the "Stamp Act," passed by the British Parliament. It was at a district meeting held October 18, 1765, when the following instructions to its representative received a unanimous vote: "Ordered that Abel Lawrence, Esq., Representative, &c., for us and others in the Great and General Court, have a copy of our views, and is desired to act accordingly. Is it a matter of wonder that every thinking person in the Colonies of North America is greatly alarmed by the late act of Parliament, called the Stamp Act, as it affects the state and liberty of every loyal subject of said Colonies? It is therefore thought by your constituents that, at this critical season, you would not be unwilling to know their minds upon this important affair. We look upon said act as a burden, grievous, distressing and insupportable; not only likely to enslave the present, but future generations. The great and heavy load lying upon us, occasioned by the late war, with its increasing interest, and all other incidental charges at home for the support of government, &c., have sunk us so low already that we are wholly unable to bear the duties imposed upon us by the 'Stamp Act,' which, if it take place, must and will immediately prove our certain ruin. With regard to the power of the British Parliament to lay taxes in such a manner, is, you know, a point that has been disputed with great warmth on both sides of the question. We are far from saying or acting anything whereby we might be charged with disloyalty, as subjects to the best of kings, or that we have not a proper sense of the British Court, but we do think that our charter privileges and natural rights, as the free-born sons of Britain, are infringed upon by said Stamp Act. Our advice, instruction and direction, therefore, to you is, that upon all proper occasions you use and exercise your utmost endeavors and strongest efforts, in a modest, becoming and respectful manner, to prevent said act from taking place in the government; and that you with a watchful eye, upon every occasion, diligently guard and protect the liberties of your country, to the utmost of your power, against all encroachments and innovations. Likewise we desire you to frown upon every attempt for raising, by way of tax, any sum or sums of money, or consent to dispose of any already raised, without the consent of the people, upon any pretence whatsoever, except for defraying the necessary expenses of government. Also we would signify our dislike of the late act of violence in the town of Boston, and every other act of rage committed against any particular person or private property, anywhere within his Majesty's most loyal and dutiful province of Massachusetts Bay. Finally, your constituents expect that, on all occasions, you will view their interest as closely connected with your own, and at all times endeavor to promote it, and also the interest of the province generally. By order of the committee. John Longley."

The repeal of the "Stamp Act," soon after, brought a brief period of relief. But new grievances call forth further action. A circular was received from a Committee of Correspondence in Boston, setting forth their character, and action thereon was taken as follows:

"The unanimous proceedings of the inhabitants of the District of Shirley, being legally assembled upon adjournment, January the 11, 1773. Having received from the metropolis of this Province their votes and proceedings at the late town-meeting, and having taken the same into consideration, we are of the opinion that our rights are properly stated by their committee, and that they are infringed in those instances mentioned by them; and we are fully persuaded if the Judges of the Superior Court of this Province have their salaries from the king—from whose substitutes their appointment originates, and without whose consent (let them hold the scales of justice ever so uneven) they cannot be removed—that our liberties are greatly infringed thereby, and that we shall have no better chance for justice, no better security of life and

property, than the people have in the most despotic country under heaven.

"We, therefore, with due deference to the opinion of our fellow-electors, do express to our representative our desire that he use the utmost influence that the judges of the superior court of this province be placed upon a constitutional basis, and their salaries be raised to such a sum as will support them in a manner suitable to their dignity. And we would further say that it is our fixed determination to join with the people through the colonies, and of this Province in particular, manfully and constitutionally to oppose every stride of despotism and tyranny, and that we will not sit down easy and contented until our rights and liberties are restored to us, and we enjoy them as at the beginning.

"*Voted*, the above be entered upon the records of the District, and an authenticated copy thereof be sent by the District Clerk to the Committee of Correspondence of Boston, and another to James Prescott, Esq., our representative. *Voted*, also, that our grateful acknowledgments are due to the inhabitants of the town of Boston for their vigilance upon this and many other occasions of like nature.

"JOHN LONGLEY, *Dis. Clerk.*"

During this year the act putting a tax upon the tea brought into the country, passed the British Parliament. This fact was communicated to the selectmen of Shirley by the Committee of Correspondence in Boston by a letter dated November 23, 1773. On this, action was taken at the town-meeting in March following, when it was voted unanimously:

"1st. That we will neither buy, nor sell, nor drink (nor suffer it to be drunk in any of our families) any tea that is subject to an American duty. 2d. That we will stand ready to unite with our brethren through the Colonies in every proper measure to retrieve our liberties, and to establish them upon such a firm basis that it will be out of the power, at least of our present enemies, to wrest them out of our hands. 3d. That the thanks of the District be, and hereby are, given to the town of Boston and to the towns in that vicinity for every rational and proper measure they have pursued in order to prevent our inestimable rights and privileges being torn from us by the artifice and cunning of our enemies, who are endeavoring to rob us of the fruits of our honest industry, that they may riot in idleness and luxury themselves. 4th. That the District enter the above votes on the district book of records, and transmit an attested copy of the above votes to the Committee of Correspondence in Boston. A true record of the votes of the District of Shirley or the inhabitants thereof.

"Attest, OBADIAH SAWTELL, *District Clerk.*"

When the time for something more than expressions of sympathy and promises came, there was an equal readiness for active duty. A town-meeting was called January 18, 1775, immediately after the passage of the "Boston Port Bill," at which it was voted, "That we make some provision for the suffering poor in Boston and Charlestown, on account of the Boston Port Bill, so-called, and that the same be done by subscription. Francis Harris, John Ivory and Obediah Sawtell were chosen a committee to receive the donations of said district for said poor, and ordered to forward said donations to Boston or Charlestown as soon as may be." A still more decisive and important step toward severing the allegiance to the mother country was taken at this meeting, in the vote to withhold the "Province Tax" and to stand firmly with the "association of the Grand American Congress," held in Philadelphia, in October of the previous year. The following is the record: "We, the subscribers, having seen the association drawn up by the Grand American Continental Congress, respecting the non-importation, non consumption and non-exportation of goods, etc., signed by the delegates of this and the delegates of other colonies of this continent, and having attentively considered the same, do hereby approve thereof, and of every part of it; and in order to make the same association our personal act, do, by these presents, under the sacred ties of virtue, honor and the love of our country, firmly agree and associate, fully and completely, to observe and keep all and every article and clause in said association contained, in respect to exportation, importation and non-consumption, according to the true intent, meaning and letter of our said delegates, and will duly inform and give notice of every exception and contravention of said agreement as far as we are able; and that we will, so far as we can, encourage and promote a general union herein; as witness our hands, this 18th day of January, A. D., 1775."

Nor was this all. Measures having a somewhat compulsory appearance were taken to bring all the inhabitants into this agreement. This is the record additional:

"At a legal meeting of the inhabitants of the District of Shirley, held on the 18th of January A.D. 1775, Resolved and voted, that the above draught of an association is approved of, and that the same be entered in the District book of records, and that the same be signed by the several inhabitants of said district, and that the committee of correspondence see that the same is done, or inform the district at their next meeting of every person who shall delay or refuse to sign the same, so that the district may take such further order thereon as they may think proper.

"Attest, OBADIAH SAWTELL, *District Clerk.*"

Only two months and one day from this date came the alarm from Lexington ringing through the country. Shirley, in common with other towns, was stirred intensely by this hostile advance, and its patriotism aroused. Every man old enough to bear arms, but seven, "volunteered his services and marched to Cambridge." And these seven were prevented, not by any reluctance on their part, but by the necessities of their families, or their age and physical condition. One of them, William Longley, familiarly known as "old Will the miller," bent with age and supporting himself with two staves, wanted to join the company. In response to an allusion to his infirmity, "True," he said, "I cannot handle a musket, but I can fight the red-coats with my two canes," brandishing these vigorously. Eighty names are on the roll of the Shirley minute-men, who, on the alarm of that day, April 19th, marched to Cambridge. Immediately after this came the enlistment of eight months men. Thirty-eight from Shirley responded to this call. From this time to the opening of the memorable campaign of 1777 many volunteers went for indefinite periods. Then came the enlistment for three years, when thirteen entered the service for that term. And when the Legislature of the State decided that one-seventh of all the male inhabitants over sixteen years of age, capable of bearing arms should be enlisted, the district promptly made its number twenty-two. And as an encouragement to the service, it

"voted, to give each man twenty pounds as an additional bounty." Besides the call for men, there was a call for muskets, military coats, provisions of food, etc., "all of which were readily contributed." In the schedule of apportionment among the towns of the State, of the thirteen thousand coats required by the Provincial Congress for the patriot army engaged in the siege of Boston in the summer of '75, twenty-five were asked of Shirley. The response to this request was conveyed to the Committee of Supplies in the following letter:

"To the Gen'tmen Commitee of Suplies appoynted by Congress, etc., To see to the Providing Clothing for the army. Gen'tmen: These Are to Inform you that the Dis't. of Shirley have agreed to provide the Parte of Coats, Shirts, Stockins and Britches to them Assigned and thirty Pare of Shoes for the Benefit of the Continentle army, etc.

"By order of the Selectmen,

"OBADIAH SAWTELL, *Dist. Clerk.*

"Shirley, August y^e^ 10^th^, A.D. 1775."

The most of the three years' men enlisted in the early part of '77 served in the Fifteenth Continental Regiment, which was recruited from Worcester and Middlesex Counties, under command of Colonel Timothy Bigelow. It was a regiment distinguished for its discipline and valor, and was in many of the hardest-fought battles of the war. It had part in the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga, in the trials and sufferings of Valley Forge at the battle of Monmouth, and in the crowning glories of Yorktown. A call was made for additional men for the service for a given time in 1780, and the district "voted to give each soldier one, one hundred silver dollars, including the forty shillings per month, allowed by the state. It was also voted to give them, each forty pounds additional in hard money, for three months' additional service." The next year, 1781, at the March meeting an appropriation was made for paying the three-years' soldiers, whose term had expired, the amount due them from the the district. It was "voted to raise twelve hundred silver dollars, or the value thereof in other money, to be immediately assessed on the inhabitants of the district and others owning property therein, as soon as may be." This is the last record of the action of the district in relation to the Revolutionary War with which we have met. There is mention of a committee appointed by the district, to see that the families of the absent soldiers were provided for, and we have reason to believe that this matter received faithful attention. The muster-roll of Captain Henry Haskell's company of "minute-men" in Colonel James Prescott's regiment, which marched from Shirley, April 19, 1775, contained the following names:

Henry Marshall, captain; Sylvanus Smith, first lieutanant; Ebenezer Gowing, second lieutenant; John Wason, sergeant; John Davis, sergeant; Ephraim Smith, sergeant; Thomas Bennett, sergeant; Joseph Dodge, corporal; John Kelsy, corporal; Aaron Bennett, corporal; Joseph Longley, corporal; Thomas Burkmar, drummer; William Bolton, drummer; William Bartlett, Eleazar Bartlett, Timothy Bolton, Abel Chase, Titus Colburn, Jonathan Conant, Daniel Chatman, Amos Dole, Silas Davis, Jonathan Davis, James Dickerson, John Dwight, John Edgerton, John Gordon, Asa Holden, Amos Holden, Amos Holden, Jr., Sawtell Holden, Stephen Holden, Zachariah Holden, Lemuel Holden, Simeon Holden, Asa Harris, Simeon Harrington, John Haskell, Benjamin Haskell, Paul Hale, Seth Harrington, Samuel Hazen, John Ivory, John Jupp, Moses Jenisen, Daniel Keazar, Joshua Longley, John Longley, Jr., Edmund Longley, John Longley, Jonas Longley, Jonas Longley, Jr., William Little, Wallis Little, David Pratt, Abel Parker, Abel Parker, Jr., Phinehas Page, Daniel Page, Thomas Peabody, Simeon Page, Jr., Jonas Page, Peter Parker, James Parker, Obadiah Sawtell, Jr., Ezra Smith, William Sampson, David Sloan, David Wilson, Ephraim Warren, William Williams, Ivory Wilds, Aaron Woodbury, Samuel Walker, Jonas Parker, Jr., Oliver Livermore, Oliver Fletcher, Joseph Brown, Thomas Nichols, Francis Mitchell.

SHAYS' INSURRECTION.—The great indebtedness incurred by the War of the Revolution left a heavy burden upon the State and upon all the towns. Taxes became onerous, and yet were hardly sufficent to meet the current expenses of the government and pay the interest of the public debts. Many were impatient and restive under the difficulties and embarrassments with which they were encumbered. Out of this condition, which was but an effect from the war, sprang the insurrectionary movement, which obtained no little notoriety under the leadership or command of Daniel Shays, a captain in the war. Men from Shirley joined the insurgents. But of the number there is no record. While there was an almost unanimous feeling in favor of some movement to ameliorate the existing condition of things, it is a matter of grave doubt if this resort to forcible measures received the countenance of any considerable proportion of the people. Among those who took an active part in it, were two brothers, Sylvanus and Nathan Smith, both of whom had been officers in the late war. In company with others from the district and parties from other towns, they gathered at Concord to the number of about one hundred. Their object was to suppress the court and stay the flood of executions that were wasting their property and making desolate their homes, until some action should be taken for their relief. It was Nathan Smith who made the somewhat famous address to the people, as related by the historian of Concord, "declaring that any person who did not follow his drum and join his standard, should be drove out at the point of the bayonet, let them be court, town committee, or what else. 'I am going'—he said—to give the court four hours to agree to our terms, and if they do not, I and my party will compel them to it. I will lay down my life to *suppress* the government from all *tyrannical oppression*, and you who are willing to join us in this *ere affair* may fall into our ranks." Smith was a good soldier in the war, and without doubt thought he was doing his duty in this affair, and defending the freedom that had been secured against unwise and oppressive measures. He died in Shirley in 1834, at the age of ninety-six years. A company from Shirley went with the insurgents in January, 1787, in a movement for the suppression of a court in Springfield. The town records give the best indication of the prevailing sentiment among the people at this time. In a town warrant dated

"January ye 29, 1787," there were two articles which read as follows: "1st. To see what the town will do in regard to sending provision to those men that are gone, or about to go (as they say) in defence of their rights and privileges. 2d. To see if the town will take into consideration the present depressing circumstances of our public affairs, and consult upon means for a settlement of those disturbances that are subsisting in this Commonwealth."

Upon these articles it was voted: "1st. Not to send provisions to the men gone from this town under arms. 2d. Voted to choose a committee, agreeably to the second article." This committee was chosen, and reported, recommending a petition to the General Court, "praying that all disturbances subsisting in this commonwealth may be settled." The report was adopted and petition sent.

Shirley furnished its required quota for service in the War of 1812, raising it by draft. No note of any action or incident worthy of mention appears in the records or can be gathered from tradition. There was only one enlistment from the town in the Mexican War—Nathan King (2d). He was in two battles, in one of which he was wounded.

The Civil War or War of the Rebellion.—The startling intelligence flashed over the country, on Monday, April 15, 1861, of the attack on Fort Sumter, aroused the people of Shirley, as it did the whole North. Informal meetings were held, projects discussed and services tendered by persons of all ages. Immediately a town-meeting was convened. At this meeting, crowded with those of every age and grade of life, the following resolutions were presented and unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the town of Shirley pay to all volunteers who have enlisted, or who may enlist hereafter for the present war (the same being residents of said town at the date of their enlistment), the sum of twelve dollars per month, in addition to the compensation now made by government; said sum to be paid to the families of any such volunteers, in their absence, at the discretion of the committee hereafter named. And should they fall in battle, the same sum to be paid to their families during the term of enlistment. And, if any such volunteers are single men, the said sum to be paid to them at the expiration of their respective enlistments, or to their legal representatives. Also to furnish them with all suitable and necessary outfits, not furnished by the State or General Government, at the discretion of said committee.

"*Resolved*, That the town raise the sum of five hundred dollars for the purpose above mentioned, and that the same be assessed the present year; and that the town treasurer be and is hereby authorized to borrow any sum or sums of money for the purposes specified, not to exceed ten thousand dollars."

Measures were taken at this meeting for raising a company for the Fifty-third Massachusetts Regiment. This company, when organized, took the name of "Munson Guards," in honor of N. C. Munson, from whom it received the generous gift of five hundred dollars. At a meeting held April 28, 1862, further action was taken in behalf of the families of those in the service. It was voted "to raise and assess one thousand dollars for the relief of the families of volunteers in the federal army, and that the same, or such part thereof as may be necessary, be paid out by the selectmen to families where they are certain the same will be refunded by the State."

In July of this year, in response to the call of the President for more soldiers, the quota of the town was sixteen. This was soon filled, the town voting, at a meeting held on the 23d of the month, a bounty of one hundred dollars to each soldier, and authorizing the treasurer to secure a loan of sixteen hundred dollars for this purpose. When, a year later, another call came from the President for still more men, to fill the ranks that were being depleted by losses and expirations of terms of service, volunteer enlistments had reached their limit, and it became necessary to draft the number required. To meet its duty to these, the town voted, at a meeting held July 27, 1863, to "pay one hundred dollars to each of its quota of drafted men, or their substitutes, who go into the service under the late call of the President of the United States, and also to furnish State aid to their families according to law." Other action, of record, for maintaining its part, by the town, in this crisis of the nation's life, was on July 5, 1864, when it was voted "to raise two thousand dollars, to pay volunteers that have been enlisted for this town, or may hereafter be obtained to fill the quota next called for by the President." Also, "that the selectmen, after expending the two thousand dollars raised for the purpose of recruiting, be further authorized to pay one hundred and twenty-five dollars to each and every recruit they may obtain, in order that our full quota be kept up." And then, a month later, it was voted, "that the town pay one hundred and twenty-five dollars in gold to each and every volunteer who will enlist, or to any enrolled man who will furnish a substitute, to fill this town's quota under the call of the President for five hundred thousand men." A few months later a rumor was prevalent of an expected call for additional recruits, and on November 8th it was voted "that the selectmen be constituted a committee, and authorized immediately to borrow a sum not to exceed two thousand dollars, and procure recruits to fill an anticipated call for three hundred thousand men." One more item completes the record of municipal appropriation and activity for this important and trying period. January 24, 1865, but a little more than two months before the note of final victory rang exultingly through the land, a meeting was convened, at which the selectmen were "authorized to procure and put into the service of the United States, fifteen men, in addition to those already in." Also, "to borrow a sum of money sufficient to pay the sum of one hundred and twenty-five dollars to each of the men who have been put in or may be put in before the 18th of March, 1865—who have not been paid according to a previous vote of the town."

The whole number of men mustered into the service from the town, and credited to it on the rolls, was one hundred and thirty-eight—about one-tenth

of the full number of its population during these years. Two of these served in the navy. The loss by death on the field, or from wounds, and disease caused by the hardships and exposures of army life, was twenty-one.

During all these intensely anxious years, those who remained at home were, in common with all the towns, constantly engaged in procuring and furnishing supplies for the needs and comforts of the sick and wounded in camp and hospital. The full appropriation and expenditure of the town for the men it put into the service by enlistment and draft amounted to about eight thousand dollars. The complete list of the names of these men is here given:

Army.—John H. Alger, Michael T. Ames, James Armstrong, Octave Anedette, George W. Baker, Oliver Balcolm, Horace A. Balcolm, Frank Balcolm, Thomas Baley, George V. Barrett, George H. Beard, Frank M. Boynton, Andrew Blood, Christoff Brockennan, Charles H. Brown, Joseph Brooker, Norman H. Bruce, Henry Bunnell, Henry S. Butler, Medard Bourcard, Edward E. Carr, Norton E. Chamberlain, Charles P. Chandler, Andrew J. Clough, Philip Conners, Charles H. Cowdrey, Moses Cram, John R. Cram, Thomas Daley, Michael Danlon, Granville C. W. Davis, Chas. B. Davis, Henry A. Dixon, Edward Donahue, Percy H Dunkins, Joseph Duprey, Estes Elliott, Henry Elmore, Owen Elmore, Geo. A. Farmer, W. H. Farmer, Joseph A. Farnworth, John W. Farren, Simon Fields, Jeremiah Flynn, George F. Fuller, Patrick Gately, John Gately, Rock St. Goah, John Goodhue, John Goss, William Greenalgh, Benjamin Grovner, James Haley, William L. Harris, Albert L. Hartwell, James Hawksworth, George Haynes, Alvin Henry, George C. Hill, William Hodgman, Charles Hoffman, Robertus F. Holden, Stephen Howard, Henry Johnson, Josephus Jones, Albert Kilburn, Charles E. Kilburn, Clesson Kenney, Daniel L King, Peter King, Thomas Kittredge, Thomas Kelley, Carle Lamerlain, Samuel Lane, Geo. A. Lancey, John B. Lapine, Joseph Lasier, Peter Lavily, George F. Lawrence, James H Little, John H. Lineban, Stephen W. Longley, Harriman Longley, Frank Lovely, Wm. McGill, Phelix McGovern, Isaac A. McDaniels, John McCarty, James McGill, Daniel Mahoney, George H. Mason, William McLelland, Walter Mitchell, David Morrell, William M. Moses, George Munyon, Emery Munyon, Thomas McGovern, Joel C. Neat, Harrison Nelson, Alexander Nelson, Abel Nickless, Daniel O'Hern, Michael O'Neal, George F. Parker, Marcus M. Parmenter, Sidney Parris, John Peterson, Charles W. Richards, John Roach, Charles F. Robbins, Harrington W. Sanders, Otis Sartell, Charles P. Sartell, James Sawtell, E. M. Smith, Marcus M. Spaulding, Lorenzo Spaulding, Henry B. Story, Henry Taylor, Walter Taylor, Granville P. Travis, James Taylor, Walter Underwood, William W. Underwood, William F. Warren, Henry A. Waters, Stephen Wheeler, John Wheeler, John G. White, Henry K. White, Wellington S. White, Walker Wright, Frederick Wilson, John Zimmerman.

Navy.—Charles Love, Charles E. Richards.

MILLS, MANUFACTURERS AND MANUFACTORIES.—Like all newly settled communities, Groton, of which the present Shirley then formed a part, in the early part of her settlement lacked the means of supplying the wants and needs of her early settlers.

While the newly cultivated land yielded rich harvests of golden grain to the worker, he was unable to convert this grain into meal without the aid of a mill, and there was none in Groton, nor, in fact, did such a mill exist for a period of seventeen years from its first settlement; hence we are led to suppose that the colonists were obliged to use hand-mills or samp-mortars to grind their corn, but no record of their use exists, either written or traditional.

Mr. Butler says, in his "History of Groton," that the first corn-mill erected within the territory of Groton was by John Prescott, in company with his son, Jonas Prescott, who afterwards distinguished himself as an inhabitant of Groton. This mill stood on a small stream of water in what was then the southern boundary of the territory, but in what is now the northerly section of Harvard; and there it stands yet and is devoted to its original purpose.

A few years after this mill was erected the Indians destroyed the greater part of Harvard, but, fortunately for the people, this property was overlooked, and continues to do its work after a lapse of over two centuries, it having been erected in 1673.

For eight years this mill was the only one the inhabitants of this section had to carry their grain to, and in consequence was constantly engaged—in fact, such was the press of work that the inhabitants of the town enacted a law requiring the proprietor of the mill to set apart the second and sixth days of each week for the purpose of grinding the grain of the people of Groton on those days.

In 1681 James Prescott, who was active in the establishing of the mill above mentioned, erected another mill on the easterly boundary of the territory, on what is now known as Stony Brook, near its issue from Forge Pond (so-called), being within the limits of the present town of Westford.

As nearly as can be ascertained, the territory of the present Shirley was first settled in 1720, and the northerly part was soon taken up for farms; but all grain had to be carried to the old mill, now in Harvard, or to the Forge Pond mill, now in Westford, to be ground.

We of the present day cannot understand the hardship this was to the early settler to carry grain for a distance of from four to ten miles over rough roads, often mere bridle-paths cut through the woods—no such roads or highways as we of the present generation are used to. Few of our forefathers were the fortunate possessors of horses, for they were luxuries in those days, and as for light carriages, they did not exist; so that the early settlers were compelled to use ox-teams and even wheelbarrows to transport the grain, and, indeed, many were the loads borne on the strong shoulders of the hardy settlers, at all seasons of the year. Through rain and shine, snow and hail, they bore their burdens over the weary miles, often compelled to make two trips ere they could bring back the meal they required for their sustenance, for the mills were small and unable to fulfill all the demands made upon them with facility.

The first mill in the limits of what is now known as Shirley was built by William Longley, an early settler, and Samuel Hazen, who settled here in 1749. This was a grist-mill to which was added later a saw-mill.

This mill was a small one of but a single run of stones, and was not furnished with the means for bolting flour.

But such were the needs of the people that the un-

dertaking, small though it was, was considered as a harbinger of better times.

This mill stood on the site of the "Shirley Cotton-Mill," better known perhaps as the "Red Mill," which was destroyed by fire in 1867.

The above partnership lasted but a few years, Mr. Hazen selling out his interest to Mr. Longley, who continued to serve his patrons as "miller" until old age compelled him to retire, when he was succeeded by his son.

As the years rolled on these mills, went to decay and others were built upon the same privilege, but upon the opposite side of the stream, by one Henry Haskell. These mills afterwards were owned by Israel Longley, Esq., who sold them to Thomas Hazen, who, in turn, sold them to Israel Longley, a great-grandson of the first owner. In 1872 the mills were purchased by Mr. N. C. Munson and the grist-mill was used for other purposes.

George Davis, Esq., next became the owner of the saw-mill and for some years carried on an extensive business in lumber, furnishing in quantities large or small to suit the requirements of purchasers. In 1886 he ceased to carry on business at the mills, and they remained idle until the following year, when the property was purchased by Mr. Gilbert M. Ballou, of Shirley. He at once repaired the buildings and erected in connection with the mill a large carpenter's shop, and fitted it up with a full line of wood-working machines necessary to carry on his trade.

Mr. Ballou has done quite an extensive business in sawing lumber since he started, the first year sawing out about 150,000 feet, and he has since turned out from 250,000 to 300,000 feet annually. It might well be supposed that the supply of trees of a size suitable for lumber would have been exhausted long ago, but each season brings its full supply of logs, and the space in front of his mill is filled to overflowing with great piles of pine and chestnut logs waiting to be turned into boards.

The second grist-mill was built on Mulpus Brook, in that part of the town known as Wood's Village. This, too, like the one on the Catacunemaug, contained but one run of stones and was wanting many of those conveniences now considered necessary.

But it filled a long-felt want, for, being situated at the opposite border of the town from the other mill, it greatly shortened the distance, thereby proving a great accommodation to the dwellers in its vicinity.

Francis Harris was the first owner of this mill, and James Dickson erected a saw-mill in connection with it, both of which were afterwards owned and operated by the same person.

These mills passed through many hands, until in 1822 Jonathan Kilburn became the owner, and they were operated by him until his death, in 1881.

Mr. Kilburn was an energetic business man, sparing neither time nor expense in fitting up his mill to meet the needs and demands of the public. This mill, after its renovation, was better fitted for the work of milling than its predecessor, it consisting of two runs of stones and an apparatus for sifting the wheat as it entered the hopper, and for bolting it after it was ground. The mill was also furnished with a second bolt that was used in sifting flour from the meal of the coarser grains. Mr. Kilburn did a large lumber business in connection with his grist-mill.

The third mill for grinding was erected on the Catacunemaug, a little above that of Messrs. Longley & Hazen, and on the same side of the stream, by Joseph Edgarton. This was abandoned after a few years, the owner deeming it of no avail to compete with his long-established neighbors below him.

The fourth grist-mill, with saw-mill connected, was built by Jonas Longley, Esq., in 1790, on the Nashua River, on that part now belonging to the town of Ayer. This mill was operated by Mr. Longley until his death. Various persons were owners and operators of these mills, among them Eli Page & Sons, who were the last owners while the property remained within the boundaries of Shirley. This firm renewed the business formerly carried on,—the mills under a former owner having been used for other purposes,—and added a shingle-mill and also increased the water privilege.

The next saw-mill of which we have record was built by Samuel Hazen in 1829, on the northern branch of the Catacunemaug. The mill was run until the summer of 1856, when it was swept away by the breaking of the reservoir above it. The building of this mill opened the way for the settlement of a small village known as the "North Bend."

In 1836 Peter Page built a saw-mill on Mulpus Brook, a short distance above its junction with the Nashua River. Mr. Page died shortly after, and the mill property passed into the hands of Messrs. R. P. & M. W. Wood.

In 1856 Alvin White and Edwin L. White came to Shirley and purchased the mill and privilege known as "Peter Page's Mill," of Robert P. and Moses W. Wood, connecting therewith a basket manufactory. On the 8th of March, 1857, this mill was destroyed by fire. It was immediately rebuilt, with enlargements and improvements. The Messrs. White did a large and lucrative business in the manufacture of baskets, sawing lumber, etc., until 1861, when Alvin White disposed of his share to Edwin L. and purchased an estate higher up the river, which he enlarged, and, in company with his son, continued the manufacture of baskets—making some ten thousand per annum.

Edwin L. continued to carry on business at the old stand, and the average number of splint baskets manufactured by him in the earlier years of the business was from fifteen to twenty thousand. His yearly production now is upwards of ten thousand baskets of all sizes and grades, from the small one holding four quarts to the mammoth one holding forty bushels.

The baskets are used by manufacturers, marketmen and farmers.

Special power machinery is used to get out the greater quantity of the basket stock, the lumber being sawed into planks, then steamed and put into the slicing-machine. A portion of the stock is, however, split and shaved in the old way. In addition to the manufacture of baskets, Mr. White has done a large business in sawing lumber, some years sawing 500,000 feet. He also prepares staves and shingles, turning out about 500,000 annually.

As will be seen, the wants of the early settlers, so far as food and shelter are concerned, were provided for by the several mills established upon the banks of the various streams for the purpose of grinding the grain and sawing the huge logs into boards. Yet there remained other wants and needs to be provided for. While the men toiled in the fields, clearing the land for planting and sowing and harvesting the grain, and then, when harvested, carrying it to the mill to be converted into meal, it must not be supposed the mothers, wives and sisters were idle; far from it, for, in addition to the regular work of the house, they, by their own hands, made all the clothing worn by them and their families.

It is true that their homes were not as large and elaborate as those of our day, nor were they furnished with as many ornaments and rare pieces of bric-a-brac; few were the rooms they had to keep clean and tidy, for their houses were mostly rude, unfinished dwellings—log cabins in many instances—and the household utensils were of the commonest and coarsest kinds.

But their chief labor lay in the preparing of the flax and wool, as it came from the field and flock, into garments of warmth and comfort for the wear of the families, and so, thus was supplied in the early times another of the wants of the settlers.

But as time wore on these colors grew monotonous to the people, and they began to make use of art in the manufacture of a material that was of a lighter, smoother and finer texture than that which they had so long been used to, and, hence, the dyeing, fulling, shearing and pressing processes were adopted, to bring about this desired change. These different processes were carried on in an establishment, and were called clothing-mills. Clothing-mills were introduced into the Colonies in the latter part of the seventeenth or the early part of the eighteenth century, and soon the process of breaking and rolling wool was added, which was a great benefit to the female sex, as it lightened the labors of making cloth.

These mills were early introduced into Shirley, and thus another, the third, industry was commenced. They little thought when the first mill, small though it was, was built, that it would be the forerunner of an industry that would prove to be Shirley's greatest manufacturing interest, but such it was; the "clothier's mill," with its crude and imperfect machinery, was closely followed by the cotton-mill, with its delicate and intricate mechanism, furnishing employment to the many and substantially improving the financial interest of the town.

All through the early years of the settlement and until within a comparatively few years the settlers of the northern part of our country have been in the habit of keeping a few sheep to furnish the wool from which might be made the every-day clothes of the family. The woolen blankets for winter use were obtained from the same source. The farmers also raised a little flax, that the needs of the family through the summer might be met.

The work of manufacturing this cloth devolved upon the female portion of the family; they took the flax as it was brought from the field, and the wool as it was shorn from off the backs of the sheep, and by a slow and laborious process, called hand-carding, converted it into rolls; these rolls were spun into yarn, and the yarn was, in turn, woven into cloth by the use of hand-power machinery. As there existed in those early times no establishment for the dyeing and dressing of cloth, and not even in the homes of the settlers was the use of the dye-pot known, it became necessary to adopt some other means whereby a change of color could be obtained. Therefore, the colonists bred sheep of two colors—white and black—the mixture of whose wool gave that sober gray tint to the cloth that our forefathers so highly prized.

Later on these hand labors were lightened by the introduction and use of machinery operated by water-power, and the various streams running through the town were utilized to furnish the power.

The first clothier's mill was built on the Squannacook River, near the village of that name, in the year 1739, by Elisha Rockwood, who came from Wrentham.

Mr. Rockwood continued in business until old age compelled him to relinquish it to his son, Samuel Rockwood, who, in turn, dyed and dressed cloth until within a short time of his death, which occurred in 1804. Samuel Rockwood and Sewall Rockwood, sons of Samuel Rockwood, succeeded to the business, and run the mill until the business was superseded by the more modern methods of manufacture. In 1812 William Flint and Thomas Sweetser added a carding-mill to the dyeing and dressing departments; this they continued until about the year 1836, when they were obliged to relinquish the business, owing to a lack of employment.

The second clothier's mill was situated upon the Mulpus Brook, and connected with the corn-mill previously erected by Francis Harris, Esq., who also built the clothier's mill. Mr. Harris was a man of influence in the town, both as a public official and a private citizen.

Joseph Edgarton was the builder of the third clothier's mill, which was situated on the Catacunemaug; this mill was never very prosperous, as the Rockwood

mill had established such a reputation for good work, that competition was unavailing, and the establishment was devoted to some other occupation that would yield better income.

The fourth and last clothing-mill was erected by one James Wilson, an Irish immigrant, and the first and only one who obtained naturalization in Shirley for nearly three-quarters of the first century of its incorporation. This also was situated on the Mulpus Brook. Levi Wheeler rented and occupied the mill for a few years, but soon he, too, as well as the others of his craft, was obliged to give way to the inroads of fashion, which adopted the use of foreign fabrics in preference to those of home-made character. Mr. Wilson had a carding manufactory in immediate connection with this mill. He carried on the business of carding till old age and infirmities compelled him to stop.

As has been noticed, the "clothier's mills" were soon followed by the establishment of factories for the manufacture of cotton yarn and cotton cloth, which proved to be the greatest and most important of Shirley's varied industries. The enterprise of her citizens was manifested by the many factories erected along the banks of the various streams, where water privileges existed within the boundaries of the town. For many years the hum and noise of the busy loom and spindle were heard on all sides, and the streets of the village were filled with young people eager for recreation after a hard day's work at the mill. The stores were doing a prosperous business supplying the wants and needs of the people. This continued for years until, for various reasons,—fire, flood and financial depression,—the mills one by one ceased operations until in 1884 the closing of the Phœnix and Fredonia Mills brought the career of the town as an active cotton manufacturing village to a close. These last-named mills are now running again under new management, as will be noted later on in this chapter.

The first of these mills was erected as early as 1812, and was situated on the Catacunemaug, very nearly on the site occupied by the present mill known as Munson's Yarn-Mill, or the New Mill. The mill was built by a company from Harvard, consisting of Simon Willard, Joel Willard and Zaccheus Gates. Before it was completed it was purchased by Joseph Edgarton, who sold it to Merrick Rice, of Lancaster. Moses Carlton, also of Lancaster, became a partner of Merrick Rice, and later on became the sole proprietor. This, as we are credibly informed, was the third cotton factory built in this country; the first being the Slater factory at Webster, Worcester County, and the second the factory at Waltham. In 1818 the property was transferred to Joseph Edgarton & Co., and they carried on the manufacture of cotton cloth until 1834, doing a successful and profitable business. But the death of one of the company, Adolphus Whitcomb, and the great depression of business throughout New England that year, together with large investments in land, brought them to failure, and the business was discontinued. The machinery was removed from the building, and the building was not occupied, excepting the basement, which was used for various trades, as will be noted later on.

The second cotton mill, known as the Fort Pond Mill, was built by Joseph Edgarton and Lemuel Willard, and was located on the southern branch of the Catecunemaug, on the western privilege of that stream.

Hiram Longley purchased this property about the year 1840 and greatly enlarged and improved it. He disposed of it to Israel Longley and it was by him connected with the Shirley Cotton-Mill and used as the weaving department. It was at this time supplied with fifty-six looms.

In 1868 this mill was destroyed by fire, but was soon replaced by a new structure built of wood, with a brick basement. In 1877 this mill, together with the dwelling-houses and other buildings connected therewith, was purchased by Mr. Nathaniel W. Cowdrey, who commenced the manufacture of "leather board," an industry as yet new to the village, although paper-making had been carried on to some extent. He manufactured about five tons of the "leather board" per week for several years.

In 1881 Mr. Cowdrey added a mill for sawing lumber and stave material, and in 1881–82 sawed out some 700,000 feet lumber and some 600,000 staves. Connected with this saw-mill was a coopering establishment, conducted by Granville Fairbanks, who turned out 12,000 casks of different dimensions per month. Later on Seth F. Dawson became the owner. There were one or two other lines of business carried on in some of the buildings connected with this mill. Dec. 14, 1884, the mill, together with the contents, was destroyed by fire, supposed to be of incendiary origin, causing a total loss of $23,000, which was partially covered by insurance. The privilege is at present unused. It is one of the best privileges in the town, and should be utilized by some manufacturing industry.

The third cotton-mill was built in 1823 and 1824, on the site of the first corn-mill, on the banks of the Catacunemaug. This mill, known as the "Shirley Cotton-Mill," was built by Israel Longley, Esq., but on his death, which occurred before the building was completed, Thomas Hazen became the owner.

This mill was for many years rented and occupied by John Smith. Israel Longley, son of the original owner, afterwards operated this mill for many years. It had 2400 spindles, and, in connection with Fort Pond Mill, manufactured nearly 700,000 yards of brown sheeting annually. This mill was destroyed by fire May 26, 1867.

The next cotton-mill, or the fourth, was what is known as the Fredonia Mill, and is situated on the Catacunemaug, a short distance below the bridge. It was built in 1832, by a company of the same name, incorporated February 16, 1832.

The building is one hundred and fifteen feet long, thirty-six feet broad and three stories high. When first built the mill was run by water-power, but in later years a boiler-house and stack were added, so that now the mill is equipped with both steam and water.

From 1832 until 1863 Messrs. Israel Longley and Willard Worcester were the proprietors. Upon the death of one of the partners they were succeeded by Levi Holbrook, E. W. Holbrook and Charles W. Smith, under the firm-name of Levi Holbrook & Co. This firm continued until the year 1868, when the interest of the Messrs. Holbrook was purchased by Mr. J. E. Smith, the firm then becoming C. W. & J. E. Smith. These gentlemen were sons of John Smith, who for a time rented the Shirley Cotton-Mill. Mr. Levi Holbrook was the superintendent of the mill, under the new firm, for some time. This mill, at this time, ran 3280 spindles and sixty-eight looms, and employed about sixty operatives. The yearly product was 1,189,000 yards of light-brown sheetings. Mr. Warren N. Orswell, who is well known as a mill man, was the agent of this mill, as well as of the Phœnix, for several years. This mill was shut down in the summer of 1884.

Connected with this mill are twenty-five tenements for such of the help as are married, and in addition there is a large boarding-house. A beautiful avenue leads from this mill to the main road.

In 1886 Mr. J. E. Smith became the sole owner of this property, and in September of the following year Alfred Page, of Ayer, purchased it, and in December of that year deeded it to E. A. Richardson, who has since carried it on, in connection with Mr. Page. This new company employs about forty operatives.

Several improvements have been made in the property, and new machinery of various sorts added, so that now the mill runs seventy-four looms and 2880 spindles, and turns out annually about 1,000,000 yards of light sheetings, of a value of $35,000. The yearly pay-roll amounts to about $11,000.

The fifth cotton-mill was built in 1840 by Mr. Samuel Hazen, near the saw-mill erected by him in 1829, at the part of the town called North Bend. He also built several tenement-houses for the use of the operatives.

This was called the Lake Mill, and was first occupied by Mr. Oliver Barrett. It was afterwards enlarged and operated by the Fredonia Mill proprietors. Afterwards a company from Boston operated it until it was destroyed by fire, September 17, 1866. This mill was fitted with two thousand spindles and fifty-two looms, manufacturing about 524,000 yards of brown sheetings yearly.

A short distance below the Fredonia Mill, on the same stream, and a short distance above its juncture with the Nashua River, stands the largest mill, known as the "Phœnix Mill," the sixth cotton-mill built in town. This was built by the Shaker Community in the year 1849, and they gave it the name it now bears. The structure is of brick, one hundred and forty feet long, fifty feet broad and three stories high, exclusive of the attic. It is surmounted by a tower which contains a bell. The whole structure was built very thoroughly in every detail. There are three blocks of brick dwelling-houses, two stories high, each block containing four houses. These are designed for such of the help as are married and wish to be housekeepers. There is also a large three-story brick boarding-house, sufficiently large to accommodate all those who prefer boarding. Between the houses and the mill-pond is a beautiful grove of pine trees that furnish an agreeable shade from the summer sun.

There was also a large and commodious agent's house, furnished by the proprietors, connected with the establishment; but it is not now used in connection with the mill.

The dedication of this mill by the Shaker fraternity, on May 17, 1851, was an occurrence of such marked interest and peculiarity that the following extract from the account published by the New Bedford *Daily Evening Standard* is here inserted:

"The United Believers, who assembled on the occasion, consisted of the principal of the Shirley Shakers, with a large number who were invited from the society in Harvard, numbering from one hundred and fifty to two hundred persons of high respectability, distinguished for their neatness, benevolence and industry, as well as for their peculiar manner of worship. The services were opened by one of the leading elders, William H. Wetherbee, who delivered an address. This address was followed by an original hymn, sung by the congregation. Lorenzo Dow Grosvenor, an elder from Harvard, then addressed the assembly. He earnestly recommended his hearers to cultivate the disposition of brotherly love in all parties, to worship with frequency of spirit, and obey the dictations of those heavenly messengers by whom he felt they were surrounded. In conclusion, he recommended prayer, in which they all united, kneeling in silence. After a few minutes they arose and sang a hymn. They then proceeded in their usual manner to march by quick songs. Some thirty or more, who seemed to be singers, formed an oval, facing each other, and the rest marched round them, two deep, making one circle within another; after a while the inside circle faced around and marched in the opposite direction from the outside column. At the close of this exercise they took their seats in nearly the same form they at first stood in ranks, when Elder Grosvenor briefly explained the views and beliefs of the society. He was followed by Elder William Leonard, who more fully entered into the subject.

"After singing an original poem the meeting adjourned. At one o'clock the people reassembled and seated themselves in the order of their religious usage and opened their meeting with singing a hymn. The short address preceding the active worship then fol-

lowed, and the brethren and sisters arranged themselves in order for a march or dance, which they entered upon with renewed spirit. Several brief addresses were then made by persons of both sexes. Among the females was Mrs. A. D. Cook, who was distinguished for her gift in public speaking.

"The meeting closed at four o'clock P.M. The services were conducted by W. H. Wetherbee, as elder, and Jonas Nutting, as deacon, who discharged their duties in a manner highly creditable to themselves and to the great satisfaction of the spectators. During the exercises several songs were sung, accompanied by solemn marches, in their peculiar manner, which added much to the interest of the occasion."

The first tenant of this mill was a company from New Bedford, Mass., called the "Steam Mill Company," which they soon afterwards changed to the more fitting name of the "Phœnix Company." This company furnished the mill with shafting and machinery, and started business in 1852. They employed about one hundred persons, the mill running 5688 spindles, 3168 mule spindles and 2520 ring and traveler spindles, and 130 looms. Brown and bleached cottons were the fabrics manufactured, and the annual product was 1,050,000 yards.

This company later on purchased the property, and, in 1881, disposed of it to Messrs. C. W. & J. E. Smith, the proprietors of the Fredonia Mill, who continued to manufacture goods of the same grade as their predecessors.

Mr. Warren N. Orswell, who at one time carried on the manufacture of cotton at the Munson's Mill, was agent of this mill for some years. Mr. C. W. Smith died in the spring of 1883, and the following summer both this and the Fredonia Mill were shut down and remained idle for some years. In the month of July, 1888, the Phœnix mill property was purchased by the Sampson Cordage Works, a corporation having a capital of $80,000, and organized under the laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to extend the business already established and previously carried on in Boston under the firm-name of J. P. Tolman & Co.

The business of this company is the manufacture of braided cotton cord and lines, of which they make a very large assortment, to be used for various purposes, such as bell-cord on steam and horse-railways, window-cord, fancy awning-cord, etc.

They immediately commenced at Shirley the manufacture of their yarns, and, in February, 1889, moved their braiding-machines from Boston. The company employ one hundred operators, two-thirds of whom are women and girls. They handle a ton of cotton every day, and have a weekly pay-roll of about $600. The officers of the company are J. P. Tolman, president; Herbert G. Pratt, treasurer; Frank D. Aldrich, secretary. Mr. J. Edwin Smith, a former owner of the property, is a director in the company. The business headquarters of the company are at its Boston office, No. 164 High Street. The operation of this mill, which had so long lain idle, and the filling the tenements and boarding-houses with busy operatives, has done much to improve the business interests of the town.

To ensure this, as well as the other mills farther up the stream, a supply of water at all times, a reservoir was built upon the northern branch of the Catacunemaug. This branch of the river was fed by two large ponds, one of sixty and the other of one hundred and twenty acres area. In order to enlarge these, a dam was thrown across the river in 1852, at a point a little above the present paper-mill of B. S. Binney, and a pond covering some seven or eight hundred acres was secured. Another pond, on the southern branch, Fort Pond, in Lancaster, covering about one hundred and fifty acres, was utilized later on for the same purpose.

In the summer of 1856 this dam gave way, doing great damage. The following extract from the "History of Shirley," by Rev. S. Chandler, will show the extent of this damage:

"On the 2d day of July, 1856, the reservoir dam gave way, and the mass of water which it had held in reserve poured down the valley, overflowing its banks, and inundating fields and meadows with its turbid waves. Four road bridges, five mill-dams, two blacksmith-shops, one saw-mill, and some smaller buildings, with one railroad bridge, were swept away, and other structures were partially undermined and injured. This was a sad day for the town in general, and for its manufacturing interests in particular. The estimated loss occasioned by this disaster, public and private, was about $50,000. The cause of this calamity has not been fully determined. The dam had braved all the force of the spring freshets, and at the time of its failure the water was two and a half feet below high-water mark. Undaunted by disappointment and loss, the Reservoir Company immediately commenced to reconstruct their dam, and in prosecuting their work they aimed to place their structure in a position of such security as to bear any pressure of water to which it could be subjected. The roll is of stone, bedded on a solid foundation and jointed with great care. This foundation is protected by plank spiles, driven five feet into the solid earth. These spiles are continued the whole length of the dam, and its massive embankments are sustained by a central wall of strong brick masonry, and the whole is declared finished in a substantial and workmanlike manner."

The seventh cotton manufactory in town was founded in 1865 by Mr. N. C. Munson, a widely-known contractor. It is situated on the privilege of the first cotton-mill, and is known as the "Munson Mill or New Mill." It is a large structure, one hundred and fourteen feet in length, three stories in height and furnished with steam heat.

It was fitted with 3400 spindles, eighty looms, and

employed at one time fifty operatives, turning out about fourteen thousand yards of brown sheetings per week.

Later on this mill was occupied by C. A. Edgarton & Co., who manufactured tape and webb for suspenders.

Warren N. Oswell, at one time agent for Phœnix and Fredonia Mills, carried on the manufacture of cotton here for some years; he was succeeded by Messrs. Nickless & Holt, who manufactured cotton yarns during the years 1887–88. This concern run 3500 spindles, producing 3500 pounds of yarns per week, and employing thirty operatives.

The mill now stands idle, and is in the market for a purchaser, offering a rare opportunity for a manufacturing interest.

This completes the list of cotton manufactories. Closely following comes that of paper-making, which has been carried on in the town for nearly one hundred years. In the latter years of the eighteenth century Jonas Parker and Thomas Parker, his brother, went to Waltham for the purpose of acquiring the act of paper-making. After a year's residence in that place they returned to Shirley, and in connection with Joseph Edgarton, Esq., built the first paper-mill. This was located on the Catacunemaug, on the spot afterward occupied by Messrs. Pope & Co. as a fork-shop. This was a small mill, with but one engine, and there was no means of drying then known but by sun and air. But the advent of a new industry into the town was hailed with delight by the townspeople. It was the forerunner of a large industry.

The Parker Bros. carried on the business for some years, finally selling out to Lemuel Willard & Brother, who, in turn, disposed of the property to Joseph Edgarton & Co. This firm made paper here for some years, but finally suspended the work in this place, and the building was used for a batting-mill, continuing to that use until 1837, when it was destroyed by fire.

The second paper-mill was built by the Edgarton Company, who had become interested in this industry and decided to enter into the manufacture on an enlarged scale. They accordingly, in 1828, built a larger mill upon the Nashua River, near the corn-mill erected by Joshua Longley. This mill was two stories in height, the upper part being entirely devoted to drying purposes. Mr. H. P. Howe was the superintendent of this mill. "Mr. Howe was a skillful machinist," says Rev. Seth Chandler, in his "History of Shirley," and he devised various artificial methods to remedy the long process of air-drying. He finally hit upon the plan—which he subsequently patented—of the 'fire-dryer.' This wonderful machine, after many trials, alterations and amendments, was at length completed, and put in operation with satisfactory results. It is hardly possible to describe the astonishment which the new enterprise created. The dull way of grinding the material, pressing it into sheets and then passing it through a long season of air-drying, was a tedious method of producing one of the most important articles of domestic and business use; and such was the imperfection of the material thus produced that it would hardly be regarded worthy the meanest service to which paper is devoted at the present time. By the invention of Mr. Howe the pulp was received at one extreme end of the machine, and after passing through a complicated process of change and preparation, was discharged at the other end finished paper, ready for immediate use."

The invention of the "fire-dryer" having established the reputation of Mr. Howe, he, in 1833, set up a machine-shop near the mill and for some years carried on the business of making them.

The Edgarton Mills were enlarged by extending the building and the addition of new machinery. These mills were run until destroyed by fire, June 15, 1837. In 1842 Mr. Eli Page purchased the privilege and erected another paper-mill, renting it to one Moses Carlton as first tenant, but it was soon after rented to John L. Hollingsworth, who greatly enlarged and improved it. He manufactured yearly 50,000 reams of paper. Mr. Hollingsworth was succeeded in 1852 by Stephen Roberts, an old and experienced paper-maker, who made manilla paper out of old ropes—the cast-off cordage of vessels—and dyed it with ochre, turning out about one ton per day.

When Mr. Roberts relinquished the business the old mill was removed and a new mill built. This was occupied by John Roberts, a son of Stephen. This also was destroyed by fire, having been occupied but a short time.

The next manufactory of paper was situated in the basement of the mill formerly occupied by Joseph Edgarton & Co. as a cotton manufactory, and known as the "Old Red Mill," which has been the subject of a poem by Mrs. Sarah C. Edgarton Mayo :

> "Bright in the foreground of wood and hill,
> Close by the banks of my native rill,
> Rumbling early ere dawn of light,
> Rumbling late through the winter's night,
> When all the air and the earth is still,
> Toileth and groaneth the old red mill."

This was owned by William W. Edgarton. It was furnished with a steam-dryer and turned out about four hundred reams of coarse wrapping-paper per week.

The fourth paper-mill was commenced in 1837, in the building erected by the Messrs. Rockwood as a clothier's mill, on the Squannacook River. The business was carried on by several different parties until 1853, when Oliver Howe purchased the property; he let it to Harrison Hartwell for a few years. In 1857 Mr. B. F. Bartlett, of Pepperell, became the owner, and he in turn disposed of it to George W. Mitchell. In December, 1865, Mr. E. H. Sampson became the owner. He carried on the manufacture of "leather board" until April 3, 1879, when the mill was burned. The tall chimney, which was left standing, was in

1885 torn down, thus destroying the last vestige of the paper-making industry in that part of the town.

This mill was one of the first to manufacture "leather board" in this country. Its product was one ton of "leather board" per week.

The fifth paper-mill was built in 1868 by Samuel Hazen. It was located near the site of the Lake Mills, destroyed by fire in 1866.

Andrew and Granville Williams were the first occupants; they were succeded by Stephen Shepley, who was largely interested in paper-making.

Mr. Shepley sold the property to B. S. Binney, who began the manufacture of paper for paper bags. These bags were made by machinery, and about 120,000 were made per day.

In 1886 extensive improvements were made in the property; about one-half of the old mill was rebuilt with heavy Southern pine and the floor raised, thereby gaining a roomy basement for the intricate lines of shafting, water-pullies, steam and water-pipes necessary to carry on the paper-making; at the same time all the old mixing and beating machinery was taken out and new and larger machines put in, thus greatly increasing the capacity of the works. In 1885 Mr. Binney commenced the manufacture of "Asbestos paper." This paper is perfectly fire-proof in any temperature. It is used for covering boilers and steam-pipes, covering the inside of boiler-rooms and any and everywhere that money and life can be saved from the great destroyer, fire. To show the wonderful growth of the business, the following yearly productions are given:—1885, 75,000 lbs.; 1886, 106,000 lbs.; 1887, 262,000 lbs.; 1888, 435,000 lbs.; 1889, 473,900 lbs.

In 1887 Mr. Binney added another specialty, which is patented, namely, a heavy deading felt which, though made from very combustible material, is rendered chemically fire-proof, so that if a piece one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness be placed over a gas-jet and blow-pipe for twenty-four hours, a piece of cotton wool placed on the felt will not be scorched even.

The rapid development of the business necessitated increased room and machinery, so that in 1888 an ell 25 x 50 was added to the east side of the mill and filled with new and costly machinery. The following year it was found necessary to again enlarge, and another ell 25 x 60 was added, together with an office. At this same time the old part of the mill was rebuilt in a substantial manner, and this and the ell filled with new machinery.

The present production of the mill is 8000 lbs. of "leather boards" daily, or 6000 lbs. asbestos and 6000 lbs. carpet-lining or building felt.

A large number of operators are employed in this industry, which is one of the most important in the town.

The iron industry also has been carried on in the town, although never in any considerable way. The first record of the working of iron that exists, was that of the establishment of a "forge," as it was then known, in the closing years of the last century by Ebenezer Pratt. This stood on the Mulpus Brook, very near the location upon which the Wilson carding-mill was built. Here Mr. Pratt, with the help of his three sons, made scythes, but, finding the profits small for the amount of labor expended, the business was soon relinquished.

The Catacunemaug was the location upon which was built the second "forge." The builders, Messrs. John and Benjamin Edgarton, continued the business for about ten years, when they too abandoned it.

Messrs. Pope & Parsons were the proprietors of the next factory for the manufacture of farming implements. In 1850 this firm established a mill on the Catacunemaug for the manufacture of hay and manure-forks, and continued to do a successful business for some years, employing some eight or ten men. They turned out about five hundred dozens of forks—of superior quality—per annum.

This completes the list of manufacturers of farming implements, but not of the iron industry, for the manufacture of nails has been followed to some extent by the people of Shirley. William McIntosh was the first to commence the manufacture of cut nails, in or about the year 1810, a business which he followed for several years.

William W. Edgarton and brothers, in 1855, were the proprietors of the second nail factory; this was situated in the basement of the cotton-mill formerly occupied by J. Edgarton & Co., and known as the "Old Red Mill." They manufactured horse nails, of which they made about one hundred and fifty pounds per day. The business was abandoned in 1865. The "Old Red Mill" was burned in September, 1855, and the business was continued in a new building erected for the purpose.

The manufacture of carriages has also been carried on. One Thomas Hunt established the industry in a small way in the early part of the present century. His shop was located in what was known as the South Village. Later on—in 1716—Joseph Hoar built a wheelwright shop on the Mulpus, where he carried on business for three years, employing three or four men. In 1819 he sold the business to Jeseph Esterbrook, who, for sixteen years, carried on a successful business. The building was destroyed by fire in 1821, but was quickly rebuilt. In 1835 Andrew Shattuck became the proprietor. The business was again sold in 1840 to Harvey Woods & Bro. Under this firm the buildings were greatly enlarged and facilities for carrying on the business very much improved. They, in turn, were succeeded by Moses Wood, a brother, and he by Henry Brown and Oliver Wing.

Carriages of all sorts and descriptions, and in almost all their parts, were manufactured by these several firms, and they added the manufacture of harness and certain kinds of upholstery. During the Mexican War and during the War of the Rebellion they manufactured many military baggage-wagons

and ambulances, and six hundred railroad carts were annually turned out for many years. In 1871 the whole establishment, together with a large boarding-house, was totally destroyed by fire. They employed some thirty workmen. Woodsville received its name from the Messrs. Woods.

Emery Williams opened a wheelwright-shop in the South Village in 1853. This shop was connected with the Hazen Mills, and on the same water privilege. He employed six men in the manufacture of farm-wagons. Mr. Williams is the inventor of a washing-machine. Soon after, Mr. William Sawtel commenced the manufacture of window-blinds and sashes in the same neighborhood, carrying on the same for several years.

In 1850 a planing and shingle mill was started in the basement of the "Old Red Mill" before referred to, which was operated about five years, when it was succeeded by the horse-nail industry.

Leather has been manufactured to some extent in the town. In 1793 Nathan Adams established a tannery on Mulpus Brook. Here he carried on business until 1801, when he sold out to Stephen Barrett, of Concord. Mr. Barrett continued the tanning and currying of leather until his death, in 1856, when the leather industry ceased to be a part of Shirley's business occupation.

Hoop-skirt-making has also been carried on in the town. In 1861 George Sanderson commenced to manufacture hoop-skirts, employing some fifteen operatives, who turned out weekly about seventy dozens of skirts.

The Shakers in this town have always been an industrious people, and have manufactured many different articles, and such is the quality of the work done, that they have established a reputation for excellence to be desired by all manufacturers. Among the many different articles that they have manufactured may be mentioned agricultural implements, woodenware, hair sieves, brooms, grass bonnets, husk mats, feather fans, and fancy articles of various kinds. They also cure herbs, make a kind of apple-sauce, called "Shaker Apple-Sauce," make tomato preserve, and various articles of a similar nature, all of which find a ready sale.

There is another industry deserving of mention, that was for some years carried on by the female portion of the town, and that is the braiding of palm-leaf hats. For years, nearly every family had one or more of its members engaged in this industry, and, in fact, so profitable was this occupation at one time, that whole families were enabled to earn comfortable livelihoods. In 1837 something over seventy thousand of the hats were manufactured, and were valued at about $12,500.

For some years a condensed milk factory was carried on in one of the buildings connected with the Dawson Mill property. From time to time other industries have been started, but after a brief existence have been discontinued.

One of the most important industries in the town is the manufacture of suspenders, suspender-webbing and elastic goods, by Charles A. Edgarton & Son. This firm commenced business some time in the year 1870, under the firm-name of Charles A. Edgarton & Co. They first devoted their attention to the manufacture of tape, bindings, bed-lace, etc., using the ingenious machinery then recently patented. They occupied the mill known as the Dawson Mill, which was located on the site of the Fort Pond Cotton Manufactory. After remaining here for some time they removed the business, in 1873, to the mill lower down on the Catacunemaug, known as the Munson Mill. The manufacture of suspender-webbing and elastic goods was then added to the regular line of business, and such was the success of the new undertaking that eventually it became the principal line manufactured. In 1878, the company, seeing the desirability of making a better line of goods, put in new and improved machinery, thereby enabling them not only to manufacture a greatly superior quality of goods, but to so enlarge the business that it soon became evident that enlarged quarters, as well as new machinery, were required. Accordingly, in 1881, the company, now changed to C. A. Edgarton & Son, by the admission of Charles Frederick Edgarton, built a new factory just below the Munson Mill, on the banks of the same stream. This structure was of wood, twenty-eight feet wide by eighty feet long, and two stories in height, independent of the basement. This they fitted up with new and improved machinery, using steam as the motive-power for the same. Since occupying their new factory the firm have manufactured suspenders exclusively, beginning with the material, cotton, silk and rubber, in a raw state, and making therefrom the elastic webs which they use in the manufacture of a full line of men and boys' suspenders of all grades and qualities, from the cheapest to the finest hand-embroidered holiday goods. The factory runs 119 looms and 275 shuttles, and turns out about 2500 dozens of finished suspenders of the various grades per week. To manufacture these goods they employ 100 operatives, both male and female, who are mostly residents of the town. The firm has two offices, one at the factory and the other in New York. The products of this company, which stands second in the amount produced in the country, among the manufacturers who are exclusive makers of suspenders, are well known throughout the country, being sold in nearly every State of the Union; and such has been the demand for their goods in the last few years that they require additional room, and arrangements are being made for a large addition to their present factory, whereby their facilities will be greatly increased and they be able to meet more amply the requirements of their growing trade.

Schools.—While Shirley was a part of Groton township there were no schools within its bounds. The financial condition of the town was such that

it would not allow of the establishment of schools in the remote section, or angles as they were called in those days, and therefore the children were either obliged to travel many weary miles to the centre of the town or go without learning.

But home instruction was not neglected by our forefathers, and though for years the early settlers were without schools, yet there were few who could not read, write, and cast up common accounts. For the first four years of its existence as a distinct corporation the town was without schools.

The first record of a school being held in town was in May, 1757, the town voting "to have a school for three months, and to have it commence in August or September." This school was held in a private house, a single room in the dwelling-house of Jonas Longley being used. This house was located in the Centre, on the estate now known as the Augustus Holden farm.

Schools continued to be held from time to time in various places until the Revolutionary period, when they were suspended owing to the embarrassed condition of the finances of the town. The sessions were renewed soon after the peace was declared, and were entered into with a renewed interest, the facilities of learning were increased and once more all were given an opportunity to acquire learning.

The first school building was erected at the "Centre" on the land of and near the residence of the late Rev. Seth Chandler. It was, like all school-houses of that time, a small and unpretentious edifice of one story, "about twenty feet square," single boarded with rough boards, without inside ceiling, but was furnished with a cellar, to which access was gained by a trap-door in the centre of the room. In one corner of the apartment stood a huge fire-place, built of rough stones, and surmounted by a chimney of the same material. The room was furnished with a few seats made of rough planks, and with writing benches made of boards over which a plane never passed. To facilitate the means of supporting a school for a few weeks each year, it was customary to rent the building to the pedagogue or school-marm as a tenement, in part payment for his or her service in "teaching the young ideas how to shoot."

This school was taught by one Dame Nutting. Of her, Rev. Seth Chandler, in his "History of Shirley," writes: "Such was the obesity of this female official, that she might have stood beside Falstaff himself without losing aught by the comparison. To supply, therefore, the defect of an unwieldy person she kept herself provided with a stick—some five or six feet long—with which she reduced her urchin crew to a state of subjection while seated in her chair-throne, from which she seldom moved."

Hand-bells and gongs had not then been invented and this worthy dame summoned her pupils from recess by a vigorous beating of the outside of the building with the stick. She used to keep order in the school, and the summons was usually obeyed, for the present ideas in regard to corporal punishment had not then been entertained.

For a few years this building was large enough to accommodate all the scholars desiring to attend school; but soon it was found necessary to provide additional facilities, and accordingly the town was divided into three districts,—the North, the Centre and the South. The Centre occupied the school-house already built and the other districts were obliged to hold their schools in private houses. The school in the North District was held in the house known as the Reuben Hartwell place, near the present North School-house, while the Southern District held theirs in different houses, as circumstances allowed. School buildings were erected in each of these districts before the close of the century, the building being of a character such as the times would permit.

The present North School occupies the site of the first building erected in that district. The building was subjected to alterations two or three times, and in 1844 was removed and the present building erected. The old building was afterwards used as a blacksmith shop.

The Centre School-house was located on the Common, quite near the present location of the First Parish Church. The school-house in the South District was located upon the opposite side of the road from John Park's house. Later on it was converted into a dwelling-house. Later on the town was re-divided, it being thought necessary to have six districts, and these were named as follows: Middle, South-Middle, South, North, East and Southeast.

Buildings for school purposes were erected by each of these districts and they were located on or very near the sites of the present structures.

There was also a Seventh District, or the Shaker School; this was located among the Shakers, who furnished the room, which was fitted up with their accustomed neatness.

Up to the year 1843 it had been the custom of the several districts to furnish at their own expense the school buildings for the use of the scholars within the limits; but as many of the districts were small and the number of children few, the buildings erected were of a cheap character and not suitable for the purpose intended, so that in the year mentioned the town voted to "assume the buildings at a fair appraisement," and later they were all rebuilt and in some instances the buildings were for the times quite expensive structures.

At the time the town became the owner of the school buildings, they were all numbered to comply with a law of the Commonwealth, and some of them continue to be so designated at this time.

In 1846 District No. 3 was divided, thus forming what is now known as No. 8. The present school buildings, with the exception of those in Districts No. 4, No. 6 and No. 8, have been built since 1855.

The new buildings were all constructed on a new and improved plan, and furnished with patent desks, and were well adapted to meet the requirements of the schools; but while they are large enough to accommodate all the pupils of the present day, they yet lack many of the appliances needful for the more modern system of teaching. All these buildings, with one exception, are single-story structures and built of brick. The grammar-school, which is situated in Shirley Village, is a two-story structure also of brick, and contains two rooms, one of which—the upper—is occupied by the grammar-school, and the other by the primary. This school-house has been lately much improved by the addition of a furnace for heating purposes and various other repairs.

This town, although a small one, has, within the last quarter of a century, expended nearly twenty-five thousand dollars on its school-houses, and greatly increased the appropriations for the support of the schools, while the number attending the schools has not materially increased. The annual cost of the schools at the present time is about three thousand dollars.

For several years the schools were in session for a period of twenty-four weeks during each year, and later on this was increased to thirty weeks, divided into three terms of ten weeks each. The terms of the schools have, from time to time, been lengthened by private subscription, and for a few years a select school was held for three months in the fall of the year in the basement of the town-hall, which was well adapted for the purpose, being large and well ventilated. In 1853 this school was provided with ar apparatus for illustrating physical science, furnished by the subscriptions of several of the liberal citizens.

At the present time the school year is divided into three terms of three months each.

Under the present administration of the schools there are but five of the school buildings in use for school purposes,—the Centre or No. 1, the Grammar or No. 3, the East or No. 5, the North or No. 6, and the Intermediate or No. 7. The average number attending school is from 250 to 270, of all ages from five to sixteen.

As in all country towns, these pupils are scattered over a wide range of territory, and in years past it has not been possible to grade most of the schools as well and carefully as was desired. The village schools, three in number,—the grammar, intermediate and primary,—situated as they are in that part of the town the most thickly settled, are for this reason more carefully graded than the other schools of the town. These schools, for the last two years, have been under the charge of teachers who are graduates of the Normal Schools.

Normal graduates are employed in the other schools in the town with one exception. The advancement in the several schools by reason of this change has been very satisfactory, and the work accomplished by the introduction and working out by these normal graduates of new methods and advanced ideas has been all that could be reasonably expected, showing conclusively the wisdom of the change and the desirability of obtaining for the schools the best possible aids to education.

Under this present system of teaching, music has been introduced into the schools in a small way, and it is the intention of the School Committee to more thoroughly introduce it in the near future.

In the fall of 1889 the Shaker School, so called, was discontinued. The committee, after carefully considering the question, decided that insomuch as the Shaker fraternity were unwilling to either send their children to the village schools for instruction or to admit of any number of pupils from outside their families attending—the committee, owing to the crowded condition of some of the other schools, desiring to send a number of scholars there—they could not rightfully continue the school. It was held by many that the school was sectarian, and therefore, under the existing law of the Commonwealth, could not be supported by the town.

The town has been the recipient of two bequests for the benefit of the schools, the first of which was from the Hon. Leonard M. Parker, a native of the town and a man prominent in the affairs of the State.

In 1856, at a town-meeting convened August 4th, the town voted to accept his bequest, which the following extract from his will will explain: "I give and bequeath to the inhabitants of the town of Shirley, aforesaid, the sum of four thousand dollars, to constitute a fund for the endowment and support of a high school for the benefit of all the youth of the town," the same to be placed under the superintendence and direction of a board of six trustees named in the will, this board to consist of five, when reduced to that number by death or otherwise; arrangement was also made whereby the vacancies occurring on this board from time to time should be filled.

This fund was, according to the implied request of the donor, placed in the hands of Dr. James O. Parker, as treasurer, by the trustees of the fund. Dr. Parker entered upon the discharge of his duties July 12, 1856, and continued in the office until 1872, when his name was dropped on account of the aroused suspicions on the part of the town and the trustees of the fund, and Rev. Seth Chandler was appointed in his place.

The fund at this time amounted to $8151.52. Of this sum Dr. Parker paid over to his successor, in the office of treasurer, at the beginning of the fiscal year, June 30, 1873, the sum of $3654.67, leaving in his hands a balance of $4496.85, which sum he repeatedly promised to pay, but his promises were never fulfilled. Frequent demands were made by the treasurer of the fund upon him, but to no purpose, and at length the town appointed a committee to collect from the ex-

treasurer the sum due the fund, then amounting to over $7500,—after a tedious litigation it was decided that, owing to the poverty of the defaulting treasurer, the amount could not be recovered.

The fund remaining in the hands of the trustees after paying the costs of litigation was found to be so small that little could be done towards carrying out the plans of the donor; accordingly a compromise was proposed between the town and the residuary legatees of the estate of Hon. L. M. Parker, "by which the remainder of the funds might be used for any legitimate town purposes," but by reason of the disagreement of counsel the case is still before the court in an unsettled condition. The amount of the fund at the present time, 1890, is about $6000.

The second of these legacies was that of Mrs. Sarah P. Longley, who died in 1889. Both Mrs. Longley and her husband, the late Israel Longley, were greatly interested in the public schools in the village, and the fund created by her will be a fitting monument of her generosity, and the names of Mr. and Mrs. Longley will long be kindly cherished by the grateful scholars of the village school.

Thn following is an extract of her will: "I give and bequeath to the town of Shirley the sum of six thousand dollars in trust to keep the same invested in safe securities, and I order, will and direct that the said town shall pay the income or interest of four thousand dollars towards the support of the union or high school, and the income or interest of two thousand dollars towards the support of the primary and intermediate schools, all of which schools are now situated in Shirley village. The principal, six thousand ($6000), to be invested by itself and called the 'Israel Longley School Fund.'"

Thus the town has two funds aggregating some twelve thousand dollars, the income of which shall be a last benefit to the schools, and the funds will stand as lasting monuments of the generosity and public spiritedness of the donors.

In 1842 five out of the seven school districts availed themselves of the State appropriation offered in that year—on condition that as much more should be added by a town tax or private subscription, and procured the "School Library," published under the direction and superintendence of the Massachusetts Board of Education.

These libraries are now a thing of the past, they having been so much neglected by the people that their existence, if in fact they do now exist, is no doubt forgotten.

The number of persons from this town who have received a college education is small, owing, doubtless, to the limited population, the pecuniary inability of parents to give their sons a public education, and the general inclination of the young men to engage in mechanical pursuits. Among the number may be mentioned General Daniel Parker, a graduate of Dartmouth, class of 1801. He was a classmate of Daniel Webster. He for years was judge advocate of the Third Division of Massachusett smilitia—afterwards he was appointed by President Madison adjutant and inspector-general of the army with the rank of brigadier-general. He died in 1846.

Leonard M. Parker, a brother of Daniel, was also a graduate of Dartmouth in the class of 1808. In 1812 he was appointed army judge advocate. In 1816 he was elected to the House of Representatives from Charlestown, where, on his admission to the bar in 1811, he began the practice of his profession. Soon after he was chosen to the Senate, and continued to be elected to either the Senate or House until 1830, when he was appointed naval officer for the port of Boston and Charlestown. After the expiration of his term he removed back to Shirley and he was immediately returned to the House, and until 1850 was actively engaged in both branches of the State government.

Mr. Parker was active in town affairs, serving both on the Board of Selectmen and School Committee.

He was active, too, in church work, being a member of the First Parish Society.

While in the State Senate in 1826–27, he was a leader in the struggle which resulted in making Warren Bridge a free bridge and opening "a free passage from Boston to the country,"—a most important and warmly contested movement. And when in the early history of the anti slavery agitation, in 1837, the national House of Representatives adopted the resolution overthrowing the right of petition upon the subject of slavery, in the battle against which John Quincy Adams, then a member of that House, bore so prominent and noble a part, Mr. Parker, as chairman of the committee to which a memorial upon the matter was referred in the State Legislature, prepared and reported a series of resolutions, of which the following are a part:

"*Resolved*, That Congress does possess the constitutional power to abolish slavery within the District of Columbia.

"*Resolved*, That the foundation principles of our political institutions, the honor of our country, and the peace of all, demand the solemn consideration by Congress of the wisdom and effects of exercising the power aforesaid.

"*Resolved*, That the right of petition, and free discussion in regard to all matters within the constitutional powers of Congress, ought to be held sacred; and any attempt to impair or abridge it should be met with devoted firmness."

This, so far as we have been able to learn, was the first report of resolutions in any form to the Legislature, or to any Legislature in the country, "asserting the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and making upon that body a solemn demand to consider the wisdom and the effects of the exercise of that power."

One other name is worthy of mention here, though not a college graduate—Oliver Holden. He was born in Shirley, September 18, 1765. Trained to the trade of a carpenter, his musical gifts led him in time from that employment to that of a teacher and composer of music. He was the author and compiler of several musical works which had large sale and became widely

popular. But "what most distinguished him, and that for which he will be the longest known and remembered is the composition of that divine tune 'Coronation.'"

PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The first library of a public character of which we have record was known as the "Social Library." It was established about 1790 by the associated effort of a few prominent families, under the lead of the first minister of the town, Rev. Phinehas Whitney. It numbered somewhat over one hundred volumes at the beginning, and was increased from year to year by such additions as circumstances would permit. We are told that "not a work of fiction was on its shelves,—nothing of an ephemeral character,—but standard history, geography and natural science." It was esteemed a valuable collection at the time, but passed from service with the generation with which it started.

In 1839 another movement for a library was made by a few ladies of the First Congregational Society. An association was formed for its maintenance, and it was supported by a membership fee, initiatory and annual. It numbers about seven hundred volumes.

During the pastorate of Rev. Mr. Norcross, of the Orthodox Church, at his suggestion and by his aid, a reading circle was formed. Books for reading were purchased as members desired, and passed from one to another on a system of mutual ownership and exchange. Somewhat more than one hundred volumes were gathered in this way, and in 1884 they were offered to the town on certain specified conditions, to be made the basis or beginning of a Public Library. The town consented to the conditions and accepted the offer, and elected a board of trustees. It also made an appropriation for the purchase of new books, and continues this practice annually. The appropriation for the present year is three hundred dollars. The trustees perform the duties of librarian, and render all service free. The library now contains about eleven hundred volumes, and arrangements are in progress for the opening of a reading-room in connection with it.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.—At the time the district was organized, the nearest place of public worship was in the parent town, Groton, a distance of from three to nine miles. The roads were but rough pathways through the woods, and the only passage across the river was by a narrow foot-bridge, or by fording. The travel was on foot or horse-back, and yet, with this distance and its difficulties, those who were in health and able to make the journey were seldom absent from church. The need of religious privileges at a nearer and more convenient point was deeply felt, and was one of the reasons for the separation and incorporation of the district, and an early movement was made to secure the same. At a legal meeting held six months after its organization, the second article in the warrant was: "To see if the town will hire any preaching this spring." "Passed in the negative" is the record of the action at this time. But soon another effort was made, and with better success. "At a legal meeting begun and held at the house of Mr. Jonathan Gould, in sd district of Shirley, it was voted to raise Ten Pound, lawful money, to hire preaching." This was in the first year of the district's incorporation. In the same year steps were taken toward building a house of worship. A meeting was held October 24th at the house of Robert Henry, and adjourned thence to the spot which had been selected for the meeting-house. A slight change was determined in the location and recorded as follows: "Voted to move the meeting-house place from where the committee stated it, about thirty poles west to a white oak tree and heap of stones." "Voted that William Simonds, Jerahmeel Powers and Samuel Walker be a committee to move the meeting-house." By which was meant, make the change in location and move such material as had been brought to the place. The people were invited to labor on the house and grounds, and were to be allowed "four shillings a day for a man, and one shilling a day for a pair of oxen." In November the site was prepared and the frame erected. "It stood nearly opposite the location of the present Centre School-house." The covering, laying the floors and finishing proceeded slowly. On December 26th the district voted "to raise £16, to provide building materials." The house was completed late in the following spring, or in the early summer, and was a rough structure, ceiled on the outside and without pews or seats. These, however, were furnished within a few years, the first being built by the town at the right of the pulpit for the minister's family, and the custom adopted of seating the house according to the dignity of the people, the largest tax-payer being considered first, the men sitting at the right of the broad aisle, and their wives having the same position on the left.

At a meeting held a few weeks before its completion, it was "voted to hire three months' preaching." And, on November 29th, it was "voted to have six weeks' preaching this winter." The expense of maintaining religious services appears to have borne heavily, and during the following year, 1755, we have no account of any being held. But at the meeting of the Colonial Legislature in September, a petition was presented, which reads as follows:

"*Province of the Massachusetts Bay.*

"To His Honour Spencer Phips, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-chief of said Province; to the Honorable, His Majesty's Council and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled at Boston, September 24th, 1755.

"The petition of John Whitney, James Patterson and Jonas Longley, a committee duly appointed by the District of Shirley, humbly sheweth, that the said District is small, and many of them poor; but the great distances they lived from the Public Meeting-House in Groton, obliged them to get off from said town, in order to receive privileges among themselves; altho' we have been set off more than three years, we have not been able to settle a minister, tho' we have built a small House for the publick worship of God, and have hired preaching part of the time since we were set off; and so it is, that there is now about one-third of our Ratable Polls are inlisted in his Majesty's Service; but we being

desirous to settle a Minister among ourselves (but think ourselves not able without some further assistance than to raise our Estates, and what Polls we have), and there being several Hundred Acres of unimproved Lands lying within our District, which is made much in value for our improvements; so that we humbly pray your Honour and Honours, to enable the said District of Shirley to assess all the unimproved Lands lying within said District, for three years next coming, at two Pence per Acre, to enable us in settling of a Minister, and other necessary charges in said District; and to assess and collect the same in such way and manner as your Honours shall see meet; as in duty bound shall ever pray.

"JAMES PATTERSON,
"JOHN WHITNEY."

Upon this petition the following order was issued:

"*In the House of Representatives, Sept.* 26, 1755.

"*Read and ordered*, that the Petitioners serve the Non-resident and other Proprietors of the unimproved Lands in the District of Shirley with this Petition, by inserting the substance thereof in one of the publick Prints three weeks successively, that they show cause (if any they have), on the second Friday of the next setting of this Court, why the prayer should not be granted.

"Sent up for concurrence.

"T. HUBBARD, *Speaker*.

"In Council, Sept. 26, 1755. Read and concur'd.

"THOMAS CLARKE, *Dep. Sec'y*.

"Copy examined. Per THOMAS CLARKE, *Dep. Sec'y*."

This was printed in the *Boston Gazette or Country Journal* October 6, 1755.

Soon after the completion of the meeting-house it was decided to have a settled ministry, and a committee was appointed to attend to the matter and to seek advice of neighboring ministers in the discharge of this duty. A day of fasting and prayer was appointed and observed—June 18, 1755—"that they might have divine guidance in a matter of such great moment."

In February of the following year an invitation was extended to Mr. Goodhue, from Hollis, N. H., who had been supplying the pulpit for some six or seven months. He accepted, on condition "that a mile of territory from the town of Lunenburg could be annexed to Shirley." This territory would give a more regular form to the town and assist its interests, and was, therefore, desired by it. A petition for it was sent to the "Great and General Court," at Boston, but was not granted, and Mr. Goodhue was not settled. Another invitation was given to him two years later, but declined.

After several disappointments, a unanimous invitation was given to Rev. Phinehas Whitney, of Weston, February 25, 1762, and accepted. It was "voted to give Mr. Whitney £133 6*s*. 8*d*. as a settlement, and that one-half be paid in three months, and the residue within the year. And voted to give £53 13*s*. 4*d*. as a salary, to be raised to £60 when the district shall have seventy-five families, and to £66 13*s*. 4*d*. when there shall be eighty-five families, with the addition of twenty cords of wood annually to be carried to his door." Land owned by the district was deeded to Mr. Whitney in part payment of the sum voted to him as a settlement, and on this he built his home. His letter of acceptance bears date April, 1762, and his ordination took place in June. The church was organized by the council previous to the ordination, and a covenant adopted and subscribed by the pastor-elect and twelve brethren. No names of women appear.

The covenant reads as follows:

"We whose names are hereunto subscribed, being inhabitants of the District of Shirley, New England, knowing that we are very prone to offend and provoke the Most High God, both in heart and life, through the prevalence of sin that dwelleth within us, and manifold temptations from without us, for which we have great reason to be unfeignedly humble before him from day to day;—do in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, with dependence upon the gracious assistance of His Holy Spirit, solemnly enter into covenant with God and with one another according to God, as follows:

"*Imprimis.* That, having chosen and taken the Lord Jehovah to be our God, we will fear him, cleave to him in love, and serve him in truth, with all our hearts, giving up ourselves to him to be his people; in all things to be at his direction and sovereign disposal; that we may have and hold communion with him as members of Christ's mystical body, according to his revealed will, unto our lives' ends.

"2. We also bind ourselves to bring up our children and servants in the knowledge and fear of God, by holy instructions, according to our best abilities; and in special by the use of Orthodox catechism, that the true religion may be maintained in our families while we live; yea, and among such as shall live when we are dead and gone.

"3. And we further promise to keep close to the truth of Christ, and drawing with lively affection toward it in our hearts, to defend it against all opposers thereof, as God shall call us at any time thereunto; which that we may do we resolve to use the holy scriptures as our platform, whereby we may discern the mind of Christ, and not the new-found inventions of men.

"4. We also engage ourselves to have a careful inspection over our own hearts, viz., so as to endeavor, by the virtue of the death of Christ, the mortification of all our sinful passions, worldly frames and disorderly affections, whereby we may be withdrawn from the living God.

"5. We moreover oblige ourselves (in the faithful improvement of our ability and opportunity) to worship God according to all the particular institutions of Christ for his church, under Gospel administrations, as to give reverent attention unto the word of God, to pray unto him, to sing his praises, and to hold communion each with others, in the use of both of the seals of the covenant, namely Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

"6. We likewise promise that we will peaceably submit to the holy discipline appointed by Christ in his church, for offenders; obeying (according to the will of God) those that have the rule over us in the Lord.

"7. We also bind ourselves to walk in love, one towards another, endeavoring our mutual edification, visiting, exhorting, comforting, as occasion serveth, and warning any brother or sister which offendeth, not divulging private offenses, irregularly, but heedfully following the several precepts for church dealing (Matthew xviii. 16 and 17), willingly forgiving all that do manifest, unto the judgment of charity, that they truly repent of their miscarriages.

"8. Moreover we further agree and covenant that we will have ruling elders and deacons, and when any differences may arise between any members of the church, then they shall be tried and admonished by the pastor, ruling elders and deacons; if either party be dissatisfied with their determination, then there may be an appeal to the church at large; and if either party be dissatisfied with the determination of the church, then there may be an appeal to an ecclesiastical council, according to the custom of Congregationalism.

"Now the God of peace that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, that Great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make us perfect in every good work to do his will, working in us that which was well pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.

"Phineas Whitney,
John Longley,
Charles Richards,
Richard Harrington,
Jonas Longley,
Stephen Holden,
Samuel Walker,
his
Daniel x Page,
mark.

his
John x Patterson,
mark,
Jonathan Moors,
Jonas Stearns,
Francis Harris,
Hezekiah Sawtell."

Children whose parents were not church members

were permitted to receive the seal of baptism by the parents owning the following

"*Covenant.*

"You do now, in the presence of God and his people, own the covenant into which you were entered and given up to God in baptism, and take upon yourself the obligation your baptism laid you under. You do now humbly beg of God remission of all your sins, both actual and original, and with all your heart you desire to accept of Jesus Christ as your only Savior, as he is offered to poor sinners in the Gospel; and you do now solemnly promise, to the best of your power and as God shall enable you, that you will forsake the vanities of the world, and in all respects live as those with the great God and his people; and you do now particularly promise, as God shall enable you, to make it your prayer and endeavor that you may be prepared aright to attend to the ordinances and institutions of Christ, and meet him where his death is showed forth; and you likewise promise to submit yourself to the watch and discipline of the Church of Christ, and strive that your behavior be approved by God and man."

The Confession of Faith adopted was the following:

"1. You believe in one God, in three persons (or characters), Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

"2. You believe the sacred Scriptures are the word of God and a perfect rule of faith and practice.

"3. You believe that man is a fallen creature, and cannot be justified by the deeds of the law.

"4. You believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and Savior of men and that God will bestow salvation on all those who will repent and believe in his name, and live according to the precepts of his Gospel.

"5. You believe in a resurrection of the body and a future state of rewards and punishments.

"6. You believe that baptism is an institution of Christ's, and the Lord's supper is a Sacrament by which his church should commemorate his dying love; to which church you believe it your duty to join yourself."

In the same year with the settlement of Mr. Whitney and the organization of the church, repairs were made on the meeting-house. At a meeting of the district a committee was chosen, and it was "voted to leave it to the committee to repair the meeting-house as they shall think proper; that they shall put a new window in the ministerial pew, and that *as much light be given to the pulpit* as possible." On Oct. 24, 1763, it was "Voted that each seat in the meeting-house shall go out on the Sabbath days according to their dignity." As was the common practice of the time, the meeting-house was used for town and military meetings, as well as public worship.

With the increase of population this house became in a few years too small for their accommodation. A new house was accordingly determined upon, and to encourage the work the pastor gave "£10 lawful money for the carrying on of the meeting-house." Land adjoining the four acres given by the proprietors of Groton for a burying-place and training-field was bought for the purpose. At a district meeting, May 21, 1771, "Voted that the new meeting-house be fifty feet in length, and forty feet in breadth, and that it be raised as soon as June of next year." The house was completed in the autumn of 1773 and was opened for use for the first time on the annual Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 25th. The shingles on the north roof of this house were in service eighty-three years, and when removed showed but little decay. The house was enlarged by adding three porches and a tower in 1804, and a bell was given the town by Wallis Little, Esq., to be hung in the tower. The same custom was observed in seating the people as in the former house. While the house was building, a gift of an elegant folio Bible (London edition) for the use of the pulpit was made by Madam Hancock, the wife of the first Governor under the State Constitution, John Hancock. This Bible is still in use in the pulpit of the First Parish. A letter of acknowledgment was sent the donor by order of the district. It reads as follows:

"MADAM:—The inhabitants of Shirley, being this day assembled at the public meeting-house, take this first opportunity to return their sincere thanks to you for your late generosity in giving them a very handsome folio Bible, to be read in public every Lord's day. They are sensible that the reading of the Scriptures in public is very commendable, and hope it will be really serviceable to them; and at the same time assure you that they have a grateful sense of your generosity and piety in promoting such a laudable practice. They sincerely wish you (may) live and continue to diffuse your kindness to the needy—that you may enjoy happiness here, and in the future world be received to reap the reward of your extensive charity, in the kingdom of heaven.

"JOHN LONGLEY, *Dist. Clerk.*

"Shirley, December 28, 1772."

An interesting episode in the ministry of Mr. Whitney occurred during the Revolutionary War. The people found great difficulty in paying his salary when due. Mr. Whitney found it equally difficult to provide the necessaries of life with the greatly diminished purchasing power of his salary. This obliged him to ask for a measure of relief, or dismission. Unwilling to grant him a dismission, they decided to raise a special appropriation of £133 6*s.* 4*d.* But such was the depreciation of paper money that the purchasing power of this was only £86 12*s.* 4*d.*, an amount entirely inadequate, of which he informed them. A committee was then appointed to consider and adjust the matter. This committee reported June 21, 1779, "That we find Mr. Whitney is desirous of doing no business for his support that in any measure interferes with his ministerial work. This committee are of opinion that his present salary is entirely insufficient for his support; they are therefore of opinion that the district from the 23d day of this instant June, during the present war with Great Britain, pay his salary of £66 13*s.* 4*d.* annually, according to the price of Indian corn and Rie, reckoning Indian corn at £0 2*s.* 8*d.* per bushel, and Rie £0 4*s.* per bushel, said salary to rise and fall as the price of said grain rises and falls; also that the price of said grain be estimated by the assessors annually, when the assessment is made for the payment of salary; the salary being paid in the foregoing manner, upon the following conditions, to which Mr. Whitney freely consents, viz: that there be a deduction made by the assessors, during the war, from his salary thus paid, of his full proportion of taxes assessed upon the district according to his estate, real and personal."

This report was unanimously accepted and the thanks of the district voted "to the Rev. Mr. Whitney for his generous and truly patriotic spirit and disposition in being willing to bear his equal propor-

tion of the very extraordinary heavy taxes his people are laboring under at this distressing time."

The singing in public worship was congregational, the senior deacon reading the psalm or hymn a line at a time, and the congregation following. In 1786 it was decided to give this part of the service to the charge of a select choir, and the back seats in the front gallery were appropriated to their use. This caused trouble and it was brought before the town at a regular meeting by an article in the warrant, "To see if the town will vote the two hind seats in the front gallery, to be fitted for the use of the singers, instead of the two hind seats on the lower floor." A committee was chosen to confer with the singers and arrange the matter. They reported "April y^e^ 13, 1786," "that having held a conference with them, we have agreed that the two hind seats in the front gallery be made into a proper pew, with a table suitable for them, or convenient for books, and that they take the said pew for their seats so long as they serve in singing."

A committee was appointed April 24, 1787, to purchase a bass-viol, "for the use of the meeting-house," and "a chest was made—at the expense of the pastor—for the safe-keeping of the viol when not in use." This instrument was in use till 1842, and forty years of this time was played by the same person—David Livermore.

Mr. Whitney continued in active service for somewhat more than forty years, when he was stricken with paralysis. Incapacitated for the performance of his public duties, he generously offered to relinquish one-half of his salary to aid toward the settlement of a colleague. In a letter to the town dated Nov. 12, 1812, he says: "Considering my age and infirmities, I sincerely wish to have you settle another minister in this town as soon as you can. And I now renew the offer that I made by your committee last year, that if the town will settle another minister with me that is not yet fifty years old, and one whom the neighboring churches shall approve, I will from the day of his ordination, relinquish one-half of my salary forever thereafter. I would further observe, such is my solicitude for the welfare and order of the town, that I should willingly relinquish the whole salary if they would settle another regular minister,—if I could do it and do justice to myself, my family and my creditors. Wishing you divine direction, I subscribe myself your affectionate pastor, PHINEHAS WHITNEY."

By the terms of his settlement he could claim his full salary during his life.

The settlement of a colleague was not effected till the autumn of 1815, when Mr. Samuel H. Tolman, of Winchendon, accepted the invitation of the town and of the church, and was ordained to the office Oct. 25th. He discharged its duties till Feb. 17, 1819, when at his request, on account of growing dissensions, a council was called and he was dismissed. The death of Mr. Whitney occurred Dec. 17th, of the same year. His first wife, to whom he was married April 28, 1762, —the month in which he accepted the invitation of the town to become its minister,—was Miss Miriam Willard, of Harvard, who, when a young girl, was taken from her home by the Indians. "She lived with a married sister, Mrs. James Johnson, at Charlestown, No. 4, when the Indians made a raid upon that town and carried her, with the Johnson family, Mr. and Mrs. Johnson and three children, the eldest of whom was but six years old, with two of their neighbors, to Canada. Forced to journey through a pathless wilderness, she was required to lie upon the ground at night, with an Indian upon either side of her, with cords passed over her body and under theirs so that the least stir on her part would arouse them. They were sold by the Indians to the French at Montreal. Miss Willard was soon redeemed, but remained two years in the family of the Lieut.-Governor, where she was treated with uniform kindness, and supported herself with her needle till the release of her sister and children, when they sailed for England and from thence to New York, and then returned to her former home. She died in 1769 at the age of twenty-nine years. With the death of Mr. Whitney the administration of ecclesiastical affairs by the town ceased, and their conduct passed into the hands of religious societies, entirely separate from civil authority and maintained by voluntary individual support, in accordance with what is now the universal practice throughout the country.

The Shaker Community or Society of United Brethren.—The ecclesiastical unity of the town was first broken in 1781, when a community of Shakers was started. This community began with two families, Elijah and Ivory Wild, who were brothers and farmers, living in the southern part of the town. They were joined by two other families in the immediate neighborhood, but within the town of Lancaster. Mother Ann Lee, the founder and spiritual head of this religious order in this country, was at that time temporarily residing and holding meetings in the adjoining town of Harvard, where a society of Shakers had been formed. She visited and conducted the Shaker worship in the homes of the Wilds. Meetings for worship were held frequently, and were an object of great interest to all the country round. Mr. Chandler, in his "History of Shirley," to which we are largely indebted, tells us that "on one occasion two women walked from Mason—twenty miles—on a rainy Sunday, and were even obliged to stop and wring the water from their stockings while on the road; then proceeded forward unharmed by the elements, being protected by their faith." The movements and exercises of their worship were so strange and accompanied by so much that was exciting as well as novel, that public attention was soon called to the matter.

At a town-meeting held September 12, 1782, it was "Voted, that the town disapprove of the conduct of

that people called Shaking Quakers, and of their meeting in this town. Then, voted to choose a committee of five to wait on and consult said people at Elijah Wild's, and discourse with them respecting their conduct. Then voted to leave the matter discretionary with the committee, and that they make a report to the town at the next town-meeting in said town." No record of any report from this committee appears, and it is probable that none was made. At the present time the "labor," as it is termed in the Shaker worship, which consists of marches and dances, is attended by much less of the violent and nervous agitation and excitement than formerly, and is, therefore, more graceful and pleasant to witness, as well as to those engaged in it. The society received many additions and became in time quite large and prosperous, numbering at one time about one hundred. It was divided into three families, the North, the South and Church family, the South family being located just over the Shirley line, and within the town of Lancaster. Its real estate embraces about twenty-five hundred acres, much of which is valuable woodland. It has a large amount under cultivation and devoted to various crops. The raising of garden seeds for the general market has, in past years, been a large and valuable industry, but is at present continued only to the extent of what is needed for home use. A large orchard, well cared for and in fine condition, yields a good variety of fruit, sometimes amounting to a thousand barrels for the season. In recent years the society has declined in membership, having at the present time only one-third as many as when in its most prosperous condition. Its buildings are plain, substantial structures, some of them of brick, commodious and well arranged for their several uses, and for health, convenience and economy in management. Although the attempt to bring its first members under the censure of the town failed, that did not entirely end the hostility that existed towards them. On Sunday evening, June 1, 1783, Ann Lee had come over from Harvard with her elders, James Whittaker and William Lee, to hold a religious meeting at the house of Elijah Wild. Enemies from Harvard followed them, and a mob supposed to number nearly a hundred men gathered and surrounded the house. Wild says, in his narrative of the affair: "The malicious crew came to my house on Sabbath evening, about eight o'clock, and surrounded the house. Some of the leaders of the mob were, or had been, captains in the militia, and still bore that title. They were followed by a large number of men, for the evident purpose of abusing Mother and the elders." Fearing violence, and knowing that the object of the assault was Mother Ann, and that she would suffer at their hands if they should gain an entrance, she was concealed in a small dark closet and the door hidden from view, by "placing before it a high chest of drawers." All means of communicating their perilous position and seeking help was cut off, as no one was permitted to pass out. But finally a woman who lived in the neighborhood, and had left a nursing infant at home, was given the privilege of going to her home. She immediately took measures to get information to the authorities of the town. Meanwhile the mob continued noisy and threatening through the night, crying out, "That woman or your house shall come to the ground." Late in the morning the dilatory police came and ordered them to disperse. Liberty was given them to enter the house, and at the request of Mother Ann and the elders food was put upon the table and the leaders sat down and ate. Food was passed also to those in the door-yard. They promised the elders if they would return with them to Harvard no injury should be done to them. The elders consented, though with little confidence in their promises. Nor hardly had they arrived in Harvard when they violated their word. They dragged them aside to a convenient place and then proceeded with their assault upon them. They first took James Whittaker and tied him to the limb of a tree, and then "scourged him with a whip till the skin was almost flayed from his back." Next they took Lee and were about to proceed in the same manner with him, but refusing to be tied, "he knelt down and told them to lay on their stripes, which he would receive as a good soldier of the Cross." At that moment a sister, breaking in among them, threw herself between the uplifted lash and the elder, that she might receive the blow, rather than it should fall upon him. Striking her on the temple, it opened a serious wound, from which the blood flowed freely. Alarmed, they released the elders, and hastened from the scene of their desperate work. Elder Whittaker's back was found to be "beaten black and blue from his shoulders to his waistbands, and in many places bruised to a jelly, as though he had been beaten with a club. 'I have been abused,' he said, 'but not for any wrong I have done them; it is for your sakes. I feel nothing against them for what they have done to me, for they were ignorant and knew not what they did, nor what manner of spirit they were of.' Mother and the elders, with all the brethren and sisters, kneeled down and prayed to God to forgive their blood-thirsty persecutors. Elder James cried heartily and said, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.'" The house in which Ann Lee and her elders were holding their meeting, and which the mob surrounded and attacked, is still standing and in good condition, and is an object of interest to visitors. Persons have sometimes become members of the society and donned the garb and habit of the Shaker, who after a time, from one cause or another, have found the mode of life uncongenial to them, and left the community. Children who have been taken and brought up in the families, have often, on reaching the age in which they could choose for themselves, declined to remain, preferring the broader life of the world. Clandestine and runaway matches have sometimes occurred. Sometimes

the seceders have become enemies. An instance of this kind occurred in which the enmity turned into an offensive attack upon the community and destruction of its property. This was on the night of March 3, 1802. A number of those who had been of the Shaker faith and contributed to the building of the meeting-house, but had withdrawn from the community, laid claim to the house on this ground, and sought to enforce their claim by taking possession. Supplying themselves with a quantity of liquor, in which they freely indulged, and provisions, they entered the building on the night mentioned and held possession four days, barring the doors and shutting out entrance from others. The rooms and furniture were much mutilated and damaged. On the fifth day the officers succeeded in forcing an entrance through a window in the upper or attic part and arresting the parties. They were taken before the justice and bound over for trial to the Criminal Court at Concord. But through some failure of duty on the part of the county attorney, as was generally supposed, or other mismanagement of the case, the grand jury did not find a bill against them and they were acquitted.

This appears to have been the last assault or offense of a serious nature made upon the community. From the first they have been a peaceable, industrious and self-respecting people, and they have the confidence and the respect of their neighbors and fellow-citizens. To the stranger they are always kind and hospitable. They are strict in the rules and regulations which they impose upon themselves and pleasant and orderly in all their affairs. The following "Rules for Visitors" are in keeping with their orderly ways and kind spirit:

"*First.* We wish it to be understood that we do not keep a public house, and wish to have our rules attended to as any would the rules of their own private dwelling. *Second.* Those who call to see their friends and relatives are to visit them at the office, and not to go elsewhere except by permission of those in care at the office. *Third.* Those who live near, and can call at their own convenience, are not expected to stay more than a few hours, but such as live at a great distance, or cannot come often, and have near relatives here, can stay from one to four days, according to circumstances. This we consider a sufficient time as a general rule. *Fourth.* All visitors are requested to arise and take breakfast at half-past six in summer and half-past seven in winter. *Fifth.* At table we wish all to be as free as at home; but we dislike the wasteful habit of leaving food on the plate. No vice with us is less ridiculous for being in fashion. *Sixth.* Married persons tarrying with us over night are respectfully notified that each sex occupy separate sleeping apartments while they remain. This rule will not be departed from under any circumstances. *Seventh.* Strangers calling for meals or lodging are expected to pay if accommodated."

Worship.—As the mode of worship is peculiar to the Shakers and widely different from others, the following concerning it may be of interest. Their meeting-house or place of assembling is a large open room or hall, furnished with movable seats. "The sexes enter by different doors, and arrange themselves in lines—the elders being in front—where they listen to a short opening address by one of their elders, after which they unite in a dance, regular, solemn and uniformly in time with the harmony of some half-dozen selected singers. After this they fall into files of two abreast and march, keeping step with the music of some selected hymn, which is sung with much fervency and spirit. They then bring up their benches and seat themselves, while one of their number interests them with a religious exhortation. This concluded, they rise and close their service with a song of praise. Everything is performed with decorum and solemnity. All classes, from the gray-haired of fourscore down to the child of five years, seem attentive and interested, whether they march or dance or sing or exhort. They uniformly wave their hands in concert with their music, and listen with marked attention to the words of their spiritual leaders."

Order and neatness pervade every department. The government is religious in character, the ministers, of whom there is usually one of each sex, being the chief officers, and under them the elders and trustees, the elders having in charge the spiritual affairs of the society and the trustees the temporal. The offices of elder and trustee in the Shirley Society are held by John Whitely, who is very devoted and faithful to its interests. He is also trustee of the Harvard Society and minister of the district.

Universalist Society.—The first meeting for the organization of the Universalist Society was held at the house of Joseph Edgarton, Sept. 21, 1812. A committee consisting of Merrick Rice, John Edgarton and Lemuel Willard was chosen to prepare a constitution. This committee reported at an adjourned meeting, the constitution was adopted and officers chosen. The names of John Edgarton, Joseph Edgarton, John Davis, Samuel Hazen, Merrick Rice, Lemuel Willard, Elnathan Polly, William McIntosh, and Thomas Ritter and many others are prominent in the early records. Among its members were families from Harvard, Lancaster and Lunenburg that were regular attendants upon its worship. When, some years after, societies were established in their own towns, they connected themselves with those societies. For some time previous to the organization there had been occasional preaching in the town by ministers of this denomination, the first of whom was Rev. Isaiah Parker, a convert from the Baptist faith, and physician as well as minister. After him were Revs. Joshua Flagg and Jacob Wood. The first house of worship was built in 1816, and dedicated Jan. 9, 1817.

It was a plain building covered with a hip roof, and had but one door of entrance. This opened into a narrow porch, and thence into the church. It was furnished with high box pews, and a gallery for the singers along the west wall that was entered by stairs within the audience-room. Rev. Jacob Wood was installed pastor in 1818. He remained five years and then an interim of six years followed, in which the pulpit was supplied by transient preachers. In 1829 Rev. Russell Streeter removed from Watertown and became the resident pastor, continuing his ministry till 1834,

when he removed to Woodstock, Vt. The following year the pulpit was supplied by Rev. Stillman Barden. In 1836 Rev. Lucius R. Paige, who was then settled in Hardwick, supplied a part of the time. Mr. Paige in later years was the author of "Paige's Commentaries" and other important works. In 1837 and 1838 Rev. Rufus Pope was the preacher, but resided in Sterling, where he preached a part of the time. He was succeeded by Rev. John Pierce, whose pastorate continued till April 1840, when failing health obliged him to retire. Then Rev. Walter Harriman, pastor of the church in Harvard, was engaged, preaching one-half the time. This arrangement continued till 1845. Mr. Harriman was afterwards widely known in public and political life, serving in the army during the Civil War, commissioned as colonel of a regiment from his native State, New Hampshire, and promoted to the office of general. For several terms after the war he was Governor of New Hampshire.

During 1845 and 1846 the church was remodeled at an expense of $2168. A hall was finished in the upper part and devoted to the use of the "Fredonia Lodge" of Odd Fellows. In April, 1846, Rev. Josiah Coolidge became the pastor, and performed the duties of the office two years. An interim of one year now occurred in which the pulpit was supplied by neighboring ministers. Rev. Benton Smith was then invited, and began his pastorate in April, 1849. During Mr. Smith's pastorate, on March 19, 1850, a bell was placed upon the church, the first church-bell in the village. He discharged the duties of the office five years, and was succeeded by Rev. Orren Perkins, who remained but one year. Rev. E. W. Coffin was the next pastor, beginning his work in May, 1855, and closing it March 8, 1857. The 7th of the following June, Rev. George F. Jenks entered upon his duties as pastor and remained three years and nine months. The next pastor was Rev. Cyrus B. Lombard, his pastorate beginning March 10, 1861, and covering a period of five years. After an interim of a few months with a transient supply of the pulpit, Rev. Ezekiel Fitzgerald was engaged, but remained less than a year and a half. From the close of Mr. Fitzgerald's labors to the last Sunday in October, 1869, preaching was continued regularly, but no pastor was settled. At that date the last service was held in the old church. It was sold to Mr. Norman C. Munson, who removed and fitted it for a public hall. It is the present Village Hall, and is finely adapted for all social and public uses. The building of the new church was immediately begun, and was completed, and the service of dedication held November 23, 1870. It is a fine structure of the early English Gothic style of architecture, with open-timbered roof and ceiling, painted and frescoed in rich and subdued colors. The entire expense of the church was $25,000. It is furnished with a fine organ which cost $2200. Towards this large expense, Mr. N. C. Munson, a member of the society and a leading spirit in the work, was a large and generous contributor. Immediately on the completion of the church, Rev. H. A. Philbrook was called to the pastorate, in which he continued two years. The next few years the pulpit was supplied by transient preachers, and during a part of 1875 services were suspended altogether, on account of the general depression in business. In May, 1876, Rev. J. W. Keyes was called to the pastorate and served the society three years. Then followed another interim of a little more than one and a half years filled by the transient supply, and in December, 1880, the settlement of Rev. James Vincent as pastor. In June, 1884, he accepted an invitation from the church in Calais, Maine, and was succeeded by Rev. William Gaskin, who entered upon his work in August. His term of service was a little less than two years. In January, 1887, Rev. James Rawlins was settled and remained one year. In April, 1888, Rev. Joseph Crehore accepted the invitation of the society and entered upon his work in May. During the pastorate of Rev. John Pierce, in April, 1839, a Sunday-school was organized, with Miss Sarah C. Edgarton in charge and Miss Susan McIntosh as assistant. Miss Edgarton was well and favorably known as a writer and a poet of fine promise, and associate editor of the *Ladies' Repository*, a monthly magazine published in Boston. Jerome Gardner was chosen superintendent of the school in 1845 and held the office, with the exception of one year, till his death in November, 1889, a period of forty-three years. He was clerk of the society thirty-eight years. A church organization was formed in 1820, but for many years subsequently was dormant; it was reorganized in 1846. Its present membership is forty-two. The parish and Sunday-school library numbers nearly one thousand volumes. A bequest of $1000 to the society was made by the will of Sylvanus Holden, who died March 17, 1882. Jerome Gardner included in a will drawn March 24, 1885, a gift to the society of the income of twenty-five shares of Lancaster Bank Stock. The subsequent ruin of the bank, by the fraudulent dealings of its president, swept away this gift. In his last sickness Mr. Gardner sought to replace this in part by a codicil in which he gave to the society ten shares of the Fitchburg Railroad stock, but there being some legal inadequacy in the witnessing of the codicil, it was disallowed by the Judge of Probate.

First Congregational Society.—In March, 1822, a little more than three years after the death of Rev. Mr. Whitney, the pastor of the First, or Town Parish and Church, a meeting was called and held for the purpose of organizing the parish as an independent society, disconnected from the municipal or town oversight and charge. This organization was effected under the name of the First Congregational Society. For the twelve years following its organization it had no stated ministry, and there was preaching but a portion of the time. But its annual meetings for the

choice of officers and the transaction of business were regularly held. In June, 1834, Rev. Seth Chandler, of Oxford, preached two Sundays. Receiving an invitation to settle with the society, he accepted it and entered at once upon his duties. The ministry of Mr. Chandler continued till June, 1879—forty-five years; though from that date till his death, in October, 1889, he performed more or less of pastoral duty, and occasionally preached. Thus from the date of the first organization as a town parish in 1762 to 1879, one hundred and seventeen years, there were but two pastorates, and one brief colleague pastorate of three years. There was an interim of nearly fifteen years between the death of Mr. Whitney and the settlement of Mr. Chandler, but the united ministries of the two covered a period of one hundred and one years. Until the present century the heating of churches was hardly known in any part of New England. Congregations endured the cold and the long sermons with equal fortitude. The winter following the settlement of Mr. Chandler an innovation was made upon this custom. Two large stoves were put into the church. It was the first provision made in town for warming the house of worship. The next year, 1835, a new bell was placed in the church tower.

The old bell, a gift to the town in 1808, by Wallis Little, had been cracked for several years and rendered useless. The new bell was a gift from Leonard M. Parker and Thomas Whitney, and their intention was communicated in the following letter, which was read at the town-meeting.

"As a token of respect for our native town, and a sincere regard for its character and the well-being of its inhabitants, we, the undersigned, propose to present to the town a bell. It is our wish and intention that the same should be kept on the meeting-house of the First Parish; that it should be used for all the necessary and proper purposes of the town; that the religious societies should also have the privilege of its use; and unless the town shall provide for the ringing of the same, at the usual time and in the usual manner, for the religious services in the forenoon and afternoon of the Sabbath day, the First Parish may have the privilege of causing it to be so rung for such services. And in case the First Parish shall fail to cause it to be so rung on the Sabbath, any other parish then having regular services, and not being supplied with a bell may have the same privilege. Should the proposal be acceptable to the town, it would be agreeable to us that the selectmen, or a committee, should be authorized to confer with us as to the size of the bell, and to take other proper measures in regard to the subject. We have the honor to subscribe ourselves your respectful fellow-citizens.

"LEONARD M. PARKER,
Shirley, May 27, 1885." "THOMAS WHITNEY.

Previous to the engagement of Mr. Chandler a Sunday-school was organized by the devoted women of the parish, also "a charitable society." This society has purchased books for the library, to the amount of nearly one thousand volumes; furnished the Sunday-school room and the church, contributed to the incidental expenses, clothed and otherwise aided indigent children, and accumulated a fund of about $1500, the income of which is used for contingent expenses.

In March, 1839, a movement was started for remodeling the church. Committees were chosen, contracts for the work made, and the work begun in July. The expense of the alterations and furnishings was $2307.61. It was completed, and the house reopened for public worship on the 27th of October. An effort was made at the time this work was undertaken to have the meeting-house removed a few rods east from where it was then located, but the majority of the society did not favor it. This effort was renewed in 1851, and the following action taken at a town-meeting held July 14th:

"Voted that the Town give their consent that the First Parish may remove their meeting-house to and upon the ground called the 'training field,' the same to be carried and placed so far east that the west end of the meeting-house shall be on a line with the east side of the town-house and the south side of said meeting house to be as near the present traveled road as conveniently may be. The said parish to have the right, if need be, to rebuild upon the same ground. And this consent is hereby given on the following conditions, to wit: 1. That the owner of the land adjoining the northerly and easterly lines of said 'training-field' give his consent thereto in writing, under seal and acknowledgment. 2. That the said parish shall agree to lay open all their grounds, where the meeting-house now stands, and around the same as a public common; and so to continue unencumbered, so long as the said meeting-house, or any new one which may be built in place of the present, shall remain upon the said 'training field.' And for the security of both of the said parties, this further condition or stipulation is also made—that either party, for good cause, shall have the right to cause the said meeting-house, or any one built in its place, to be removed to the spot where it now stands, or to such other near thereto, as the parish may fix upon. The sufficiency of the cause and the terms of removal to be mutually agreed upon by the said parties; and in case they cannot agree the same shall be submitted to the judgment of three disinterested and judicious men to be mutually agreed on, whose decision shall be final, both in regard to the sufficiency of the cause and the terms of removal. And the agreement of the said parish to the foregoing conditions and stipulations, at a meeting duly called for the purpose, is hereby required;—a copy whereof, duly certified by the clerk of said parish, shall be filed with the town clerk before the removal of said meeting-house."

These conditions were accepted by the parish, and the meeting-house was removed the following year. The original windows, as built with the house in 1773, were retained through all the changes till 1857, when Mr. John K. Going, a member of the parish, generously assumed the expense and care of the entire reglazing. The third and last considerable alteration and improvement of the church was made in 1867. At the annual parish meeting, Henry B. Going proposed important changes, and generously offered to have them made at his own expense, "provided his proposal should be agreeable to members of the parish." Mrs. Harriet B. Going, his mother, was associated with him in carrying forward this work, as appears from the record of the parish meeting held after it was completed. The record is as follows:

"Whereas during the past year our old church edifice has been materially altered, repaired and improved, chiefly at the expense and by the liberality of Mrs. Harriet B. Going and her son, Henry B. Going,—therefore, we, the members of the First Parish in Shirley, desirous of expressing our appreciation of their generosity, do hereby tender to Mrs. Going and her son our sincere thanks, with the hope that their lives may be long spared for usefulness and enjoyment. And should it be their pleasure to again reside in town, and weekly meet with us around the same old altar where they were wont to come in early life, we assure them they will receive a cordial welcome."

Bequests.—The society has received several bequests which are matters of interest. The first was from Thomas Whitney, son of the first minister of

the parish, and a devoted member through his life, bearing always a leading and active part in its affairs, as also in the affairs of the town. He died January 14, 1844, and in a codicil to his will gave to the parish as follows: "I give and bequeath unto the First Parish, in said town of Shirley, of which I have been a member from my youth, the sum of five hundred dollars; and it is my intention that the same shall be safely and permanently invested, on interest, and the income thereon be annually appropriated toward the payment of the salary of a good and faithful Unitarian minister of the gospel in said parish. And it is my earnest wish and hope that the parish may, at all times, be supplied with the services of such a minister; and, in making the bequest, I take satisfaction in the indulgence of a hope that it may have a lasting influence in securing to the parish an object so essential to the happiness and well-being of society. And I indulge the further hope that the sum herely bequeathed may lay the foundation of a fund which, at no distant period, by the munificence of others, will become of such magnitude that the income thereof will annually pay the salary of a minister, in said parish, of the character and denomination above mentioned. And it is my further will and intention, that in case the said parish shall fail during the period of twenty years after my decease, and for the space of six months in succession, to be supplied with a minister of the character and denomination aforementioned, who shall be regularly settled as their pastor, or be engaged by the year, then the said sum of five hundred dollars, bequeathed as aforesaid, shall revert and descend to my heirs-at-law.

"And I further give and bequeath to the said parish the sum of twenty dollars, annually, for the term of five years after my decease, to be appropriated toward the payment of the salary of a minister in said parish, of the character and denomination aforementioned; but one-half of said annual sum, may be applied to the support of the singing in said parish, if the parish shall so decide. But if the parish shall fail, during the said term of five years, to be regularly with a minister of the character and denomination aforesaid, then the said annual bequest of twenty dollars shall cease."

Three years after the death of Thomas Whitney occurred the death of his son, James P. Whitney. In his will he bequeathed to the parish fund, upon the same terms and conditions specified by his father, two hundred and fifty dollars.

In 1864 an additional bequest came to the parish, on the death of Mrs. Henrietta Whitney, widow of Thomas Whitney. The will giving the same reads as follows: "I give and bequeath to the First Parish in Shirley the sum of five hundred dollars, which is to be appropriated in the same manner and held on the same terms and conditions as are specified by my late husband, Thomas Whitney, Esq., in bequeathing a like sum to said parish, all of which will fully appear by the codicil of his last will and testament; and it is my intention that the period of twenty years, mentioned in said codicil, during which a forfeiture may be incurred by said parish, shall terminate at the same time in reference to my bequest that it will in reference to the bequest of my late husband."

Five years later, in 1869, Mrs. Clarissa Isaacs, a sister of Thomas Whitney, and daughter of Rev. Phinehas Whitney, the first minister, died. Her last will and testament contained the following: "I give to the First Parish in Shirley, over which my respected father was settled for a series of years, the sum of two hundred dollars, for the same purpose, and on the same terms and conditions as specified in the will of my late brother, Thomas Whitney, respecting a similar bequest made by him."

In addition to these several bequests, amounting to fourteen hundred and fifty dollars, from the immediate family of the first minister, Rev. Phinehas Whitney, the parish received still another generous expression of the family interest in its affairs in the gift of an organ of "rare excellence" from Mrs. Henrietta Whitney, which she had built expressly for it by Mr. George Stevens, of East Cambridge, but a short time before her decease, at a cost of thirteen hundred dollars.

Other bequests to the parish fund were: five hundred dollars from John K. Going, in 1864; three hundred dollars from Miss Rebecca Day, in 1869; fifty dollars from Martin Turner, in 1869. This fund, amounting to twenty-three hundred dollars, was intrusted with the treasurer of the parish, Thomas E. Whitney, without special security. By some incompetency of management it was wasted, and would have been wholly lost to the parish but for the genosity of Mrs. Mary D. Whitney, of Boston, an aunt of the treasurer, then deceased. She was a heavy loser by his failure, yet she generously made over to the parish an amount of real estate of equal value to the sum owed by him, thereby restoring the fund. Mrs. Whitney, whose death occurred January 26, 1886, also made an additional gift by her will, of which this parish was evidently intended to be the final recipient or beneficiary, but the singular wording of the article of the will imposed a difficulty upon the executors in determining the party legally entitled to receive it. Hence it was taken to the Court for decision, where it still awaits the final verdict. As a matter of historic interest in which there was the evident intent to be so exact and strict in terms that the gift could not be diverted, or fail to be applied to the purpose of the giver, we here append a copy of the article: "Secondly, I give and bequeath to my friend, Rev'd Seth Chandler, of Shirley, the sum of Five thousand dollars, which, after his death, shall revert to the town afore-named, strictly on this condition, namely, that said town shall support fairly and permanently a Unitarian clergyman, in which case all interest accruing on the above sum shall be

used to aid in the payment of his salary, failing of which it shall revert to my heirs-at-law."

Following the attestations of the witnesses is this added clause:

"In regard to article second, I would add, that in case Rev'd Seth Chandler should not outlive me, I wish the sum therein named to go direct to the town of Shirley for the purpose and on the conditions therein stated. MARY D. WHITNEY."

Since the termination of Mr. Chandler's active service as pastor, in June, 1879, the society has had a resident pastor but one and half years, from April, 1886, to October, 1887, when Rev. L. B. Macdonald was with it in that capacity. The remainder of the time when services have been held, clergymen from out-of-town have supplied the pulpit.

Orthodox Society.—On February 3, 1828, a meeting in the interests of Trinitarian Congregationalism was held at the house of Miss Jennie Little. When the First Congregational Parish was organized, as the successor of the town parish in 1822, a minority did not fully sympathize with the doctrinal opinions of the majority, yet for six years they continued to worship together. But the agitation of these doctrinal differences, which was then widely prevailing throughout New England, had its effect here as elsewhere, and led to the feeling that they could not conscientiously continue together, but must have a separate organization and worship. At the meeting called to consider this matter, Rev. J. Todd, pastor of "Union Church of Christ," in Groton, was present to assist and advise. At this meeting it was voted "That it be expedient to form a church in this place, of evangelical principles." Also "that a committee of three be appointed to make the necessary arrangements."

Samuel S. Walker, Imlay Wright and Deacon Joseph Brown were constituted this committee, and Thursday, February 14th, was appointed to be observed as a day of fasting and prayer. An ecclesiastical council composed of pastors and lay delegates from churches in the vicinity was invited and held at the house of Samuel S. Walker, March 12th, in the forenoon. Articles of faith and form of covenant were considered and adopted, and sixteen candidates presented themselves for examination. These candidates were Joseph Brown, Esther Brown, Rhoda Brown, Harriet Walker, Samuel S. Walker, Esther R. Jefts, Jenny Little, Nancy Holden, Imlay Wright, Sarah Meriam, Amelia Shipley, Lucy Porter, Jacob Harrington, Sarah B. Harrington, Elizabeth Harlow, A. Livermore. The candidates were examined and accepted, and it was "voted to proceed to organize said persons into a church of Christ, to be denominated

The Orthodox Congregational Church in Shirley."—The public services of the occasion were held in the afternoon, in the Universalist meeting-house, at the South Village. There was no society organized as a legal body until 1846, when it was incorporated under the name of the "Orthodox Congregational Society in Shirley." The summer following the organization of the church, land was given by Miss Jenny Little for the building of a church edifice. This was built during the next year, 1829, and dedicated in December. It was constructed of brick, was of humble pretensions and pleasantly located. It served its purpose as a house of worship for about twenty years, when the matter of removal to the South Village began to be agitated. It was thought by those who favored this change of location, it would be placing it in a flourishing village, where the manufacturing interest was increasing, and all the conditions were such as to insure greater prosperity and growth, while very few accessions to the church could be expected if it remained where it was, and its support would become a matter of great difficulty. The movement was finally carried, though not without earnest and vigorous protest from those who lived in the northerly section of the town, and a serious defection and division. Services were held in a school-house until the new church edifice was built. This was completed and dedicated in the spring of 1851. It was located on the table-land north of the Catacunemaug Valley, and was a plain, neat structure, surmounted by a tower and supplied with a bell. Its cost was $3300.

After twenty years of use, repairs were needed, and in 1872 a thorough renovation of the interior was made at an expense of $2500.

The first pastor was Rev. Hope Brown, who was ordained to the office June 22, 1830. He continued with the church nearly fourteen years, devoting himself to its interests with great fidelity. After the retirement of Mr. Brown, Mr. John P. Humphrey, a licentiate from Andover, was the pulpit supply till July, 1847, when Mr. Joseph M. R. Eaton, having accepted an invitation to settle with the church, was ordained to the pastorship. His term of service was a little less than three years. He was followed by Rev. G. W. Adams, who supplied the pulpit between two and three years, but did not settle. In May, 1853, Rev. B. B. Beardsley became the pastor and performed the dutes of the office until 1858. A period of transient supply then followed till April, 1860. Rev. Daniel H. Babcock was then engaged to supply for an indefinite period, and continued for nearly three years. An invitation was given to Mr. A. J. Dutton, November 1, 1863, by the society, and endorsed by the church on the 9th, and on the 10th he was ordained and installed. His ministry continued six years. He was succeeded by Rev. A. H. Lounsbury, who was installed April 20, 1870, and was with the society five years. Rev. Mr. Shurtleff was next engaged, and began his labors the 1st of July, 1875, but early in the second year of his work a growing disaffection induced him to withdraw. Rev. E. J. Moore then came, but remained only a few months over one year. In June, 1881, Mr. Albert F. Norcross, a graduate of Andover, was given an invitation, and accepting it, was ordained August 31st. His pastorate closed December 29, 1884. From this date to January, 1890, there was no settled pas-



C. A. Edgerton

tor, and the pulpit was supplied by transient preachers. In January of this year Rev. Albert G. Todd accepted the invitation of the society, and entered upon the duties of pastor.

By the will of Mrs. Sarah P. Longley, who died September 8, 1889, the society received a bequest of $2000, the income of which is to be appropriated to the salary of the pastor.

Baptist Church.—The movement for a Baptist organization and worship began in April, 1852, and a sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Seaver, of Salem. Services were held occasionally during the year, and in February, 1853, a church was formed, and publicly recognized the 6th of the following April. Its chapel was built the same year and dedicated the last day of the year. Rev. G. W. Butler served as pastor one year. After him, Rev. Ezekiel Robbins, a resident of the town, was the preacher for a few months. Then Rev. George Carlton preached two years, but did not reside in town. In 1859 a call was extended to John Randolph, a young licentiate from the State of Illinois. He was ordained March 24th, but remained only one year. Public services were then suspended for several years and the chapel given to various secular uses, the income from which was appropriated to the removal of the church debt. In 1866, through the efforts of Rev. Mr. Skinner, then temporarily supplying the Baptist pulpit at South Groton, means were procured for extinguishing the debt and repairing the chapel, and it was reopened for public worship.

Rev. Sumner Latham became the pastor at this time, and remained not quite two years. A period of transient supply now followed until November, 1870, when Rev. Thomas Atwood was engaged, and was pastor fourteen months. From October, 1872, till March, 1874, Rev. E. H. Watrous performed the duties of the office. From this date to the present, May, 1890, it was without a pastor, but has continued its services, its pulpit being supplied chiefly by undergraduates from the Newton Theological Seminary. At this date Mr. Walter V. Gray entered upon the duties of the office. A renovation and renewal of the interior of the chapel was made in 1873, at a cost of $800, of which $500 was contributed by Mrs. Munson, mother of the late N. C. Munson, and a new organ, supplied mainly at the expense of Mr. Munson. About $400 was expended in a similar work in the autumn of 1889. A bequest of real estate valued at $1000 was made to the church by the will of Miss Maria Hartwell, who died Dec. 9, 1876.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

CHARLES AUSTIN EDGARTON.

The Edgarton family has, for many years, filled an important place in the history of Shirley. The first of the name appearing on the records of the town was John Edgarton, who came from East Bridgewater about 1771. He was a prosperous farmer, proprietor of the farm now owned by William P. Wilbur, and erected the house now the residence of Mr. Wilbur—a large, brick dwelling, "the first building of brick set up within the limits of the town." He entered actively into public affairs, was one of the "minute-men" at the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, and a volunteer to Cambridge on the 19th of April, 1775. For twenty-one years he was one of the selectmen of the town, served as justice of the peace several years, represented the town two terms in the State Legislature, and was often sought for duty on committees and in other places of trust. His second son, John, Jr., in company with Jonas and Thomas Parker, built and operated the first paper-mill in town, near the close of the last century, and, in company with Benjamin Edgarton, built and carried on a forge for the manufacture of scythes. The name of Joseph Edgarton comes next into prominence. He was the third son of John, and inherited the energy, enterprise and public spirit of his father, but without the taste or inclination for office, except in military affairs, in which he took a great interest, being familiarly known as Major Edgarton. He engaged largely in manufacturing industries, and was a leading proprietor in the first and second cotton factories, in two of the paper-mills, and the batting-mill, and in an extensive trade in general merchandise. Chandler, in his history, styles him "the veteran manufacturer of Shirley, whose name is more largely connected than any other with the manufacturing enterprise of the town." Among these varied industries and activities his sons received that early training which gave them a practical knowledge of machinery and developed more or less of mechanical ability. William W. succeeded his father in the manufacture of paper, and afterwards engaged in the manufacture of nails. Charles Austin, whose portrait accompanies this sketch, had his first experience as a workman in the paper-mill of his father. He had charge of a machine at the age of sixteen. On leaving the paper-mill, he, in connection with his brothers William and Henry, ran a saw and planing-mill, turning out a large amount of lumber annually. He was then, for a few years, with his brother William in the nail factory. From 1865 to 1873 he was, in company with N. C. Munson, in the Munson Cotton-Mill. At the latter date he entered upon the manufacture of tape; adding to this, in time, the manufacture of suspender webbing and elastic goods. From this he passed to the manufacture of suspenders exclusively, in which business, in connection with his son Charles Frederick, whom he associated with him in 1881, he has built up a large and growing trade. Always giving close attention to his business, of good judgment and large, practical experience, he ranks well among the business men of the day. He will be sixty-four years of age October 13, 1890. He

was married, June 17, 1852, to Miss Jane A. Longley. A son and two daughters—Charles Frederick, Hittie Whitcomb and Sarah Miranda—complete the family, whose home life is one of rare parental and filial devotion.

Mrs. Sarah C. Edgarton Mayo, of whom mention is made in this history, a gifted poet and literary writer, widely and favorably known, was an older sister.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

WESTON.

BY COL. D. S. LAMSON.

At the second Court of Assistants held at Charlestown, September 7, 1630, it was ordered "That Tremont be called Boston, Matapan should be called Dorchester and the town upon Charles River, Watertown."

The exact period when what is now called Weston began to be settled is not known; it was probably at an early period of the Watertown settlement, for there are still standing houses or parts of houses and foundations which go back to a very early period, of which we now have no reliable dates. The territory of Watertown was very extensive, and its several parts were known by distinct and peculiar names. The lands next west of Beaver Brook were called "the lots of the Further Plain," or the Great Plain, now Waltham. The remote or West Pine Meadows were in the southerly part of what is now Weston. The township lots, or lots beyond the Further Plain, were west of Stony Brook. The Farms or Farm Lands comprised what is now Weston, and were bounded by Sudbury and Dedham. In town-meeting, held October, 1638, "it was ordered that Daniel Pattrick, Abram Browne, John Stowers, Edward Lewis and Simon Eire shall lay out the Farms as they are ordered." A list of these allotments in 1642 gives the names of those persons to whom ninety-two farms, containing 7674 acres were allotted. It would appear by the Watertown Records that the committee to whom the matter of allotments was given in charge, allotted to themselves the first choice, and they, with Jeremiah Norcross, Thomas Mayhew and John Whitney, were the first land-owners in Weston.

These allotments of the meadow-lands gave great dissatisfaction, and they are referred to in old deeds as the "Land of Contention." In 1663 these lands were re-surveyed and laid out for a new allotment by John Sherman. This survey contained 1102 acres, and was bounded on the south by Dedham, on the west by Sudbury, and on all other sides by the Farm Lands. These farms were styled the Farmers' Precinct, and also the Third Military Precinct. In 1692 these parts of Watertown, which subsequently became the towns of Watertown, Waltham and Weston, were designated as the Precinct of Captain Bond's Company of Horse, and of Captain Garfield's Company and Lieutenant Jones' Company. In the allotment of these farms it was stipulated that they shall be for a Common for cattle, to the use of the farmers of the town and their heirs forever, and not to be alienated without the consent of every freeman and their heirs forever. This is the first instance upon record where the term "Farm Lands" is applied to Weston. The earliest proprietors in 1642 are Bryan Pendleton, Daniel Pattrick, Simon Eire, John Stowers, Abraham Browne, John Whitney, Edward How, Jeremiah Norcross and Thomas Mayhew. In ecclesiastical affairs, what is now Weston was connected with Watertown about sixty-eight years, and in civil affairs about eighty-three years. The inhabitants of the Farm District, and those in the remote westerly part of Watertown, went to worship at the easterly part of Watertown, at a house situated in the vicinity of the old burying-ground. The Watertown church is the sixth in organization in Massachusetts, the first being at Salem, the second at Charlestown (including Boston), the third at Dorchester, the fourth at Roxbury, and the fifth at Lynn. In July, 1630, at Watertown, forty of the inhabitants subscribed to a church covenant, and the church of this place dates from that period. It would seem from Governor Winthrop's journal that the Watertown church has a prior existence to the one at Charlestown, and was second only to that at Salem. In 1692 commenced the contention in this church growing out of the location of the new meeting-house. There was great opposition to a change in the place of worship, and it became so serious that the selectmen agreed to refer the matter to the Governor, Sir William Phipps, and his Council. This mode of bringing the disputes of a town to an issue by referring them to the chief magistrate, would be deemed singular at the present day, but at this early period was not uncommon. The Governor appointed a committee of five members to report, and they made their report in May, 1693. Judge Samuel Sewell was president of this committee. The report was unsatisfactory to the people, and the contention continued down to 1695, when a protest was placed on record, signed by 100 inhabitants, of which thirty-three were inhabitants of the Farmers' District. The contention growing out of this matter of the location of the new church led up to the final separation of the inhabitants of the Plain, or Waltham, they being allowed to have a meeting-house at "Beaver Brook, upon the road leading to Sudbury, to the end that there may be peace and settlement amongst us." As early as 1694 the Farmer's District—now Weston—would seem to have had separate interests from the church in Watertown. In 1694 the inhabitants of the Farms, to the number of 118, petitioned to be set off into a separate precinct, alleging the great distance to the place of public worship, and protesting against being obliged to go so far from home. The prayer of

the petitioners was not acceded to at once, and the contention growing out of the proposed separation extended over a period of five years. Judge Sewell presided over the conferences, and in his diary alludes to the contention between the parties, and adds, "that he had to pray hard to keep them from coming to blows;" but in January, 1697, the farmers were exempt from ministerial rates in Watertown, though not in legal form until a year later. It would seem that the farmers were determined to be separated from Watertown, and feared that the delay in granting their petition to this end would end in refusal. Money was contributed by sundry persons for the purpose of preferring a petition for their separation to the Great and General Court. The farmers again displayed their determination for a separation from Watertown, and did not wait patiently for a decision on their petition, for, in January, 1695, they agreed to build a meeting-house thirty feet square on land of Nathaniel Coolidge, Sr. This little church was never completed, but services were held in it in 1700. It was styled the Farmers' Meeting-House. It was begun by subscriptions, and afterwards carried on at the expense of the precinct. A history of Weston from the date of its separation from Watertown, in 1698, as a distinct precinct, must necessarily commence with a history of its church. There are no records extant of the precinct other than those of the church; all town and precinct records have been lost most unaccountably, the former for a period of fifty-two years, and the latter for a period of forty-two years. There is extant a precinct record beginning at the time of the separation of Lincoln from Weston, in 1746, and extending down to the year 1754, when they cease, and are merged in the town records, no explanation of any reason, therefore, being given on the books of that period. In the early settlements of New England towns the church was the nucleus of organization—the bond which held together the scattered population of rural districts—around which the people gathered and formed that essentially New England form of government which we call the town-meeting.

In 1699 the bounds of the Farmers' Precinct, by order of the General Court, was declared to be as follows, viz.: "The bounds of said Precinct shall extend from Charles River to Stony Brook bridge, and from said bridge up the brook Northerly to Robert Harrington's farm, the brook to be the boundary, including the said farm, and comprehending all the farms and farm lands to the line of Cambridge and Concord, and from thence all Watertown lands to their utmost Southward and Westward bounds." The same bounds, in the same words, are defined in the Act of Incorporation of the town in 1712. In 1700 money was granted to support preaching, which grants for that purpose continued from time to time by the inhabitants in town-meeting.

In 1701 Mr. Joseph Mors or Morse, who was a graduate of Harvard College in 1695, was invited to preach, with a view to a settlement, and in 1702 they gave him a call by a vote of thirty to twelve, agreeing to build him a house forty by twenty feet. In January, 1703, he accepted the call, and it was voted in town-meeting to begin the promised house. The house and land were conveyed to him by deed. In 1704 difficulties arose respecting Mr. Mors' settlement; but there is no record extant of what was the nature of these difficulties. There appears, however, to have been considerable irritation, whatever may have been the grounds. Justice Sewell, in his "Memories," Vol. II., pp. 156, under date of 1706, speaks of a council held at the house of Mr. Willard, and they advise that after a month Mr. Mors should cease to preach in Watertown Farms. Mr. Mors was afterwards settled in Stoughton (now Canton). After some difficulty the precinct purchased his house and land for the use of the ministry; but it was not until 1707 that he conveyed the premises. (Lib. 14, fol. 646.) The Committee of the Precinct at this time consisted of Thomas Wilson, Captain Josiah Jones, Captain Francis Fullam and Lieutenant John Brewer. In 1706 the precinct was presented at the Court of Sessions for not having a settled minister, and a committee was appointed to make answer to the presentment. The precinct was again presented for the same reason in 1707 at Concord Court, and the answer made by the precinct was to "pray that the Court would not place Mr. Mors over the precinct, and not by their own election." In July they called Mr. Thomas Tufts; but he declined in September, and in January, 1708, the precinct appointed a day of fasting and prayer. In February, 1708, they gave Mr. William Williams a call, and he accepted in August, 1709, or eleven years after the Farmers' district had become a distinct precinct. It would appear by the parish records that the church in Weston had no regular organization until the settlement of Mr. Williams in 1710, when the covenant was signed; two deacons were chosen, the membership numbering eighteen males, nine from other churches, and nine who were not communicants. The following are the names of those who gathered with the church at this time: Nathaniel Coolidge, Thomas Flagg, Joseph Lorvell, John Parkhurst, John Livermore, Francis Fullam, Abel Allen, Ebenezer Allen, Francis Peirce; the others were Joseph Jones, Thomas Wright, Joseph Allen, Josiah Jones, Jr., Joseph Woolson, Joseph Livermore, Joseph Allen, Jr., Josiah Livermore, Samuel Seaverns and George Robinson.

In March, 1710, money was granted to finish the meeting-house, by which we learn that the small meeting-house, thirty feet square, begun in 1695, was not completed in fifteen years. In 1718 a motion was brought forward to build a new meeting-house, but the matter was deferred. In 1721 the town voted to build, and to appropriate their proportion of the bills of credit issued by the General Court to this purpose.

The new location of this second church is north of the old location given by Nathaniel Coolidge, upon what is now called the Common. At a town-meeting November 5, 1721, it was voted that Benjamin Brown, Benoni Garfield, Ebenezer Allen, Joseph Allen and James Jones be a committee to manage the covering and closing of the new meeting-house. It was also voted "to grant the Reverend William Williams the sum of seventy-and-four pounds for his salary for his labor in the Gospel Ministry the present year, beginning the 10th of September, 1722, and six pounds for cutting and carting his fire-wood for the year." In what year this church was completed is not recorded. In 1800 it underwent thorough repairs—a steeple and two porches were added, and a new bell purchased of Paul Revere, for which the sum of $443.12 was paid by public subscription. Mr. Williams continued in the ministry until October, 1750, covering a period of forty-one years, and was dismissed by a mutual council. The reasons for this action are not recorded. He remained in the town and, for a time, acted as schoolmaster, and otherwise assisted the successor chosen in his place. He died in Weston, and is buried in the town burying-ground. The Rev. Samuel Woodward succeeded Mr. Williams in 1751. He died October 5, 1782, at the age of fifty-six years, and the thirty-first of his ministry. Mr. Woodward was greatly beloved by his people and brethren of the clergy. He was succeeded by the Rev. Samuel Kendall, who was ordained November 5, 1783. He died in 1814, after thirty-one years of faithful service in the ministry. The Rev. Joseph Field succeeded Mr. Kendall in 1815, having graduated from Cambridge College in 1814. He died November 5, 1869, having been pastor of the Weston parish for fifty years. In the War of 1812 he served as chaplain to the Third Middlesex Regiment, and was a pensioner of the Government. The Rev. Dr. Edmund H. Sears succeeded Mr. Field. He died in 1876. He was followed by two or three ministers, whose stay was of short duration, until the ministry of Mr. C. F. Russell, in 1882, who is still pastor of the church. From the settlement of Mr. Williams, in 1709, to the death of Mr. Sears, a period of one hundred and sixty-seven years, there have been only five ministers settled over this ancient church, all of whom died here, and are buried in our graveyards, within a stone's-throw of each other. To the centennial sermon of the Rev. Dr. Kendall, delivered on the completion of the century of the incorporation of the town, in 1812, we are indebted for much of the ancient history of the town, that otherwise, in consequence of the loss of all town records covering the early period, we should to-day be ignorant of that interesting period of the town's history. Mr. Kendall states that at this time the population of the town was a little more than a thousand. In 1888 it was 1430. He gives the mortality for thirty years, from 1783 to 1813; before that date there was no means of computing such valuable data. During this thirty years there were 396 deaths, making the annual average 13.5. Of the 396 who died, ninety arrived at the age of seventy and upwards—more than 4½ per cent. arrived at what is called the common age of man. Out of the ninety that lived to this age, fifty-two attained the age of eighty. Of the fifty-two that arrived at this age, twenty-seven lived to be eighty-seven and upwards, or one in 14⅔ that attained this advanced age; twelve lived to be ninety and upwards, making one in thirty-three. Three lived to be ninety-five and upwards, giving one in 132. One lived to be 102 years old.

The estimate which Dr. Kendall gives of the people of the town, is that they are mostly industrious farmers—a class of men which merits the high consideration and esteem of every other class. The character of its inhabitants would not suffer by a comparison with those of any other town in the Commonwealth.

In 1711 a committee, consisting of Captain Fullam, Lieutenant Josiah Jones and Daniel Estabrook, were appointed by the Farmers' District to present a petition to the town-meeting in Watertown, held in May, 1711, and the following December the town "did by a free vote manifest their willingness that the said farmers should be a township by themselves, according to their former bounds," with the proviso and conditions, "1st, that the farmers continue to pay a due share of the expense of maintaining the Great Bridge over Charles River; 2d, that they pay their full share of the debts now due by the town; 3d, that they do not in any way infringe the right of proprietors having land, but not residing among the farmers." The petition was at once presented to the General Court, and the act incorporating the town of Weston was passed January 1, 1712. It is to be regretted that those who took part in organizing the new town, its officers, etc., are lost, little or nothing remaining to-day from that date to 1754, when the second volume of "Town Reports" commences. There were no Indian settlements within the limits of Weston; they had their hunting-ground higher up, on the banks of the Charles River. When the Indians planned the destruction of Watertown and the outlying settlements in 1676, they entered the northwesterly part of the town and burnt a barn, but it does not appear that any other damage was done. In Captain Hugh Mason's return of his company in 1675 appear the names of seven men who were of the Weston Precinct—John Parkhurst, Michael Flagg, John Whitney, Jr., George Harrington, Jacob Ballard, Nathaniel Hely, John Bigelow.

Jacob Fullam, of Weston, son of 'Squire Francis Fullam, joined the expedition, commanded by Captain Lovewell, against the "Pequanket" tribe of Indians in 1725. Fullam held the rank of sergeant. This tribe of Indians, with Pungus, their chief, had its home in the White Mountains, on the Saco River, in New Hampshire. They were very troublesome, and this expedition was undertaken to capture and

destroy them, as well as to gain the large bounty offered by the Province of £100 for every Indian scalp. The expedition consisted of about forty men. They were led into an ambush by the savages, and the greater part were killed, including Captain Lovewell and Sergeant Fullam. Fullam is reported to have distinguished himself in the fight. He killed one savage in a hand-to-hand encounter, and when a second savage came to the rescue of his friend, Fullam and the second savage fell at the same time, killed by each other's shots. There was an old song about this fight, one verse of which runs as follows:

"Young Fullam, too, I'll mention,
Because he fought so well,
Trying to save another man,
A sacrifice he fell."

The first step taken toward a military organization was in September, 1630, induced, probably, by the danger which was threatening the charter of the Province, which King Charles was said to be about to withdraw, which act on the part of the King would in all probability have brought matters to an early crisis. In 1636, at the time of the Pequot war, a more general organization of the militia took place. In this year all able-bodied men in the Colony were ranked into three regiments, the Middlesex regiment being under the command of John Haines. This Middlesex regiment continued to exist down to the early years of this century, as one of the historic features of the county, and in its day having been commanded by such distinguished men as Brooks, Varnum, Barrett and others. In 1637 lieutenants and ensigns were appointed for the train-bands in the towns. All persons above the age of sixteen were required to take the oath of fidelity, and that was probably the age when they became subject to military duty. In 1643 the danger from the Indians and the scattered position of townships led to the league of the four Colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, under the title of the "United Colonies of New England." These four Colonies contained thirty-nine townships, with a population of about 24,000 inhabitants. Of the 24,000 people in the Confederacy, 15,000 belonged to Massachusetts, while the other three Colonies had only a population of about 3000 each. In 1643 the thirty towns of Massachusetts were divided into four counties—Middlesex, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk. The train-bands organized at this time in every part of the Colony; one-third of the band was set apart, under the title of "Alarm men," who were to be ready at a moment's notice to repel any Indian invasion of the towns or settlements. They were the home-guard, and never took part on expeditions calling the train-band from home. The Alarm men took their arms to meeting on Sundays, and stacked them in the church during divine service. After meeting they formed in front of the church, and were inspected by the captain of the train-band, or, in his absence, by one of the deacons of the church. Each man had to be provided with a certain amount of powder and ball, which ammunition was provided the men by the precinct. As the danger from Indian incursions had passed away, the "Alarm list" still continued down to the time of the Revolution. During the French and Indian wars, from 1735 to 1760, it became necessary to keep open direct ways of communication between Eastern Massachusetts and the frontiers of Canada. Massachusetts, from 1740, claimed all the territory that now constitutes the State of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont. She manned and supported the forts on the Connecticut River at Westmoreland, Keene and Charlestown, Fort Drummond at Vassalboro', Vermont, etc. The Indian trails which from the early period had been the principal roads of travel, were inadequate for the transportation of cannon and ammunition of war; Massachusetts constructed roads through New Hampshire to Crown Point and Lake Champlain. Several of these roads ran through Middlesex County, and were the foundation of the principal thoroughfares we have in use to-day. The Main Road, Concord Road and Framingham Turnpike were largely in use in early times to reach distant points in the interior. These roads run through Weston to-day. The soldiers who had served in the Narragansett or King Philip's War were, for a number of years, clamoring for the lands which had been promised them by the Province for their service, in this war. A large percentage of these old soldiers had gone to their graves unrewarded, but there still remained some 840 claimants.

After a long delay it was finally decided to grant a township six miles square to every one hundred and twenty soldiers; seven townships were granted. The committee appointed to lay out these several townships reported in February, 1734. These Narraganset townships were distinguished by numbers from No. 1 to No. 7. No 2, at Wachusett, was ordered "to assign to His Excellency Jonathan Belcher, five hundred acres of land in said town, for his father's right." In this township there were seventeen grantees from Cambridge, thirty-three from Charlestown, twenty-six from Watertown, five from Weston, eleven from Sudbury, seven from Newton, three from Medford, six from Malden and ten from Reading. John Sawin drew his father's rights in No. 2 in 1737; John Thomas and Manning Sawin owned the Livermore farm in Weston, afterwards sold to John Train. Mr. Abijah Upham, of Weston, was collector of the grantors of Weston. Benjamin Brown, of Weston, would seem to have been the principal manager of the Township No. 2. An interesting letter is addressed to him in 1737 by the clergyman of No. 2, who it, appears, had received no salary for a number of years. It was not, however, till 1744 that any attention appears to have been paid to the demands of the Rev. Elisha Marsh. In 1738 the bill for building the meeting-house appears among Mr. Brown's papers;

the sum of its cost is stated as £366 10*s.* 0*d.*, with vouchers attached. Mr. Brown continues in general management of the township, now Westminster, from 1736 to 1750, when he transfers his accounts to Mr. Cook, treasurer of the proprietors. Beginning with the year 1734, the inhabitants of the northerly part of Weston complained of the distance which separated them from the place of public worship, and the condition of the roads leading to the meeting-house. Repeated presentments to the General Court were made concerning the condition of these roads. These complaints carry us back to the separation of Weston from Watertown, and resulted in 1746, in the formation of the town of Lincoln, and the loss to Weston of a large tract of land granted to Lincoln which had formerly formed a part of that town. The custom prevailed before the Revolution, and for some years later, for the inhabitants, in town-meeting, to draw up instructions for their representative to the General Court to follow, and regulating their actions and votes on particular subjects of general interest, and not infrequently the representative was called upon in open town-meeting to explain his votes, while the extreme leaders of rebellion against Great Britain were fulminating their action in Boston, sending letters and broadsides into every town. The Stamp Act, the Tea Party and the Boston Massacre do n ot seem to have created a very marked ruffle in the town-meetings of Weston ; in fact, they are not mentioned on the town records. It required the march of the British regulars on Lexington and Concord to arouse the sleeping lion, who, when once thoroughly aroused, as became the case on the ever memorable 19th of April, 1775, never again drew in his claws until every vestige of British and royal dominion had been torn from the soil. A few days previous to the battle of Concord, Sergeant How, of the British Army, in Boston, was sent as a spy through the western part of Middlesex to discover the best means for a force to reach Worcester, there to destroy the provisions and ammunition which were stored at that place. This spy, whose journal is still in existence, met with his first mishap in Weston, when he was spotted as a spy, and his movements reported by the Liberty men of the town throughout his journey. The Weston men so thoroughly aroused the towns through which How traveled to Worcester and Concord, that it caused him to make a report to General Gage that to go to Worcester and back, not a man he would send there would come back alive. It was this report of How, that caused General Gage to make the attack on Concord instead of Worcester. On the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, on the alarm that the "British were coming," the inhabitants of Weston gathered to the number of one hundred at the house of Captain Samuel Lamson ; among them the Rev. Samuel Woodward, who after offering a prayer, took a musket and fell into the ranks with the company. The list of these men who marched from Weston for the defence of the Colony against the ministerial forces, will be found in Lexington Alarm, vol. xii. p. 170.

Captain, Samuel Lamson ; Lieutenants, John Fiske, Matthew Hobbs ; Sergeants, Josiah Steadman, Josiah Severn, John Wright, Abraham Hews ; Corporals, Abijah Steadman, Simon Smith ; Drummer, S muel Nutting ; Privates, Nathan Hager, Jonathan Stratton, Isaac Bullard, John Allen, Jr., John Warren, Jr., Jonathan Warren, William Hobert, Micah Warren, John Frost, Abijah Warren, Isaac Flagg, Isaac Walker, Isaac Cory, James Jones, Amos Jones, David Sanderson, Abraham Harrington, John Walker, Jr., Samuel Underwood, Eben Brackett, Oliver Curtis, Josiah Corey, Reuben Hobbs, Thomas Rand, Thomas Rand, Jr., Benjamin Dudley, William Lawrence, Nathl. Parkhurst, Samuel Fiske, Elias Bigelow, Wm. Whitney, Abraham Sanderson, Benjamin Rand, Benjamin Pierce, David Fuller, Saml. Child, David Livermore, Jonas Harrington (3d), Jacob Parmenter, Thomas Corey, Roger Bigelow, Elijah Kingsbury, Jonas Underwood, Converse Bigelow, William Pierce, John Stimpson, Thomas Williams, Increase Leadbetter, Elisha Stratton, Isaac Hobbs, Benjamin Bancroft, Daniel Twitchel, William Bond, Jr., John Flint, John Norcross, William Carey, John Bemis, Daniel Lawrence, Jedh. Bemis, Lemuel Stimpson, Samuel Train, Jr., Josiah Allen, Jr., Daniel Benjamin, Joseph Whitney, Josh. Steadman, Jonas Pierce, Nathl. Boynton, Eben Phillips, Jedh. Wheeler, Benjamin Pierce, Jr., John Pierce, William Jones, John Gould, John Lamson, Soln. Jones, Phineas Hager, Paul Coolidge, Samuel Taylor, Josh. Lovewell, Peter Cary, Thadus. Fuller, Joseph Pierce, Saml. Woodward, Elijah Allen, Hezekh. Wyman, Ebenr. Steadman, William Bond, Joel Smith, Joseph Jennison, Moses Pierce, Daniel Bemis, Daniel Stratton, Amos Parkhurst.

The Weston company did not reach Concord ; they struck the retreating British at Lincoln and followed them to Charlestown, and were on this duty for three days.

The Weston artillery company also marched to Concord on that day under command of Captain Israel Whitemore,—

Captain, Israel Whitemore ; Lieutenants, Josiah Bigelow, John George ; Privates, John Whitehead, John Pownell, Nathan Weston, Joseph Russell, Nathan Smith, John Flagg Jonathan Lawrence, James Smith, Jr., Thaddeus Garfield, Alpheus Bigelow, Thomas Russell.

This company received for their services £5 17*s.* 2*d.* 3*f.*

At a town-meeting held on the 25th of May, 1775, Colonel Braddyll Smith was chosen to represent the town at a Provincial Congress, to be held in Watertown on May 31st, to deliberate, consult and resolve upon such further measures as under God shall be effectual to save this people from ruin. The whole warlike stores in Massachusetts on April 14, 1775, were a little over half a pound of powder to a man,—

Fire-arms, 21,549 ; pounds of powder, 17,441 ; pounds of ball, 22,191 ; number of flints, 144,699 ; number of bayonets, 10,108 ; number of pouches, 11,979.

In town meeting held June 18, 1776, it was voted to intrust their Representative to use his influence for the independence of Great Britain, if the honorable Congress thinks it best for the interests of the Colony, and also that their Representative should not be paid out of the public chest, which is still in the hands of the Royal Governor, and that he be allowed four shillings a day for 137 days' services out of the town rates. General Washington, having decided to fortify Dorchester Heights, the Third Middlesex Regiment was ordered, on March 4th, to occupy the Heights. This old regiment was at that time commanded by Eleazer Brooks, of Lincoln ; Nathan Barrett, of

Concord, was lieutenant-colonel and Samuel Lamson, of Weston, was major. The names of the Weston company were as follows (State Records, vol. xix. p. 88):

Captain, Jonathan Fiske; Sergeants, Samuel Fiske, Josiah Seaverns; Corporals, Abijah Steadman, Simon Smith; Fifer, Abijah Seaverns; Privates, Isaac Cory, William Bond, Benjamin Dudley, Isaac Walker, Uriah Gregory, Solomon Jones, Edward Pierce, Nathan Hager, Jonathan Stratton, Jr., Isaac Flagg, Ebenezer Steadman, Nathaniel Howard, Joshua Pierce, Thaddeus Fuller, Abraham Harrington, James Cogswell, Joshua Cogswell, Joshua Jennison, John Allen, Jr., James Hastings, Joseph Steadman, John Warren, Jr., Michael Warren, Jonathan Warren, Thomas Russell, Jr., Benjamin Stimpson, David Steadman, Benjamin Pierce, Jr., Reuben Hobbs, Silas Livermore, Samuel Woodward, Benjamin Rand, John Wright, John Stimpson, Lemuel Stimpson, John Pierce, Thomas Williams, Abel Flint, John Hager, William Hobbs, Thomas Rand, Jr., Jonas Underwood, Joseph Russell.

The company traveled twenty-eight miles, and served five days. It is to be regretted that the town records do not give the organizations, companies and regiments to which the Weston men who fought in the Revolution were assigned. We have the payments made to all who served in the war, and mention is made of some of the campaigns in which they took part, but nothing very definite.

At a town-meeting July 1, 1776, it was voted to give £6 6*s.* 8*d.* to each man, in addition to the bounty granted by the General Court to those men that are to go to Canada. The Weston men who went to Canada at this time are as follows:

Converse Bigelow, John Warren, Jr., Samuel Train, Matthew Hobbs, John Hager, Lemuel Stimpson, James Cogswell, Benjamin Rand, Samuel Danforth, William Helms, P. Coolidge, John Baldwin, Benjamin Bancroft, Daniel Sanderson, Reuben Hobbs, Elias Bigelow, Thomas Russell, Jr., John Stimpson.

Nearly all the above were members of the Weston company. The Weston men who were in Captain Asabet Wheeler's company, Colonel John Robinson's regiment, in 1776, at the siege of Boston, and stationed at Cambridge, were:

Josiah Cary, Roger Bigelow, Paul Coolidge, Converse Bigelow, Nathaniel Parkhurst, Oliver Curtis, Phineas Hager, Lemuel Jones, Nathaniel Bemis, Elias Bigelow, Daniel Benjamin, Daniel Livermore, Thomas Bigelow, A. Faulkner.

The three months' men at Cambridge received £346 11*s.* 2*d*,—

Edward Cabot, Joseph Coburn, Isaac Gregory, Isaac Peirce, Artimus Cox, Daniel Bemis, John Bemis, Joseph Mastick, Peter Cary, Simeon Pike, Keene Robinson, Daniel Rand, Thomas Harrington.

The five months' men at Cambridge were paid £200 18*s.* 0*d.*—

Philemon Warren, Joseph Stone, John Hager, George Farrer, Nathan Hager, Jedediah Warren, Nathan Fiske, Henry Bond, Josiah Jennison.

The Weston men who guarded the beacon on Sanderson's Hill, in Weston, were as follows; they were paid £127 8*s.* 0*d.*—

Jonas Sanderson, Nathaniel Fetch, Joel Harrington, Nathaniel Parmenter, Thaddeus Pierce, Daniel Rand.

This beacon is spoken of in General Sullivan's "Memoirs" as the connecting link of signals between the army at Cambridge and Sullivan's command in Rhode Island. The nine months' men from Weston were paid £900 as bounty-money; their names are as follows:

Keen Robinson, Jedathen Bemis, Joseph Mastick, James Bemis, Samuel Bailey, Daniel Davis, Peter Cary.

There were eight Weston men in Captain Jesse Wyman's company, Colonel Josiah Whiting's regiment, serving in Rhode Island. They were discharged at Point Judith,—

Oliver Curtis, Joseph Mastick, Buckley Adams, Joseph Stone, George Farrer, Amos Hosmer, Josiah Parks, Eleazer Parks.

A draft was ordered by Colonel Brooks, of the Third Middlesex Regiment, of one-sixth of Captain Fiske's company, under date of August 18, 1777, as follows (S. R. vol. liii. p. 192):

William Hobbs, Samuel Nutting, Silas Livermore, Alpheus Bigelow, Nathan Warren, Daniel Benjamin, Joel Harrington, Isaac Jones, Jr., Phineas Hager, Phineas Upham, Isaac Flagg, Thomas Hill, William Bond, Amos Harrington, Isaac Harrington, Jr., John Allen, Jr., Jedathen Bemis, Daniel Weston.

At the defeat of Washington at Brooklyn, New York, his army came near being broken up in consequence of short-term enlistments, and he appealed to Congress to organize an efficient army. As an inducement to enlist for the term of the war, Congress offered a bounty of £20 at the time of muster, and the following grants of land: To a colonel, 500 acres; to a major, 400 acres: to a captain, 300 acres; to a lieutenant, 200 acres, and 100 acres to privates. Massachusetts passed a resolve requiring each town to furnish every seventh man of sixteen years of age, excepting Quakers. Under this order Weston quota was eighteen men. The town borrowed money of the town people to pay these men to the amount of £649 5*s.* 6*d.*; the full amount borrowed for the use of the town from 1778 to 1779 was £4281 5*s.* 0*d.*

The town debt at this time was £3965 9*s.* 11*d.* The army of General Burgoyne, which surrendered at Saratoga in October, was marched to Winter Hill, Somerville, in two divisions. One wing, under General Brickett, was marched over the Framingham Turnpike through Newton; the other wing, under General Glover, passed over the main road of Weston to the same destination. Drafts were frequently made on the Weston Company to guard these prisoners at Winter Hill, being relieved from time to time.

October 3, 1778, Colonel Brooks, of the Third Middlesex Regiment, was made brigadier-general and was succeeded in command of the regiment by Nathan Barrett, of Concord. At a town-meeting in May, 1779, it was voted that £3000 be devoted to the support of the war.

Voted to choose a committee to put in force the subject of domestic trade which had been considered at the convention in Concord: the scarcity of money, the high rates the town was obliged to pay for money to support the war, and the unreasonable prices charged for all produce of daily consumption. The convention fixed a scale of prices for goods and merchandise, for farm produce and wages. Weston

put in immediate force this regulation, and it was ordered that the names of those persons who did not comply with the rules be published. The currency of that date in depreciated money was about twenty shillings paper to one shilling in silver. This brought the price of tea to $1.33 per pound, and wages in summer at fifty-eight cents. West India rum at £6 9*s*. per gallon. New England rum £4 16*s*. per gallon; coffee, eighteen shillings per pound; molasses £4 15*s*. per gallon; brown sugar, ten to fourteen shillings per pound; salt, £10 8*s*. per pound; beef, five shillings per pound; butter, twelve shillings per pound; cheese, six shillings per pound; men's shoes, £6 per pair; women's the same. Flip per mug, fifteen shillings; toddy in proportion. Extra good dinner, £1; common, twelve shillings. Best supper and breakfast, fifteen shillings; common, twelve shillings. Horse-keeping twenty-four hours on hay, fifteen shillings; on grass, ten shillings. The greater part of the men hired after this date to serve in the Continental Army were hired by the town, strangers to the town. The new Constitution was voted yeas fifty-four, nays twenty, with the proviso that it should be revised within ten years.

In 1780 the Weston Company of the Third Middlesex Regiment enlisted for three years or the war, and were commanded by Captain Matthew Hobbs, the two Livermore brothers being the lieutenants. This company took part in the campaigns along the western and northern borders of New York, and were discharged at Newburgh on the Hudson in 1783. Captain Hobbs died in 1817.

At a town-meeting on December 27, 1780, it was voted to grant money to purchase Weston's quota of beef for Washington's army—7930 cwt. It was also voted to raise £50,000 for the support of the war. It had now become difficult to find men willing to enlist and equally difficult to hire men. The currency had so far depreciated as to have become almost worthless, and loans of money on any terms extremely difficult. The times were hard and the necessaries of life exhausted. The year closed in gloom. It is to be regretted that we have no record of the men from Weston who were killed or who died in the Army of the Revolution. The Rev. Mr. Woodward gives the names of only two, Daniel and Elisha Whitehead. In 1781 took place the sale of the estates in Weston of conspirators and Tory absentees. Seven lots were sold in the town. The bill relating to the sale of all such estates throughout Massachusetts was proposed and passed in the Legislature in 1780 by the action of the Representative from Weston. At the time of the Shays' Rebellion the State debt was enormous, and the people were saddled with taxes beyond endurance—farmers especially felt the burden, and many were sold out of their farms on account of not being able to pay their taxes and personal debts; discontent was universal. Massachusetts' proportion of the Federal debt was about £1,500,000, private debts were computed at £1,300,000 and £250,000 was due to the old soldiers. Dr. Samuel A. Green estimates from 1784 to 1786 every fourth if not every third man in the State was subjected to one or more executions for debt. In 1784 there were 2000 actions pending at the Worcester Court, and in 1785 over 1700 more. Executions could be satisfied by cattle and other means besides money, thus placing the creditors at the mercy of the debtors. The militia of the State had become of very little account since the peace, and what there was of it could not be depended upon at the Shays' crisis, and Governor Bowdoin enlisted 4400 troops and two companies of artillery for thirty days; £6000 was raised in Boston by subscription and General Lincoln placed in command. Weston refused to offer any bounty to the men who enlisted. It was at this period that independent companies were organized; among these was the Weston Company of Light Infantry, its formation encouraged by Colonel Samuel Lamson who was at the time colonel of the Third Middlesex Regiment. This company received its arms from the Harvard College Company, which organization dates back to the year 1770. The Weston Light Infantry continued to hold its charter until the 13th of May, 1831, when it was disbanded for insubordination at the muster at Watertown. The names of its several commanders were as follows:

Abraham Bigelow, 1787; Artemas Ward, Jr., 1789; William Hobbs, 1793; Alpheus Bigelow, 1797; Nathan Fiske, 1800; Josiah Hastings, 1802; Isaac Hobbs, 1804; Thomas Bigelow, 1808; Nathan Upham, 1809; Isaac Childs, 1811; Isaac Train, 1813; Charles Stratton, 1814; Henry Hobbs, 1817; Luther Harrington, 1818; Marshall Jones, 1821; Sewell Fiske, 1822; Elmore Russell, 1828.

A detail from this light infantry company was ordered in the War of 1812 to guard the powder-house at Cambridge,—

Sewell Fiske, Nathan Warren, Nehemiah Warren, Jesse Viles, Charles Bemis, William Bigelow, Henry Stratton, Jacob Sanderson, David Viles, —— Morse.

Major Daniel S. Lamson, Charles Daggett, William Harrington, Deacon Isaac Jones and Corporal Garfield, of the Weston company of the Third Middlesex Regiment, took part in the War of 1812. Major Lamson was made lieutenant-colonel of the Third Regiment in 1818, and died as such in 1824. Corporal Garfield lived to be over one hundred years old and died in 1875, having spent the last thirty-six years of his life in the Weston poor-house.

In 1788 the town of Weston voted for the new Constitution adopted by the convention held in Philadelphia on the 28th of April, the vote standing sixty-three out of seventy-four. In 1789 General Washington, President of the United States, undertook a journey to the New England States, which he had not visited since the evacuation of Boston by the British troops. He traveled in his own carriage, accompanied by Mr. Lear and Major Jackson, his secretaries, and six servants on horseback. Washington passed the night of October 23d at Flagg's tavern, in

Weston, and his letter to Governor Hancock accepting an invitation to dinner is dated from Weston. On the morning of October 24th he received the inhabitants of the town, and Colonel Marshall made an address of welcome. On his way through the town he called on Mrs. Lamson, whose husband had been an officer of his army. General Washington was escorted to Cambridge by the Watertown Cavalry Company.

The eighteenth century closed in great prosperity; the need of hard money alone prevented large commercial ventures. In 1790 the whole capital of the United States was only $2,000,000, and the Federal debt in 1799 was $78,408,669.77. The first Baptists in Weston began to gather together about 1776, meeting at each other's houses under the lead of Deacon Oliver Hastings. In 1784 a meeting-house thirty-one feet square, which building was first occupied in 1784, and finished in 1788, was erected on the Nicholas Boylston estate on the Framingham turnpike. In 1789 a church of sixteen members was organized and recognized by the ecclesiastical council. They had no settled minister until 1811, when they united with the church in Framingham, and the Rev. Charles Train was ordained as pastor over the united churches. They separated in 1826, Mr. Train remaining in Framingham. At this date the Weston church numbered about fifty members. The new church in the centre of the town was erected in 1828, Mrs. Bryant giving $1000, and Mr. Hews giving the land. The material of the old church was used in erecting the parsonage in 1833. The first settled pastor was the Rev. Timothy P. Ropes, a graduate of Waterville College. The successors of Mr. Ropes in the ministry of this church are as follows: Rev. Joseph Hodges, Jr., in 1835; Rev. Origen Cram, in 1840; Rev. Calvin H. Topliff, in 1854; Rev. Luther G. Barrett, in 1867; Rev. Alonzo F. Benson, in 1870; Rev. Amos Harris, in 1875, who is still the presiding elder. The Methodists of Weston began to gather about 1794, and a small chapel was erected in the rear of the present church. It was a very modest building, without paint or plastering, having neither pulpit or pews. This chapel was in the old Needham Circuit, which consisted of Needham, Marlboro', Framingham and Hopkinton, the whole under the charge of one preacher; later increased to three. The original society consisted of twelve members, and the first trustees were Abraham Bemis, Habbakuck Stearns, Jonas Bemis, John Viles and Daniel Stratton. Of the twelve members of this church, eight were women. The present church was erected in 1828, and in 1833 it became a regular station with a regularly appointed preacher. In 1839 Waltham was detached from it, which reduced the membership from one hundred and forty-one to eighty-three, and it has not materially increased since that date. Since 1794 to the present time this parish has had one hundred and seven preachers.

The schools of Weston have from the earliest period of the settlement received the care and money grants consistent with the means of the inhabitants. The earliest mention of the pay of a schoolmaster was on January, 1650, when £30 was voted to Mr. Richard Norcross, and this continued to be the salary for about seventy-five years. In 1683 it was agreed that those inhabitants who dwell on the west side of Stony Brook be freed from the school tax, that they may be the better able to teach among themselves. Mr. Norcross was employed in 1685–86. Those who sent children to school were to pay three pence a week for each, and all short of £20 the town would make up to Mr. Norcross. In 1690 the town allowed £15 for the schoolmaster's maintenance or board. The rate established for tuition was three pence a week for English, four pence for writing and six pence for Latin. The rates were established upon the following basis: Rye, five shillings; Indian corn, three shillings; oat, two shillings. Two shillings in money to be taken as three shillings in grain. In 1697 oak wood was seven shillings, walnut, eight shillings. In 1693 Richard Norcross was chosen schoolmaster again; he was also to catechize the children and all others sent to him. In 1696 the town was fined at General Sessions for not having a school. In 1700 Mr. Norcross was again the schoolmaster at £10 and the usual rates from owners of children, they agreeing to provide one-quarter cord of wood in winter. At this time Mr. Norcross had been a teacher forty-nine years and he was seventy years old. In 1706 Mr. Mors, having ceased to be the minister in Weston, was invited to keep school, and be helpful to the minister, for £40 and four pence a week from parents. In 1714 the town was presented at General Sessions for not having a writing school, and Mr. Joseph Woolson was appointed. In 1737 the town was again presented from not having a grammar school. The records of the town being lost, it is impossible to give any account of the schools down to 1754. In 1760 the town votes £100 for schools, but from 1761 the school appropriations and the incidental charges of the town are under one grant, rendering it impossible to state what was paid for schooling. This custom continued down to a very late date. During the Revolution the school-houses seem to have been little in use, and at the close of that period were in a bad state of decay. Whatever schools there were at that time were in private houses and were conducted by women. Rev. Mr. Woodward and Dr. Kendall both kept school and were paid by the town. Dr. Kendall received at his house the boys from Harvard College who were "rusticated" by the faculty for offences against discipline, and he kept them up in their recitations and classes. Several men, who in after-life became distinguished, passed periods of rustication in Weston. In 1803 $600 is appropriated for schools, and $25 for each woman's school. In 1805 this had increased to $900. In 1807 a

census was taken of school children, and the whole number was 374. In 1810 a music-teacher was engaged. In 1813 the town had six school districts, each provided with a good school-house.

In 1817 $650 was appropriated for schools and wood, and $200 for women's schools, and this grant continues each year down to 1837, with slight variations. In 1834 the census taken by order of the Commonwealth gave a population of 1051 souls. The wages of female teachers in 1836 was $2.75 per week. The master $26 per month if he board himself, or $18 if he be boarded by the town. In 1840 the school grants were $1200, and in 1846 $1450. In 1854 a grant of $150 was made for a High School. In 1860 the school appropriation was $1600, and in 1870 $2900, and in 1889 $4000. The above town appropriations for schools do not include the funds received for State aid for schools. In 1878 a large and imposing High School building was erected at a cost of about $15,000, a very liberal sum for a town of the limited population of Weston.

In 1857 the town voted to establish a public library to be called the "Weston Town Library," and chose Isaac Fiske, Doctor Otis E. Hunt and the Rev. C. H. Topliff a committee to prepare rules and regulations for the government of the library; $570 was raised in the several school districts for the purposes of the library. In 1859 Mr. Charles Merriam, of Boston, donated $1000 as a perpetual fund, the interest of which was to be used for the purchase of books. This library is now in a very flourishing condition, and but few towns in the Commonwealth will surpass the Weston Library, either as regards the choice of books or the liberal support it receives from the town and private individuals. It is now the purpose of the town to secure an elegable site for a library building.

In 1865 Mr. Charles Merriam, who had passed his early days in Weston, sent to the selectmen of the town a United States treasury note for one thousand dollars, and his letter to the selectmen is worthy of insertion here, both as regards the noble object for which the donation was to be employed, but more particularly as an incentive to others, both here and elsewhere, to follow his charitable purpose:

"March 28, 1865.

"GENTLEMEN: Enclosed I hand United States seven and three-tenths Treasury note for one Thousand dollars. My object is to commence the establishment of a fund for the benefit of what I shall call the 'Silent Poor of the Town.' And I desire that the interest and income shall be paid over, not to town paupers, but to that class of *honest, temperate men* and women who work hard or are *prudent* and *economical*, and yet find it difficult to make both ends meet. To such, a load of wood, occasionally a few groceries or a little flour or meal, will always be of service. The judicious distribution, from year to year, of this income I leave entirely to the town, suggesting only that three or more persons, selected from the different parts of the town, would be able to represent his or her location, and thus in conference all cases would be made known. I am very respectfully,

"(Sd.) CHARLES MERRIAM."

The trustees first elected under this donation were six in number, but in 1867 they were reduced to three, and they were chosen for three years. The distribution of the income of this fund is entirely private.

The early business and industries of Weston were extensive for so limited a population; almost every trade was to be found here, dating back from 1740 to the date of the opening of railroads. Weston, being the great thoroughfare leading to Boston from Vermont, New Hampshire and Connecticut, gave to the place an importance it otherwise would not have enjoyed. All of the activity of those early days seems strange to-day, when, to within a few years, the town was reduced down to a grocery store, a blacksmith shop and a grist-mill. Most every house was a tavern at some period; the many lines of stage-coaches, the enormous amount of teaming from back sections, all together made a business harvest little understood by the present generation. Many of the storekeepers, after the Revolution, became prominent and wealthy merchants in Boston. The earliest store of which there is any record is that of Lieutenant Jones; the account-books still preserved are dated from 1745, but there should be books of an earlier date. Weston in those early days was a central and important place, and these books of the Jones family embrace accounts of all the neighboring towns, and include Vermont and New Hampshire. He was also a banker, judging from his loans to the neighbors and the notes of hand detailed in the ledger. It was at this store Colonel Ephraim Williams purchased his outfit for the campaign on Lake George in 1755, in which expedition he was killed. Mr. Jones also contracted for supplies of beef and clothing for Washington's army on the Hudson, and provided lumber for the first bridges erected over Charles River in Watertown and Charlestown. The present house, erected in 1751, was the famous Golden Ball tavern before and after the Revolution. Here General Gage and the British officers came frequently to supper-parties. Mr. Jones was a great Tory, and in constant correspondence with the British authorities in Boston down to the battle of Concord. Mr. Jones and his tavern figures in the story of How, the British spy.

In 1782 Isaac Lamson kept a store in the centre of the town. He died in 1806, and was followed by Daniel S. Lamson, who, for many years, kept one of the most noted dry-goods stores in Middlesex County. Mr. Lamson died in 1824, and was followed in the business by Charles Merriam, who entered Mr. Lamson's employ in 1821. In 1836 Mr. Merriam formed a partnership with Mr. Henry Sales, of Boston, which latter house is well known as that of Sales, Merriam & Brewer. Mr. Merriam was followed in the Weston business by Henry W. Wellington, now of Chauncy Street, Boston. With the departure of Mr. Wellington, in 1838, came the end of this store and all important business—the days of railroads had commenced.

In 1765 Abraham Hews established a pottery, probably the first industry of its kind in New Eng-

land. The business was continued in Weston, from father to son, down to 1871, covering a period of one hundred and six years. In 1871 it was found necessary to remove, in consequence of the rapid increase in the business, and a large factory was erected in North Cambridge, at which time the name of the firm was changed to that of A. H. Hews & Co. The pay-roll of 1871 contained 15 names; that of 1889, from 85 to 100. In 1871, 800,000 pieces were required by the trade; in 1889, 7,000,000 were in demand.

It has been found difficult to fix the exact date of the establishment of the noted tannery in Weston by the Hobbs family. Josiah Hobbs came to Weston from Boston in 1730. This tannery was known throughout the county, and it was a custom in early days to locate houses and people in Weston by the distance from the tannery. As late as 1795 vessels from Maine loaded with bark for these works came up to Watertown to unload. One of the most important industries of Weston was that of Stony Brook Mills. This water-power was rendered effective by one Richard Child, in 1679; he erected a grist-mill and later a saw-mill. The grist-mill was standing down to 1840. Coolidge & Sibley bought the property in 1831, and erected a machine-shop, and also a mill for the manufacture of cotton yarns. The specialty for many years was the manufacture of cotton machinery, looms, etc. They supplied the factories of Lowell, Lawrence, Lancaster and Clinton, besides which they built extensively for New York. Here was made the first machinery for the cotton-mills of Alabama and Tennessee. They also made door locks, extension bits and other articles of steel and iron hardware. In 1859 was begun the manufacture of wood-planing machines, the Sibley dove-tails, the Sibley pencil sharpeners, for schools, now in use from Maine to Alaska. All the available portion of this valuable plant has been completely destroyed by the Cambridge water works, who have seized the plant and rendered its future usefulness as a factory impossible, besides destroying a large taxable property within the town of Weston, which privilege never should have been granted by the Legislature to a private corporation having no natural claim to the run of the springs and water-flow of the town. The organ factory in the north part of Weston, now called Kendall Green, on the line of the Fitchburg Railroad, was established by Mr. F. H. Hastings, in 1888, moving from the old Roxbury factory, on Tremont Street, which had been occupied for forty years. In the year 1827 Mr. Elias Hook began the building of organs in Salem, with his brother George. They removed to Boston as E. & G. G. Hook. In 1855, when nineteen years old, Mr. Hastings became engaged with them, and in 1865 was admitted a partner. Later the name of the firm was changed to E. & G. G. Hook & Hastings, and, in 1880, after the death of Mr. G. G. Hook, it was again changed to Hook & Hastings. In 1881 Mr. Elias Hook died, since which time the business has been conducted by Mr. Hastings, the business dating back over sixty years. Mr. Hastings has devoted himself to the building of church organs for thirty-five years. His relations with eminent European builders, the employment of experts trained in foreign factories, the ingenuity and skill of our American workmen have enabled him to obtain and hold the highest place in his art. The work of this house is found in every part of the country, and has a world-wide reputation. Its superiority is universally recognized. The large factory at Kendall Green, Weston, is claimed to be the largest and best equipped of its kind in America, if not in the world. It has a special side-track leading from the Fitchburg Railroad; organs are loaded directly into cars in the yard, and are sent to all parts of the country without re-handling or change. Trains stop at the factory for the accommodation of workmen and visitors. The large finishing hall is eighty by forty, and thirty-five feet high. Mr. Hastings has built his factory on land which formed a part of the old Hastings homestead, and which has been in the family for four generations. He has built cottages for his workmen, and a large hall and club-house with reading-rooms all attached, for public use. The Ralph Kenney chair factory is situated near the centre of the town, where large quantities of furniture for the furnishing of schools throughout the country are made, desks of the most approved styles, and seats and chairs for school purposes. The industries of the town to-day, with the above exceptions, are confined to the needs of the inhabitants. The most prominent commercial house at the present time, in the centre of the town, is the grocery of George W. Cutting & Son, which is located upon the Lamson estate. This spot has been occupied as a place of business for one hundred and fifty years. In 1852 Mr. John Lamson, who was born in Weston in 1791, inherited this property at the death of his mother, who died at the age of ninety-five years. Mr. Lamson took down the old store and house adjoining, which had become useless from age, and erected on the site a large modern building, which was leased to Mr. Charles Johnson, the postmaster of Weston, who, with his son, B. B. Johnson, the first mayor of the city of Waltham, also kept a store. Upon the expiration of his lease the store was taken by George W. Cutting & Son, and in 1875 the widow of Mr. Lamson sold the store and land upon which it stands to the Cuttings. Since the death of Mr. Cutting, Sr., the business has been conducted by his son.

In the fall of 1860, when the clouds were thickening over the country and its Constitution, and before any overt act had been committed by the Slave States, a home guard was organized by Captain D. S. Lamson, for the purpose of drill and general preparations for future contingencies. About fifty young men responded and were regularly drilled in the manual of arms and street marching. They purchased their own

arms, which were deposited in the Town Hall. The greatest interest was taken in this organization by the inhabitants as well as by those who became members of the company. This company did not enter a regiment as a whole, but all its members enlisted in regiments as they were formed from time to time, the greater number going into the Thirty-fifth Regiment, Colonel Edward A. Wild. At a town-meeting, July 19, 1862, it was voted to pay a bounty of one hundred dollars to every man who shall enlist in the United States service for the purpose of crushing the Rebellion, till the quota of seventeen required of the town shall be furnished. In August this bounty was increased to two hundred dollars to all who enlist within ten days, and to give each accepted volunteer, now or hereafter to enlist, ten dollars for each man who may be induced to join the military service as a part of the town quota of eighteen men. Twenty-six young men enlisted, and the town voted to pay the bounty above mentioned, although the quota of the town had been exceeded by nine in excess of the number required.

Captain D. S. Lamson, of Weston, was the first of that town to tender his services to the Governor. In March, 1861, when Governor Andrew was preparing the militia of the State for active duty, and was much hampered for clerk and other duties for which there was no appropriation of funds at that time, several gentlemen of Boston, among them Colonel Henry Lee, John H. Read, Franklin H. Story, Mr. Higginson and Mr. Lamson, tendered their services gratuitously to the Governor, which services he gladly accepted. Mr. Lamson was sent by the Governor on missions to Washington, Fortress Monroe and New York, all of which service was gladly executed at his own expense and to the acceptance of the Governor.

Men who enlisted from Weston for three years' service:

D. S. Lamson, major 16th Regt. M. V.; John E. Powers, Co. H, 16th Regt. M. V.; Warren Stickney, Co. H, 16th Regt. M. V.; William G. Clark, Co. H, 16th Regt. M. V.; Henry H. Richardson, Co. H, 16th Regt. M. V.; Thomas Palmer, Co. H, 16th Regt. M. V.; Caleb W. Lincoln, Co. H, 6th Regt. M. V.; John Robinson, Co. H, 24th Regt. M. V.; Thomas Fahey, Co. H, 9th Regt. M. V.; Frank W. Bigelow, Co. H, 13th Regt. M. V.; Edward Banyan, Co. H, 5th Regt. M. V.; Andoniram J. Smith, Co. H, 22d Regt. M. V.; Charles L. Field, lieutenant 99th New York Regt.; Wm. Henry Carter, Co. H, 26th Regt. M. V.; Philip J. Mayer, Jr., Co. H, Nim's Battery; Lewis Jones, Co H, 1st Regt. Cavalry M. V.; Eben Tucker, Co. H, 1st Regt. Cavalry M. V.; John W. Drew, Co. H, 35th Regt. Cavalry, M. V.; John L. Ayer, Co. I, 35th Regt. Cavalry M. V.; Lemuel Smith, Co. I, 35th Regt. Cavalry M. V.; Charles Roberts, Co. I, 35th Regt. Cav. M. V.; Samuel Patch, Jr., Co. I, 35th Regt., promoted lieut. Sept. 6, 1864; Henry A. Tucker, Co. I, 35th Regt.; George T. Tucker Co. I, 35th Regt., killed July 4, 1864; Andrew Floyd, Co. I, 35th Regt.; William C. Stimpson, Jr., Co. I, 35th Regt., killed Sept. 20, 1864; Frederick A. Hews, Co. I, 35th Regt., died Jan. 5, 1863; Joseph Smith, Co. I, 35th Regt.; George G. Cheney, Co I, 35th Regt.; William Henzy, Co. I, 35th Regt., killed Nov. 20, 1863; Charles G. Fisher, Co. I, 35th Regt.; Ralph A. Jones, Co. I, 35th Regt. killed Sept. 17, 1862; Andrew C. Badger, Co. I, 35th Regt.; Jabez R. Smith, Co. I, 35th Regt.; Daniel H. Adams, Co. I, 35th Regt.; D. E. Cook, Co. I, 35th Regt., company sappers and miners; James M. Fairfield, Co. I, 38th Regt., killed June 1, 1863; Sofroy Britton, Co. I, 3d Rhode Island Battery; Daniel Keyes, Co. I, 41st Regt.

The nine months' men from Weston are as follows:

Edmund L. Cutter, Co. I, 44th Regt., died April 31, 1863; C. E. Cutter, Co. I, 44th Regt.; H. B. Richardson, Co. I, 44th Regt.; Albert Washburn, Co. I, 44th Regt.; George E. Rand, Co. I, 44th Regt.; Marshall L. Hews, Co. I, 44th Regt.; Edwin P. Upham, Co I, 44th Regt.; James A. Cooper, Co. I, 44th Regt.; Francis H. Poole, Co. I, 44th Regt.; Samuel H. Corliss, Co. I, 44th Regt.; George W. Rand, Co. I, 44th Regt.; George E. Floyd, Co. I, 44th Regt.; Isaac H. Cary, Co. I, 44th Regt.; William C. Roberts, Co. I, 44th Regt.; John Coughlin, Co. I, 44th Regt.; Benjamin A. Drake, Co. I, 44th Regt.; James M. Palmer, Co. I, 44th Regt.; George E Hobbs, Co. I, 44th Regt.; Henry L Brown, Co. I, 44th Regt.; George J. Morse, Co. C, 44th Regt.; Henry W. Doy, Co. H, 44th Regt.; Abner J. Teele, Co. H, 43d Regt.; Samuel W. Johnson, Co. H, 43d Regt.; Fuller Morton, Co. E, 43d Regt., died Jan. 6, 1863; Henry A. Whittemore, Co. E, 43d Regt.; Henry Illingsworth, Co. E, 43d Regt.; W. W. Roberts, Co. A, 43d Regt.

At a town-meeting September 27, 1862, voted to pass the following *resolve:* "That whereas, we have learned that Ralph A. Jones, one of the Volunteers, has fallen in battle, and that others are known to have been wounded, therefore, *Resolved*, That the Rev. C. N. Topliff proceed to Maryland, and recover, if possible, the body of said Jones, or any others who have since died, and attend to the wants of the wounded men suffering in any of the hospitals. Also voted, that in case of the death of any Volunteers of the Town, whose families are entitled to State aid, the same shall be continued to them by town." In October Mr. Topliff made a report of the incidents of his journey and the arrangements he had made for bringing home the body of Ralph A. Jones. A committee of three was chosen, consisting of Mr. Topliff, Dr. E. O. Hunt and A. S. Fiske, to make arrangements for the funeral of said Jones. In the November town-meeting Rev. C. H. Topliff was chosen a committee of one to bring home the bodies of our soldiers who have or may fall in battle, and render assistance to our sick and wounded soldiers. Of the thirty-three men from Weston, drafted at Concord in July, 1863, twenty-eight were exempted, one was commuted, two found substitutes and two entered the service; one of whom, Lucius A. Hill, was killed May 10, 1864.

In 1863 the whole vote of the town was cast for John A. Andrew for Governor. Sixteen men enlisted and constituted the quota of Weston under the call of the President of October 17, 1863. All these men were hired by the town. Under the additional call for 200,000 men, made the same year, were the following:

James J. O'Connell, 4th Cav.; Charles H. Benton, 59th Regt.; John Lund, 59th Regt.; James Welch, 59th Regt.; Arthur Martin, 3d Cav.; Wm. Barrey, 4th Cav.; Daniel Robinson, 56th Regt; Charles A. Fitch, 5th Cav.; Wm. C. Roberts, 55th Regt.; Joseph Faybran, 59th Cav.; John Robinson, re-enlisted, 24th Regt. (killed May 14, 1864; Wm. Henry Carter, re-enlisted, 26th Regt. (killed Sept. 19, 1864); Eben Tucker, re-enlisted, Independent Bat. Cav.; William Cames, U. S. Navy (died in prison, June 13, 1864).

In town-meeting, November 14, 1863, voted that a committee of six be appointed, one for each district, to assist the recruiting officer in filling the town quota of soldiers, and placed $3200 in their hands for that purpose. In May, 1864, the town voted $125 for each man, to aid in filling any call that the General Government has made or shall make upon this

town for soldiers for the year 1865. In June and July twelve men enlisted to fill the quota of Weston under the call of the President, July 18, 1864.

The amount the town paid for bounties during the war was $9025, to which amount the town's people, by private subscription, raised $5104.95. The expenses attending the drafts of 1863 and 1864 were $3524.90, making a total of $12,528.90. To this must be added the amount of State aid paid to the families of the soldiers in Weston, from 1862 to 1866, $3824.16. The town also paid $416.03 for the recovery of the bodies of George and William H. Carter and John Robinson, killed in battle. The number of men belonging to Weston who went to the War of 1861 was 126. Of these, eight were killed, three died of wounds, and one died in Andersonville prison. A memorial tablet has been erected in the town library to the memory of the dead soldiers of the town.

The Massachusetts Central Railroad, in its conception purely a speculative enterprise, has now come to maturity, on a solid basis, after twenty years of incubation. Not one of the original officers had personally any practical experience either in building or operating railroads; they went to work blindly, and began their road "nowhere" and had ended in about the same place, as regards being within the reach of business. In 1868 an act passed the Legislature incorporating the Wayland & Sudbury Railroad, which was to run from Mill Village, in Sudbury, to Stony Brook, on the Fitchburg Railroad. This was the origin of the Massachusetts Central. In 1869 the bill incorporating the Massachusetts Central passed the Legislature, superseding the previous act of the year before. The capital stock was fixed at $6,000,000, but the company voted to issue only $3,000,000. As the two years in which to file a location was about to expire, a special act was passed extending the time to 1874. N. C. Munson, the contractor, failed, and all the sub-contractors failed with him. For several years the road was in a comatose condition. The cost of construction, in the fall of 1878, amounted to $2,782,932.78; there was a funded debt of $995,000 and an unfunded debt of $37,428.76. Work was resumed on the eastern end of the road, and in October, 1881, was opened from Boston to Hudson, twenty-eight miles; in June, 1882, to Oakdale, forty-one miles, and to Jefferson, forty-eight miles. Governor Boutwell became president in 1880, remaining such until 1882, when he was succeeded by the Hon. S. N. Aldrich, of Marlboro'. Upon the failure of Charles A. Sweet & Co. work on the road was again suspended.

In 1883 the road was sold under foreclosure to a committee of the bondholders, S. N. Aldrich, Thomas H. Perkins and Henry Woods, and in 1885 they made a contract with the Boston and Lowell Railroad to operate the Central. It was in operation under this contract for one year. In 1886 the Lowell road leased the property for ninety-nine years, the company issuing bonds to the amount of $2,000,000. The road has to earn $500,000 to meet the interest on the bonded indebtedness, and there is prospect of its doing better than that. The credit for rescuing the Central road from a total wreck is due to the president, Hon. S. N. Aldrich, the assistant treasurer of the United States. This road, running through Central Massachusetts and Middlesex County, has a great and prosperous future before it. If the directors will follow in the footsteps of the Boston and Albany it can, in a few years, create a suburban population along its route, equal to that which now secures the yearly dividend of the Boston and Springfield Branch of the Albany road. Weston, through which the Central runs, can, by generous accommodation, be made the centre of a large population. The present size of Weston is 10,967 acres by actual survey, and has 155 acres in ponds. It is in general an uneven, and in some parts a broken tract of land; high cliffs, or ledges of rock are found within its limits. The town is elevated above the common level of the surrounding country and affords an extensive view of other parts. The soil is of a deep, strong loam, favorable to the growth of trees, for the beauty of which this section is noted; the hills are springy and suffer little from frost or drought; brooks and rivulets abound on every side, and for the greater part rise within the limits of the town. The character of its inhabitants would not suffer by a comparison with those of any other towns in the Commonwealth. Few towns within a radius of twenty miles of Boston have preserved the old-time characteristics, both as regards population and customs, as Weston. The names of the descendants of the men of Concord and Lexington are to-day on the voting-list of the town; property and estates have changed owners but little within the past century. The present population of the town is 1430. There were fourteen deaths in 1888, of which number six had reached the age of 70 and upwards, the oldest being 84 years. The property valuation in 1876 was $1,629,083; in 1888 it was $2,076,600. The town debt is $5695.93, and the rate of taxation $6.00,—among the lowest rates in the Commonwealth. The school appropriation was $4000. The finances of the town are managed with great care, while its roads and public buildings and improvements are liberally provided for in the yearly appropriations.

It is among the probabilities that more interesting details concerning the past history of Weston could have been introduced in this article were the records and documents belonging to it in a proper shape and order, and made accessible to the historian. In this respect Weston is sadly in need of immediate and intelligent action. The records which should be in safes are now scattered over the town in careless indifference to its good name, and those documents in the hands of the town clerk have never been properly filed or examined in the memory of the present generation, and access to those in his hands are surrounded by such unwarrantable restrictions as to render them

of little use to the historian. It is to be hoped the State Commissioner will give this subject his earliest attention.

NORUMBEGA, THE ALLEGED FRENCH FORT ON THE CHARLES RIVER.—That it should have been the original intention of the founders, as far back as 1630, to have established the city of Boston in the southeast corner of Weston, seems to us, at this date, curious reading, to say the least of it. Winthrop's journal and Dudley's letter to the Countess of Lincoln leaves us in no doubt but that the point in Weston selected for a stockade fort or palisade was really established in Weston in 1631, as a French trading post commanding the Indian trading resort near by. Mr. Justin Winsor calls this post the abandoned Boston. Professor Horsford in his untiring researches sought a spot at the confluence of Stony Brook with Charles River, in the town of Weston, and found there a ditch and embankment, which apparently had escaped the attention of all the local antiquaries of Watertown, Waltham and Weston. This ditch, which is not far from sixteen hundred feet in length, runs parallel to the water-line of the river and brook within the angle caused by their confluence, and follows the contour line of fifty-one feet above tide-water. About midway it bends into a loop, which nearly fills the apex of the angle. Across the base of this loop is another excavation of a like kind, which seems to have completed the circuit of the knoll lying within the loop. The earth of the ditch is thrown towards the river; it is just such a ditch as would be dug in which to plant a stockade, returning the earth about the base. The work was evidently left unfinished, the stockade not being planted in the portions already excavated. We know that a few days after the arrival of Winthrop at Salem he set out on the 17th of June, 1630, for the purpose of exploring to find a convenient spot to found their town, and that they discovered such a place as "liked" or suited them "three leagues up Charles River."

At a later date, learning of the intention of the French to attack them, and finding their company so weakened by sickness that they were "unable to carry their ordnance and baggage so far" as the three leagues up the Charles, they changed their mind; the news of the French led them to take more hasty measures; they scattered about the mouth of the river, and it was probably at this time that work on the fort ceased, leaving their work incomplete. Mr. Winsor states that it is not impossible that these works at Stony Brook may be found to be this premature and abandoned Boston. It was just such an extensive circumvallation as it may have been intended some months later to establish at Cambridge. In commenting upon Dudley's "three leagues up the Charles," Dr. Palfrey says that the spot must have been somewhere in Waltham or Weston, and "most likely near the mouth of Stony Creek," hitting precisely the spot of Professor Horsford's discovery.

The grist-mill at Stony Creek, to which Professor Horsford alludes as having been freed from rates for twenty years from 1679, and to which was added a saw-mill, was in running order down to about 1850. The Brewer mill, spoken of by Drake, was not at Stony Brook, but is to-day in active operation as both a saw and grist-mill, on the farm of Harrington, formerly within the limits of Weston, but now of Lincoln. Professor Horsford has purchased a portion of the land embracing the Norumbega fort, and has erected upon it a stone tower which was dedicated in 1889 at Watertown; but why the ceremony should have been held at Watertown, and not within the town upon the land of which the tower has been erected, has not been satisfactorily explained, and is considered by the inhabitants as a slight to their time-honored town.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

WESTON—(Continued).

BIOGRAPHICAL.

ISAAC ALLEN, born in Weston, Oct. 31, 1771. After spending some years in learning a trade, he was encouraged by his minister, the Rev. Dr. Kendall, to enter the ministry. Although much opposed by his parents, he commenced to prepare for college, and was fitted by Dr. Kendall for Harvard College at the age of twenty-three, graduating with the class of 1798. His class-mates were Judge Story, the Rev. Drs. Tuckerman and Channing. After pursuing a preparatory course with Dr. Kendall he began to preach, and received a call from the town of Bolton. He was ordained March 14, 1804, Dr. Kendall preaching his ordination sermon. He remained pastor of the church in Bolton for the remainder of his life—a period of forty years. During this long period he was never prevented by indisposition from preaching but one Sunday. At the completion of his seventieth year, in 1843, he applied for a colleague, and the Rev. R. S. Eads was installed as junior pastor. Mr. Allen died March 18, 1844, at the age of seventy-four years. He never married, and at his death left all his property to his church in Bolton.

EBENEZER ALLEN in 1710 married Elizabeth Eddy. She died, and in 1712 he married Sarah Waight. He had eleven children. Ebenezer Allen, the tenth child, married Tabitha, daughter of Francis Fullam, Esq., in 1742. He was town clerk of Weston in 1721, 1735 and 1738.

CAPTAIN ALPHEUS BIGELOW, sixth child of Josiah Bigelow, of Waltham, afterwards of Weston, was baptized in 1757, and married Eunice Mixer, of Waltham, in 1783. He went to the battle of Concord in Captain Whittemore's company of artillery,



Francis Blake

of Weston; he served through the War of the Revolution and was on picket guard at the surrender of General Burgoyne at Saratoga. Alpheus was the fourth captain of the Weston Light Infantry Company in 1797, organized in 1787.

ALPHEUS BIGELOW, eldest son of Captain Alpheus Bigelow, born in 1784; graduated at Harvard College in 1810. He married Mary A. Hubbard Townsend, of Weston, and had seven children. He studied law in the office of Isaac Fiske and Tyler Bigelow, and was admitted to the bar in 1815. He represented the town of Weston in the Legislature in 1827–28.

FRANK WINTHROP BIGELOW, son of Alpheus, born in 1833; graduated at Harvard in 1854, and studied law in the office of Senator Hoar. He entered the army in 1861 in the Thirteenth Regiment. He resides on the Bigelow homestead.

FRANCIS BLAKE was born December 25, 1850, at Needham, Mass. His birth-place was a short distance from the Weston line, and a few rods only from the line separating Needham from Newton Lower Falls, with which village are associated the recollections of his early childhood.

Mr. Blake is of the eighth generation descended from William and Agnes Blake, who came to America from Somersetshire, England, in 1630, and settled at Dorchester, in that part of the town now called Milton. This ancestor was a distinguished leader in colonial affairs, and his descendants have kept his name in honorable prominence to the present time.

Mr. Blake is a grandson of the Honorable Francis Blake, of Worcester, State Senator and for many years one of the most prominent members of the Worcester County bar, and son of Francis Blake, who engaged in business pursuits in early life, and from 1862 to 1874 served as United States appraiser at Boston. Mr. Blake's mother was Caroline Burling, daughter of George Augustus Trumbull, of Worcester, a kinsman of General Jonathan Trumbull, the original "Brother Jonathan," who was private secretary to George Washington.

Mr. Blake was educated at public schools until the year 1866, when his uncle, Commodore George Smith Blake, U.S.N., secured his appointment from the Brookline High School to the United States Coast Survey, in which service he acquired the scientific education which has led to his later successes in civil life.

Mr. Blake's twelve years of service in the Coast Survey have connected his name with many of the most important scientific achievements of the corps.

His first field work was in December, 1866, when he served as aid in a party organized for a hydrographic survey of the Susquehanna River, near Havre de Grace, Md., and his subsequent career in the service is outlined in the following synopsis of instructions received from the superintendent:

January 8, 1867, ordered to hydrographic duty on the west coast of Florida and the north coast of Cuba.

April 1, 1867, raised one grade in the rank of aid.

June 20, 1867, ordered to astronomical duty at Harvard College Observatory.

November 29, 1867, ordered to astronomical duty in Louisiana and Texas.

August 24, 1867, raised one grade in the rank of aid.

October 31, 1868, ordered to astronomical duty at Harvard College Observatory in connection with the trans-continental longitude determinations between the Observatory and San Francisco. On this occasion, for the purpose of determining the velocity of telegraphic time signals, a metallic circuit of 7000 miles with thirteen repeaters was used; and it was found that a signal sent from Cambridge to San Francisco was received back, after traveling 7000 miles, in eight-tenths of a second.

April 29, 1869, ordered to the coast of New Jersey for astronomical and geodetic work.

May 1, 1869, raised three grades in rank of aid.

July 8, 1869, ordered to Shelbyville, Ky., to observe the total solar eclipse of August 7, 1869.

October 7, 1869, ordered to determine the astronomical latitude and longitude of Cedar Falls, Ia., and St. Louis, Mo. It was understood that the successful accomplishment of this work would be deemed ground for promotion, and on November 11, 1869, Mr. Blake was promoted to the rank of sub-assistant.

October 15, 1869, ordered to Europe for the determination of the astronomical difference of longitude betweet Brest, France, and Harvard College Observatory, by means of time-signals sent through the French Atlantic cable.

June 27, 1870, raised a grade in the rank of sub-assistant.

September 12, 1870, ordered to Harper's Ferry, Md., for astronomical duty at station "Maryland Heights."

November 22, 1870, detached from Coast Survey and appointed astronomer to the Darien Exploring Expedition, under the command of Commander Selfridge, U.S.N. This expedition was for the examination of the Atrato and Tuyra River routes for a ship canal across the Isthmus of Darien. Mr. Blake's work included the determination of astronomical latitudes and longitudes of several points on the Gulf and Pacific coasts, and in the interior, as well as a determination of the difference of longitude between Aspinwall and Panama. In a letter dated March 9, 1871, Commander Selfridge wrote to the superintendent as follows:

"Upon the close of Mr. Blake's connection with the expedition, it gives me great pleasure to bear witness to the zeal, ability and ingenuity with which he has labored, and to recommend him to your favorable consideration."

July 1, 1871, raised a grade in rank of sub-assist-

ant, the letter from the superintendent to the secretary, recommending his advancement, stating that—"His observations have invariably borne the severest tests in regard to accuracy."

July 3, 1871, ordered to the Shenandoah Valley, Va., for astronomical duty at stations "Clark's Mountain" and "Bull Run Mountain."

Assistant Charles O. Boutelle, at the close of the work, wrote, under date of October 30, 1871:

"The symmetrical precision of the latitude observations made by you at Maryland Heights, Clark and Bull Run stations has never been excelled in the Coast Survey. The results do you great credit, and I shall take very great pleasure in reporting upon them to the superintendent."

January 1, 1872, raised a grade in the rank of subassistant.

March 21, 1872, ordered to Europe for astronomical duty in connection with the third and final determination of the difference of longitude between Greenwich, Paris and Cambridge. Mr. Blake was engaged for more than a year in this great work, which was carried on under the general direction of Professor J. E. Hilgard, then assistant in charge of the Coast Survey Office, and later superintendent of the Coast Survey. Mr. Blake made all the European observations, being stationed successively at Brest, France; the Imperial Observatory, Paris; and the Royal Observatory, Greenwich. Returning to the United States, he was stationed at Cambridge and Washington for the determination of differences of personal equation.

April 1, 1873, promoted from the rank of subassistant to the rank of assistant.

June 9, 1873, ordered to astronomical duty at Madison and LaCrosse, Wis., and Minneapolis, Minn.

June 17, 1873, offered charge of Transit of Venus Expedition to the Southern Hemisphere, which was reluctantly declined on account of domestic ties.

November 21, 1873, ordered to astronomical duty at Savannah, Ga.

May 18, 1874, ordered to duty in the preparation for publication of the results of transatlantic longitude work. This work involved a re-discussion of the result of the transatlantic longitude determinations in 1866 and 1870, as well as an original discussion of the final determination of 1872. Mr. Blake was so engaged for more than two years, and the results of his labors are embodied in Appendix No. 18, "United States Coast Survey Report, 1874."

The finally accepted values for the difference of longitude between Harvard College Observatory and Greenwich, derived from three independent determinations, are:

	Hours.	Min.	Sec.
1866	4	44	30.99
1870			30.98
1872			30.98
Mean	4	44	30.98

The precision of the work will perhaps be more evident to the general reader when it is said that the above results justify the statement that the distance between London and Boston has been thrice measured, with a resulting difference in the measurements of a little more than ten feet.

Mr. Blake's observations of 1872 gave a new result for the difference of longitude between the Royal Observatory at Greenwich and the Imperial Observatory at Paris,—9 min., 20.97 sec. The previously accepted value was 9 min., 20.63 sec., which left a difference of 0.34 sec., or 111 feet, to be accounted for.

Subsequent observations by European astronomers have confirmed Mr. Blake's results, and the finally accepted value is 9 min., 20.95 sec.

It was found that the transmission time of a signal from France to America through 3000 miles of cable was a little more than one-third of a second.

June 16, 1877, ordered to represent the Coast Survey at a conference of the Commission appointed to fix the boundary line between New York and Pennsylvania.

September 11, 1877, ordered to geodetic duty in connection with a re-survey of Boston Harbor under the direction of the Massachusetts Board of Harbor Commissioners.

This was the last field work performed by Mr. Blake, whose active career in the Coast Survey closed with the following correspondence:

"Weston, Massachusetts, 5 April, 1878.

"*Sir:* Private affairs not permitting me at present to discharge my official duties, I respectfully tender my resignation as an Assistant in the United States Coast Survey.

"It is impossible for me to express in official language the regret with which I thus close the twelfth year of my service.

"Very respectfully yours,

"Francis Blake, *Assistant U. S. C. S.*

"To the Honorable C. P. Patterson,

"Superintendent U. S. Coast Survey, Washington, D. C."

"U. S. Coast Survey Office, Washington, April 9, 1878.

"*Sir:* I regret very greatly to have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of April 5th, tendering your resignation as an Assistant in the United States Coast Survey.

"I accept it with the greatest reluctance, and beg to express thus officially my sense of your high abilities and character,—abilities trained to aspire to the highest honors of scientific position, and character to inspire confidence and esteem.

"So loath am I to sever entirely your official connection with the Survey, that I must request you to allow me to retain your name upon the list of the Survey as an 'extra observer,' under which title Prof. B. Pierce, Prof. Lovering, Dr. Gould, Prof. Winlock and others had their names classed for many years. This will, of course, be merely honorary; but it gives me a 'quasi' authority to communicate with you in a semi-official way as exceptional occasion may suggest.

"Your resignation is accepted to date from April 15th.

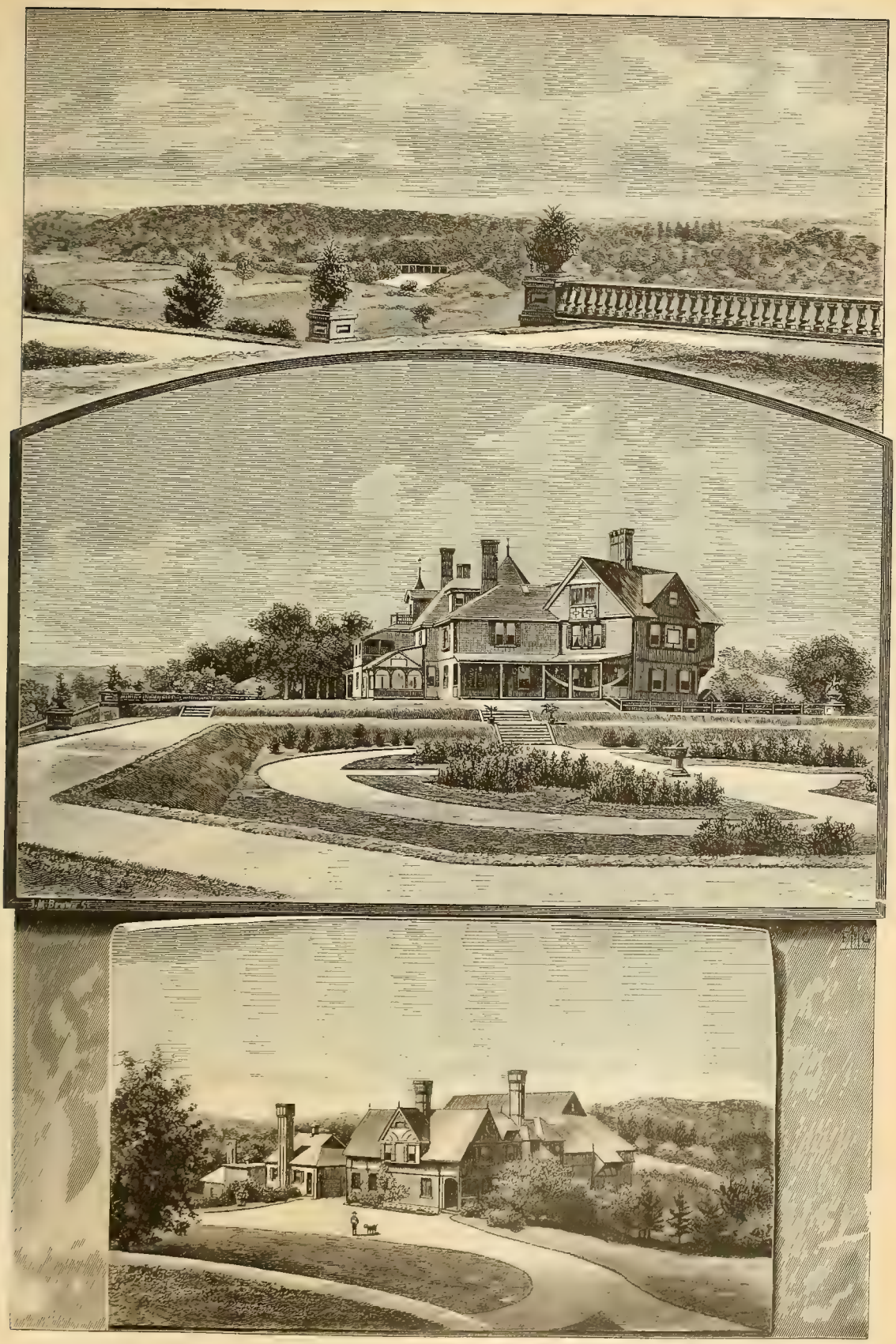
"Yours respectfully,

"C. P. Patterson, *Supt. Coast Survey.*

"F. Blake, Assistant Coast Survey."

During the last two years of his service in the Coast Survey Mr. Blake had much of the time been engaged in office-work at his home in Weston.

In his leisure moments he had devoted himself to experimental physics, and in so doing had become an enthusiastic amateur mechanic; so that at the



"KEEWAYDIN."

RESIDENCE OF MR. FRANCIS BLAKE,

WESTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

time of his resignation he found himself in possession of a well-equipped mechanical laboratory and a self-acquired ability to perform a variety of mechanical operations. It was natural, under these conditions, that what had been a pastime should become a serious pursuit in life; and in fact within barely a month of the date of his resignation Mr. Blake had begun a series of experiments, which brought forth the "Blake Transmitter," as presented to the world through the Bell Telephone Company in November, 1878.

Mr. Blake's invention was of peculiar value at that time, as the Bell Telephone Company was just beginning litigation with a rival company, which, beside being financially strong, had entered the business field with a transmitting telephone superior to the original form of Bell instrument.

The Blake Transmitter, being in turn far superior to the infringing instrument, enabled the Bell Telephone Company to hold its own in the sharp business competition which continued until, by a judicial decision, the company was assured a monopoly of the telephone business during the life of the Bell patents.

That the experimental work connected with the invention of the Blake Transmitter was most thorough and exhaustive is shown by the fact that twelve years of commercial use have not led to any substantial changes in the design or construction of the instrument. There are to-day more than 215,000 Blake Transmitters in use in the United States, and probably a larger number in all foreign countries.

Since his first invention Mr. Blake has kept up his interest in electrical research, and the records of the Patent Office show that twenty patents have been granted to him during the last twelve years.

He has been a director of the American Bell Telephone Company since November, 1878.

Mr. Blake's life in Weston began June 24, 1873, on which day he was married to Elizabeth L., daughter of Charles T. Hubbard, of whom a biographical sketch is to be found in this volume.

In the year of his marriage there was the beginning of "Keewaydin," the beautiful estate in the southeastern part of the town which has since been his home and the birth-place of his two children,—Agnes, born January 2, 1876; Benjamin Sewall, born February 14, 1877.

About six acres in land, part of the "Woodlands" estate were given his wife by her father, and on this a beautiful house, the gift of her grandfather, Benjamin Sewall, was erected by the distinguished architect Charles Follen McKim. Since that time the estate has been by purchase increased in area to about 130 acres; the house much enlarged; a magnificent brick stable built; and the grounds surrounding the home buildings made to reflect the highest art of the landscape architect and gardener.

The stable buildings are grouped around an interior court-yard, and, in addition to ordinary stable accommodations, comprise a cottage, mechanical laboratory, experimental and photograph room, bowling alleys and a theatre seating about one hundred persons. Also a boiler-room from which the house, as well as the stable, is heated by underground pipes.

The estate is furnished with a complete system of water works, including a reservoir holding a quarter of a million gallons, with a head of 110 feet at a fountain which rises from the pond at the base of the northwestern slope of the eminence on which the house stands.

The southeastern slope, between the house and the Boston and Albany Railway, is divided by massive stone walls, more than twenty feet in height, into a series of terraces designed for fruit culture and greenhouses, the whole being enclosed by a high stone wall.

To the northeast, and adjacent to the house, is a sunken garden similar to the one at Hampton Court, England.

From the upper terrace on which the house stands are magnificent views in every direction, including the valley of Charles River in the foreground and Blue Hill, Milton, eleven miles and a half distant.

With these charming surroundings, Mr. Blake and his household enjoy the healthful luxury of quiet country life.

Mr. Blake was elected:—Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1874. Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1881. Member of the National Conference of Electricians, 1884. Member of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, 1889. Member of the Corporation of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1889.

He is a Fellow of the American Geographical Society; member of the Bostonian Society; member of the Boston Society of the Archæological Institute of America; and has for many years been appointed by the Board of Overseers of Harvard College a member of the committee to visit the Jefferson Physical Laboratory.

He is a member of the most prominent social clubs of Boston; and his active interest in photography has led to his election for many years as vice-president of the Boston Camera Club.

Mr. Blake has always taken a lively interest in the welfare of the town of Weston and on March 24, 1890, was elected one of its three selectmen.

FREDERICK T. BUSH, born in Taunton, Mass., April 24, 1815; married Elizabeth Deblois November 10, 1841. Mr. Bush was appointed United States consul at Hong Kong, China, by President Polk in 1845, which office he held for seven years, returning to America in 1852. In 1855 he established the East India house of Bush & Comstock, which continued until 1865. Mr. Bush purchased the Starr farm in Weston of Doctor Henry T. Bowditch,

where he continued to reside until his death, in 1887.

Doctor Amos Bancroft, born in Pepperell in 1767; graduated at Harvard College in 1791. He was widely known throughout Middlesex County. He came to Weston about 1795, and remained the resident physician until 1811, when he removed to Groton. He took a leading part in town affairs. Dr. Bancroft married Sally Bass, of Boston, in 1796. He had an extensive practice and at various times a number of students under his charge, among these, Doctor George C. Shattuck, who, in 1811, married Eliza Cheerer Davis, the daughter of Mrs. John Derby, of Weston. During the winter, when the roads were blocked up with snow, Dr. Bancroft traveled on snowshoes and would be absent from home several days at a time. In 1848, while walking down State Street in Boston, he was knocked down and injured so severely by a passing team that he died a few hours after. He was attended at his last moments by his former student, Doctor George C. Shattuck. He was seventy-seven years old at the time of his death.

Thomas Bigelow Bancroft, son of Doctor Amos, graduated at Harvard in 1831, and studied medicine with Doctor Shattuck.

Doctor Benjamin James followed Doctor Bancroft as the physician of Weston in 1812, and remained the very popular and highly esteemed practitioner of the town for over thirty-six years. In 1847 he removed to New Jersey, where he died at an advanced age. Doctor James was, for many years, town clerk, and filled, at one time and and another, all the chief offices of the town. In 1814 Doctor James published a book on Dentistry, which was highly spoken of in its day.

Doctor Edgar Parker, of Framingham, came to Weston in 1865. He was assistant surgeon in the Thirteenth Massachusetts Regiment in the war of 1861.

Nathaniel Coolidge, of Watertown, married Lydia Jones in 1687, and settled in Weston. His name is first on the list of the original members of the Weston Church. He was a tailor by trade, but also a large land-owner and farmer. His will designates three farms, mills and wears. He gave one-half acre of land where the first church in Weston was built, boardering on the road which then ran through what is styled the Parkhurst meadow, about in the rear of Doctor Jackson's house. He died in 1711, but gave no deed of this land to the parish during his lifetime. He had thirteen children.

In 1715, Jonathan Coolidge, of Newton, his tenth child, born in 1672, conjointly with his wife, Mary, executes a deed to the church, "being moved thereto by divers good causes and considerations, but more especially that of my honored father, Nathaniel Coolidge, etc." This deed is interesting as being witnessed by Colonel Ephraim Williams, of Newton, killed at Lake George in 1755, and the founder of Williams College in Berkshire County. Jonathan Coolidge was killed by the fall of a tree in 1730.

Ephraim Cutting, born in East Sudbury in 1774; married Theodora Pratt, of Weymouth, in 1802. He had seven children and died in 1866, aged ninety-two years. By trade Mr. Cutting was a carpenter and housewright.

George Warren Cutting, born in Roxbury, March 24, 1805, was the second child of Ephraim. He removed to Weston in 1822 and bought out Jonathan P. Stearns' grocery business in 1830. In 1860 he was appointed postmaster of Weston, which office he held at the time of his death, a period of twenty-five years. He conducted the only grocery in Weston from 1828 to 1885, a period of fifty-seven years. He was a man highly esteemed by the community, of strict integrity and great amiability. He filled many offices of the town with universal acceptance. In 1830 he married Elizabeth Lord, of Ipswich. He had eight children and died May 13, 1885, at the age of eighty years.

George W. Cutting, Jr., third child of George W., born in Weston, November 18, 1834, succeeded his father in the business, with whom he had been in partnership for some years previous to his father's death. In 1875 George W. Cutting & Son purchased the store property in the centre of Weston of the widow of John Lamson, which property had been in the Lamson family for over one hundred and fifty years.

Mr. Cutting married Josephine M. Brown in 1865 and had six children. In 1862, upon the death of Nathan Hager, he was chosen town clerk, which office he still fills in the year 1890. Mr. Cutting has filled and is still filling many offices of trust in the town.

Alfred Leslie Cutting, his second child, born January 27, 1868, has opened a grocery store on the Concord Road in Weston.

John Derby, of Salem, purchased a large tract of land in Weston in 1796 and 1805, and made Weston his summer residence. At his death General Samuel G. Derby became possessed of this estate. In early life Mr. Derby followed the sea, and at one period commanded the Sea Fencibles. The title of General he obtained in the War of 1812. He died in Weston and was buried in Salem. Eliza Cheerer Davis, the adopted daughter of John Derby, married Doctor George C. Shattuck, of Boston, in 1811.

There are few men identified with Massachusetts who have left a more brilliant record as an inventor than Ira Draper. He was a native of Dedham, Mass., and was born December 29, 1764. Mr. Draper became a resident of Weston in 1809, having purchased the Goldwaite farm, which, during the Revolution, was owned by Dr. Wheaton, who is mentioned in the story of the British spy. This farm is now that of Mr. Ripley, in the northwesterly part of Weston. At the period of his residence in Weston he was devoting his time in improving the "Power

Loom," and succeeded in a permanent invention which he styled the "Revolving Temple," in use at the present time. Mr. Draper's inventive genius covers many patents which are extremely numerous, of great value and still in universal use.

Among the most important of his inventions are the following: 1st, a threshing machine for horse-power; 2d, an endless track horse-power; 3d, the hay and straw cutter; 4th, the road scrapper of the V shape; 5th, a rock-lifting machine; 6th, the potato planter; 7th, horse rackets for soft meadows; 8th, a horse-power ditching machine to cut and clear drain ditches, which was made to cut fifteen inches deep, three inches wide at top and six inches at bottom; 9th, false felloes for wheels to traverse meadow lands, etc. Mr. Draper married twice, his second wife being sister of his first. He had five children, all born in Weston.

EBENEZER DAGGETT DRAPER, born June 13, 1813. He died at West Roxbury October 20, 1887, at the age of seventy-four years.

LYDIA DRAPER, born in 1815; died at Saugus in 1847.

GEORGE DRAPER, born in 1817; died at Hopedale in 1887. He was the father of General William F. Draper, of Hopdale. Lemuel Richards Draper, born in 1823, is still living. Ira Draper removed from Weston in 1823, and died January 22, 1848. Ebenezer D. Draper inherited his father's inventive genius. He purchased the patent rights of the "Revolving Temple," and, with his brother George, purchased other patents pertaining to the manufacture of fabrics, and started successful machine-shops in Hopedale, Mass. This establishment has become well known throughout the country.

George Draper was the inventor of several important improvements in spinning frames and looms. His son, William F. Draper, now carries on the business with increasing facilities in Hopedale under the style of George Draper & Sons. The admirable portrait of Mr. Ira Draper, now in possession of his grandson, James Sumner Draper, of Wayland, represents him holding in his left hand the "Revolving Temple." Mr. Draper died at the age of eighty-three years.

DANIEL EASTABROOK fifth child of Daniel Eastabrook, of Watertown, who married the daughter of Captain Hugh Mason, of Watertown, and grandson of the Rev. Joseph Eastabrook, was born 1676, and settled in Weston in 1704, in the south part of the town. He was one of the petitioners for the incorporation of Weston in 1711.

FRANCIS FULLAM, born in Fulham, a suburb of London, England, in 1669. He was sent to America when fourteen years of age. He took an active part in the separation of the farmers from Watertown in 1695. In 1711 he was one of the petitioners for the incorporation of Weston. He commanded the Weston military company, and was guardian of the Natick Indians. He consorted with them in their differences and sales of land. He married Sarah, daughter of Lieutenant John Livermore, by whom he had one son, Jacob, killed with Lovewell in 1725. He died in 1757, at the age of eighty-eight years.

LIEUTENANT NATHAN FISKE settled in Weston in 1673, and bought 220 acres of land of Thomas Underwood for ten pounds. He died in 1694, leaving nine children.

Nathan, the fourth child of Lieutenant Nathan, born in 1672, died in 1741, is the ancestor of that family in Weston.

NATHAN, the eldest, born in 1760, was captain of the Weston company. Thaddeus, the second son, born in 1762, was a minister and Doctor of Divinity in 1821.

ABIGAIL, the fifth child, married Isaac Lamson in 1788. Isaac Fiske, the ninth child, born in 1778, graduated at Harvard College in 1798, and studied law with Artemas Ward, Jr., of Weston.

SEWELL FISKE was captain of the Weston company.

NATHAN WELBY FISKE, born 1798, graduated at Dartmouth in 1817, and was tutor from 1818–20, and in 1823–24 was a missionary in Georgia; was a Professor of Greek and Literature at Amherst College from 1824 to 1836. He died in Jerusalem in 1847, while on a journey to the Holy Land, and was buried near the tomb of the Psalmist David.

ISAAC FISKE, the ninth child of Nathan above, born in 1778, and graduated at Harvard College in 1798, was for many years the leading lawyer of the Middlesex Circuit; for twenty-four years he was the town clerk of Weston, and filled many other offices in the town. He was prominent in church affairs, and it is due to him that the Rev. Dr. Field was settled over the church in Weston. He was appointed register of deeds for Middlesex County by Governor Brooks, which office he held for thirty years. He was removed by Governor Boutwell in 1857 for political reasons. He was a delegate from Weston to the convention for amending the Constitution of the State in 1820, and secretary of the convention in Concord in 1812 which opposed the war with England. In 1802 he married Susan Hobbs, and at her death married her sister. He had seven children.

AUGUSTUS HENRY FISKE, second son of Isaac, born in 1805, was a prominent lawyer in Boston, and for many years a partner of Benjamin Rand. In 1830 he married Miss Hannah Bradford, of Concord, and had seven children.

SARAH FISKE, his fourth child, married the Rev. Chandler Robbins.

CHARLES HENRY FISKE, son of Augustus, graduated at Harvard College in 1860; he married a daughter of the Rev. Chandler Robbins. He is a prominent lawyer in Boston, but still retains his residence in Weston, and is prominent in town affairs.

ANDREW FISKE, son of Augustus, born in 1854;

graduated at Harvard in 1875 and at the Law School in 1878; he married, in 1878, Gertrude, daughter of Professor E. N. Horsford; he studied law in the office of Judge Hoar.

GEORGE FISKE, brother of Andrew and Charles Fiske, born in 1850; graduated from Harvard in 1872; lives in Concord.

THOMAS FLAGG, born in England in 1615; married in Watertown, and had nine sons and three daughters.

JOHN FLAGG, born in 1700; married Hannah Bemis in 1724.

JOHN FLAGG, his fourth child, born in 1731, married Patience Whittemore in 1754. It was this John Flagg who kept the tavern, now residence of C. Emerson, at which General Washington passed the night in 1789. He also kept the tavern on the edge of Wayland. John, his second son, born 1762, married Lucy Curtis in 1786; they had six children; this John followed his father in the tavern; Patience Flagg, his third child, born in 1791, married Colonel Daniel S. Lamson in 1822. The sixth children were twins—John, one of the twins, married, in 1831, Abigail Hobbs. His son, John Lamson Flagg, born in 1835, died in 1874; he graduated from Harvard in 1857; he was mayor of Troy, New York, in 1866-67; representative in the Assembly from 1868 to 1871. A memoir of him was published at the time of his death. In 1889 there have been nine John Flaggs in direct descent.

JOHN MACK GOURGAS came of a noble family of Huguenot descent, who settled in Geneva, Switzerland, soon after the repeal of the "Edict of Nantes." John M. was born March 9, 1766. In 1783 he entered the counting-room of a German gentleman in London. When living in Cumberwell, a suburb of London, he formed the acquaintance of Dr. John Lettsome, through whom he became interested in inoculation for small-pox, a system then in its infancy. Mr. Gourgas came to America about 1808, and settled in Milton. While there he called together a town-meeting and introduced the subject of inoculation. In 1809, 337 persons were inoculated by order of the town authorities. It was through the efforts of Mr. Gourgas that the Legislature passed the laws of 1828. In 1822 Mr. Gourgas purchased the Hon. James Loyd estate in Weston, where he died in 1846. Francis Gourgas, the third son, entered Harvard in 1826. He edited for some years the *Concord Freeman* and was one of Governor Boutwell's Council. His brother John was a distinguished lawyer in Quincy.

ABRAHAM HEWS, of Weston, established the first pottery in New England in 1765; he had six children.

ABRAHAM, his eldest son, had twelve children.

GEORGE HEWS, the seventh child, born in 1806; married Caroline Pelletier, of Boston, in 1852; he was a member of the Handel and Haydn Society for forty-three years, and vice-president of the society for nine years. He was organist of the Rev. Dr. Lothrop's church for twenty years; he composed many sacred hymns and other music, and was by occupation a piano-maker. He died in 1873, very highly esteemed for his many virtues. The pottery business was transmitted from father to son in Weston, from 1765 to 1871, a period of one hundred and six years. In 1871 the works were removed to North Cambridge, and a large factory was erected under the firm of A. H. Hews & Co.

HORACE HEWS, the eleventh son of Abraham, born in 1815, has been treasurer of the town for a quarter of a century, and resigned in 1889 in consequence of failing health.

ABRAHAM HEWS, father of the above children, was made the third postmaster of Weston, by appointment of James Madison in 1812, which office he filled for forty-two years, until his death in 1854. At the time of his death he was the oldest postmaster in the service, and had held the office for a longer period of time. In 1850 the Department at Washington, recognizing his long and faithful service, addressed him a letter of thanks and congratulations.

JOSIAH HOBBS, born in 1684, eldest son of Josiah Hobbs, born in England in 1649. In 1730 purchased the Cheney farm in Weston, and removed there with his family of three sons and four daughters.

NATHAN HOBBS, the youngest, born in Weston in 1730, had nine children. He died in 1779, aged ninety-four years, his wife at the age of eighty-eight years.

EBENEZER HOBBS, born in Boston in 1709, married Eunice Garfield in 1734. He was the eldest son of Josiah, and he is the ancestor of the Hobbs family in Weston. He had nine children. The greater part of the Weston estate remains in the family to this day. Isaac Hobbs, eldest son of Ebenezer, born in 1735, died in 1813. He was deacon of the Weston church and town clerk for forty years.

MATTHEW HOBBS, his sixth son, born in 1745, was at the battle of Concord in Captain Lamson's company; he joined the Weston company in 1776, which company formed part of the Third Middlesex Regiment—Colonel Eleazer Brooks—Samuel Lamson, of Weston, being the major. In 1780 he enlisted for three years or the war, and was made captain of the Weston company.

SAMUEL HOBBS, the eighth child, born in 1751, was a tanner and currier. In 1773 he was a journeyman in the employ of Simeon Pratt, of Roxbury, and joined the famous Tea Party.

EBENEZER HOBBS, second child of Isaac Hobbs, born in 1762, had eight children. Susan, the eldest, and Sophronia, the third child, married Isaac Fiske, of Weston.

EBENEZER HOBBS, the sixth child of Isaac, born in 1794, studied medicine, but later became the agent of the Waltham Mills, and in 1819 married Mary, daughter of General Samuel G. Derby.

Until the year 1867 little had been done towards developing the southeastern portion of Weston be-

yond the condition of the outlying districts of ordinary farming towns.

In 1867, attracted by the beautiful topographical features of itself and its surroundings, Mr. Charles Townsend Hubbard, of Boston, purchased the "Slack farm" for a summer residence. The estate comprises about 250 acres of land bordering on the Charles River, and is broken up in an attractive manner into meadow, upland and woodland. Mr. Hubbard named his estate "Woodlande," and devoted more than twenty years to improving and beautifying the property. Here his children reached maturity, and in due time married and established themselves in homes on his estate or in the near neighborhood.

Mr. Hubbard was born in Boston in 1817, and there gained distinction as a successful manufacturer and merchant. He died at Weston in 1887, leaving a widow and five children,—Louisa Sewell Hubbard married John Cotton Jackson; Elizabeth L. Hubbard married Francis Blake; Charlotte W. Hubbard married Benjamin Loring Young; Charles Wells Hubbard married Anne L. Swann; Ann Hubbard married Bancroft Chandler Davis. To Mr. Hubbard, in the south, to Mr. Francis H. Hastings, in the north, and to Mr. James B. Care, in the centre of the town of Weston are due, in no slight degree, the impetus given in the development and progress of the town, which in the near future is destined to become a favored spot among the suburbs of Boston.

Isaac Hobbs, third child of Isaac, born in 1765; his third child, Samuel, born in 1795, married Abigail, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Kendall, of Weston. He was captain of the Weston company.

Abigail Hobbs, sixth child of Isaac, born in 1801, married John Flagg; they had one son, John Lamson Flagg.

Mary Ann Hobbs, the eighth child of Isaac, born in 1805, married Nathan Hager in 1832.

Captain Josiah Jones, admitted a freeman April 18, 1690, was one of the original members and one of the first deacons of the church in Weston. He died in 1714. The Farmers' Company was called by the name of Lieutenant Jones' company.

Josiah Jones, his son, was a captain of the company; he was elected a deacon in 1714, but refused to accept the office.

Abigail Jones, the only daughter of Josiah, Jr., married Colonel Williams, of Newton, father of Colonel Ephraim Williams, the founder of Williams College, killed at Fort William and Henry in 1755. Father and son removed to Weston on the father's marriage, and remained in Weston until their removal to Stockbridge.

Abigail Williams, daughter of Abigail, married General Joseph Dwight, of Great Barrington, by whom she had two children.

Mary Dwight, daughter of Abigail, married the Hon. Theodore Sedgwick, and was the mother of Theodore, Henry and Charles Sedgwick, distinguished lawyers of New York; Jane and Catharine Sedgwick, eminent authoresses.

Isaac Jones, son of Captain Josiah, born in 1728, kept a large store in Weston, and in 1752 built the tavern of the "Golden Ball" noted before and during the Revolution; he was a stanch loyalist or Tory, and brought down upon himself the denunciation of the convention of Worcester County in 1775. Jones and his tavern are mentioned in How's journal. Mr. Jones died in 1813.

Lewis Jones, of Watertown, married Anna Stone, who came from England in the ship "Increase," in 1635. She was born in 1624. Mr. Jones died in 1684, leaving four children.

Josiah Jones, his eldest son, born in 1640, is the ancestor of that branch of the Jones family in Weston; he was captain of the Weston company, and one of the original members of the church. Deacon in 1709–10; he died in 1743; ten children. James, his oldest child, married Sarah Moore, of Sudbury, and had eleven children.

James, eldest son of James, married Abigail Garfield, in 1728; they had seven children.

Lemuel Jones, eldest son of James, Jr., born in 1729, married Anna Stimson in 1754. They had ten children.

Amos Jones, son of Lemuel, born in 1755, married Azubah Russell in 1779; he had nine children.

Marshall Jones, the fifth child, born in 1791, died in 1864. He was captain of the Weston company, town treasurer for many years and a prominent man in town affairs.

John Jones, seventh child of Amos, born in 1795, died in 1864. He was, perhaps, in his day the most popular man in the town. He was captain of the Weston company, and succeeded Col. D. S. Lamson as lieutenant-colonel of the Third Middlesex Regiment. Mr. Jones was an auctioneer and executor of estates in Weston, a man in whom the community had the greatest confidence. He was killed by an iron bar while lifting a stone on his property.

Charles Johnson, of Weston, born in 1805, married Maria Wilson in 1833. He had five children. He is a direct descendant of Captain Edward Johnson, who came from England in 1632, and was one of the seven who first settled at Woburn, and was surveyor-general of the Colony and held other offices.

Byron B. Johnson, the third child of Charles, born in Weston, was the first mayor of the city of Waltham. Mr. Johnson purchased the Colonel Marshall estate of the Mackey heirs in 1838. He sold it to Philip Moyer, the Boston confectioner, in 1849. Mr. Johnson was postmaster of Weston from 1856 to 1860. This family are now all residents of the city of Waltham.

Reverend Samuel Kendall, D.D., born at Sherburn in 1753. He graduated at Harvard College in 1782, and was ordained pastor over the church in Weston in 1783. He was made Doctor of Divinity by

Yale College in 1806. He married Abigail, the third child of the Rev. Samuel Woodward, in 1786. They had four children. He died in 1814, and she died in 1793. He married, in 1794, his first wife's sister Miranda, born in 1762. There were four children by this second marriage. Abigail, the fourth child, born in 1793, married Captain Samuel Hobbs in 1834 at the age of ninety years. Dr. Kendall's pastorate extended over thirty-one years. To Dr. Kendall do we owe an interesting historical address extending from the date of the incorporation of Weston, in 1712, to the centennial year 1812, in which address we are made acquainted with town affairs without which we should be ignorant, in consequence of the loss of the town records.

Samuel Lamson, or Lambson, as it is spelled in England and also in Reading, and once in Weston, was changed in later records to a "p." The family came from Durham County, England, and arrived at Ipswich, moving to Charlestown and then to Reading. The earliest date so far obtained is that of Samuel, of Charlestown, in 1660; the homestead is in Reading, which he gives to his son Samuel.

John Lamson, probably the son of Samuel, moved from Reading to Weston in 1709 and purchased a large tract of land in the centre of the town. He died in 1757. John was born in 1686. He died at the age of seventy-one years. He had six children and married twice.

John Lamson, born in 1724, married Elizabeth Wesson in 1759.

Samuel Lamson, born in 1736, married Elizabeth Ball in 1759, and for his second wife Elizabeth Sanderson, of Waltham, in 1788. He commanded the Weston company at Concord in 1775, and was major of the Third Middlesex Regiment in 1776, lieutenant-colonel in 1783, and colonel in 1786. He was town treasurer and selectman of Weston for many years, and took an active part in all town affairs. He had seven children by his first wife and three by the second.

Isaac Lamson, his third child, married Abigail, daughter of Nathan Fiske, in 1788. He kept store in Weston from 1786 to 1806.

John Lamson, the ninth child of Samuel, born in 1791, married Elizabeth Turner Kendall, of Boston, in 1814. He established the mercantile house of Lane, Lamson & Co., which was the first French importing house in the United States, with houses in Boston, New York, Paris and Lyons. Mr. Lamson retired from business in 1853, and took up his residence on the old homestead in Weston, where his descendants still reside. He died in 1855.

Daniel S. Lamson, born in 1793, the tenth child of Samuel Lamson, married Patience, daughter of John Flagg, in 1822. He kept the dry-goods store in Weston for many years, one of the most noted in Middlesex County. He was captain of the Weston company, and when he died, in 1824, was lieutenant-colonel of the Third Middlesex Regiment, of which his father had been colonel.

Daniel S. Lamson, grandson of Samuel and son of John, was born in 1828, was educated in France, passed one year at the Harvard Law School in 1852, and two years in the office of Sohier & Welch. He was admitted to the bar in 1854. Before the breaking out of the war he tendered his services to Governor Andrew to assist him at the State-House, there being no appropriation for extra clerk hire. He was sent by the Governor to New York, Washington and Fortress Monroe on public business. He organized the Home Guard of Weston before the war, and organized and drilled the Malden company and other companies. He was appointed major of the Sixteenth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, early in June, 1861, without having made any application for the office. The Sixteenth Regiment was virtually the old Third Middlesex Regiment, being made of nearly the same towns as in former days. The Third Regiment had only eight companies; the Sixteenth had ten companies. Major Lamson was made lieutenant-colonel in 1863, and commanded the regiment after the death of Colonel P. T. Wyman, who was killed in the battle of Charles City Cross-roads, or Glendale. Colonel Lamson was discharged for disability in the fall of 1864. He has since resided on his property—the old Lamson homestead. John Lamson, son of John, was born in 1760.

John A. Lamson, born in 1791, son of John Lamson and Hannah Ayers, was a merchant in Boston, deacon of the church, and filled many town offices—he was a man very highly esteemed.

Josiah Quincy Loring, born in Boston in 1810, graduated at Cambridge College in 1829. He spent one year at the Law School. He settled upon a farm in Weston, where he died in 1862. Mr. Loring was the son of Josiah Loring, one of Boston's old-time merchants. He married Christiana W., daughter of Dr. Peter Renton, of Boston. Mr. Loring was a thorough Latin and Greek scholar, and retained his love of classic literature throughout his life. He bequeathed valuable books to Harvard College, and assisted in the founding of the public library in Weston.

Alvan Lamson was born at Weston, Massachusetts, November 18, 1792. He was a descendant of William Lamson (or Lambson), who came from County Durham, England, and settled at Ipswich, Massachusetts, before 1638. John Lamson, the grandfather, and John Lamson, the father of Alvan, were born in Weston, the former in 1724, and the latter in 1760.

John Lamson, the father of Alvan Lamson, was a farmer, and Alvan worked on the farm for some years during his boyhood. He early showed a love of reading and desire of learning, studying, it is said, not only in the evening, but also during his work on the farm, in the day. After availing himself of such



Alvan Lamson

means of education as were found at Weston, attending the district school and being under the tuition of Dr. Kendall, the clergyman there, he passed through the usual course at Phillips Academy, Andover, and entered Harvard College in 1810, graduating in 1814. He held a high rank in his class, being regarded as one of its best writers, and attending diligently and carefully to all the prescribed studies. In college, as at the academy, he depended largely on his own exertions for his support.

After graduating at Harvard, he was two years a tutor at Bowdoin College. He studied at the Divinity School, at Cambridge, being a member of the class of 1817 in the school.

In 1818 he was invited to become pastor of the First Church and Parish in Dedham, Massachusetts, and, after some hesitation, accepted the invitation. This church and parish were among the oldest in the State, the church having been gathered in 1638. They were not free from the disagreements and controversies by which many churches and parishes in Massachusetts were troubled near the beginning of the present century, which were caused by gradual changes of opinion on the part of many members of the various societies. In the Dedham church and parish a serious conflict arose, which was finally settled by a resort to the legal tribunals of the Commonwealth, and led to a division of the church and parish. The invitation to Mr. Lamson, who represented the opinions generally known as Unitarian, was given by the parish, a majority of the more active members of the church not approving it at the time, though a majority of the whole number of members finally approved, or acquiesced in the action of the parish The decision of the Supreme Court sustained this action, holding that the parish and the members of the church who remained with it continued to be the First Church and Parish. This decision was followed by the withdrawal of a number who were not satisfied with it, and the formation of another church and society, popularly known as the "Orthodox."

The pastorate thus begun, continued forty-two years, being terminated by the resignation of Dr. Lamson, October 29, 1860. During this time he attended faithfully to the performance of his parish duties, winning the warm respect and regard of his parishioners and fellow-citizens, and becoming known as a preacher of a high order. He also gave much time to literary pursuits and historical and theological investigations, and took an active part in the care of the public schools, and in such work as always falls to the share of one who has the confidence of the community, and is willing to do his part to promote its interests.

He was one of the overseers of Harvard College from 1833 to 1852, and received the degree of D.D. from the college in 1837.

This life of conscientious devotion to duty and of study was laborious, and Dr. Lamson frequently found that it taxed his strength severely. He never had robust health or the spontaneous energy which springs from it, yet he was not often compelled by illness to give up his usual occupations, though his want of strength made them more difficult to him. In 1840 he spent some time at the Hot Sulphur Springs in Virginia, to obtain relief from a troublesome affection, which, before his return, was discovered to have been caused by the use of water drawn through lead pipes. In 1853 he travelled a few months in Europe. Probably these were the longest periods of absence from his home which occurred during his ministry.

Dr. Lamson was well versed in general literature, being familiar with the standard English and American authors, and a good classical scholar, and was recognized as a skilful and able writer and critic. He was for a number of years a member of the examining committee in Rhetoric in Harvard College during the professorship of Edward T. Channing. He was a frequent contributor to periodicals, and was one of the editors of the *Unitarian Advocate* in 1830, 1831, (vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, new series), of the *Boston Observer* in 1835, and of the *Christian Examiner* from January, 1844, to May, 1849. He published a volume of sermons in 1857, and various occasional discourses at different times. These occasional discourses were often valuable for the historical information they contained. The three delivered November 29th, and December 2, 1838, on occasion of the completion, November 18, 1838, of the second century from the gathering of the First Church in Dedham, deserve particular mention, as containing an excellent history of the church and parish to the time of his settlement over them.

He was much interested in historical and antiquarian investigations, was careful and accurate in his researches and his statement of their results, and his conclusions were accepted as of high authority. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and one of the first members of the Dedham Historical Society, and was president of the latter from its organization in 1859 until his decease.

He gave particular attention to early church history and the early Christian writers, and in 1860 published a volume on these subjects. After the publication of this book he continued his researches, revising the work, preparing additional matter and making such alterations as further examination and consideration suggested. A second and enlarged edition of the work, including the changes adopted by him, was published in 1865, after his decease, under the supervision of Ezra Abbot, who was afterward Bussey Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in Harvard College.[1]

[1] Entitled: "The Church of the First Three Centuries; or Notices of the Lives and Opinions of the Early Fathers, with special reference to the Doctrine of the Trinity; illustrating its late Origin and gradual Formation." 8vo. pp., xiv. 410. An edition of this work, with additional notes by Henry Ierson, was published by the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, in 1875.

Dr. Lamson was a firm believer in the doctrines of Unitarianism, as they were held in his time, and one of their most constant and earnest advocates. He was among the most prominent clergymen of the Unitarian denomination, standing high as a scholar and theologian. He wrote the article on "Unitarian Congregationalists" in Rupp's "History of all the Religious Denominations in the United States," and was the author of several of the earlier tracts published by the American Unitarian Association.

He had much taste for country life, taking great interest in agriculture and pomology, and enjoying the cultivation of his garden, and of trees and ornamental shrubs.

He was a member of the Norfolk County Agricultural Society, and delivered the annual address before it in 1857.

He was a man of strong principle and high personal character, exact in the performance of duty and conscientious to an extent which to many would seem to be extreme; always ready to give to others all that belonged to them, and more willing to sacrifice his own rights than to encroach on those of another. But though strict in his views of right, he did not condemn the ordinary relaxations of life or despise the usages of society, and had nothing of asceticism in his disposition. He enjoyed social intercourse, though somewhat reserved in manner and appearance.

He married Frances Fidelia Ward, one of the daughters of Artemas Ward, who was long Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, July 11, 1825. He died, after a short illness, July 18, 1864.

David Weston Lane, born in Weston, August 20, 1846, son of David Lane and Caroline Elizabeth Lamson; married Fannie Bush, daughter of Frederick T. Bush, of Weston, December 5, 1878. He was of the firm of Lane, Lamson & Co.; has four children, and lives on the Bush estate in Weston.

Hon. James Lloyd, son of Doctor James Lloyd, of Boston, who was a physician in that city in 1752, was born in Boston in 1769, and graduated at Harvard College in 1787. Mr. Lloyd purchased an estate in Weston early in 1800 and built a large colonial house, where he resided in summer for many years. In 1822 he sold the property to John M. Gourgas.

Marshall Family.—We find in the history of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston, under date of 1640, page 114, the following interesting account of the ancestors of the American branch of the Marshall family living in Boston and Weston.

Captain Thomas Marshall lived in Lynn in 1635. He was made a freeman in 1641; represented Lynn in the General Court in the years 1659–60, '63–'64 and 1668. He acquired the title of captain from Oliver Cromwell, in whose wars he was a soldier. In 1658 he was authorized by the court to "perform the ceremony of marriage, and to take testimony in civil causes." He died December 23, 1689, leaving several children.

Captain Christopher Marshall, son of Captain Thomas, was a captain in the expedition to Cape Breton in 1745.

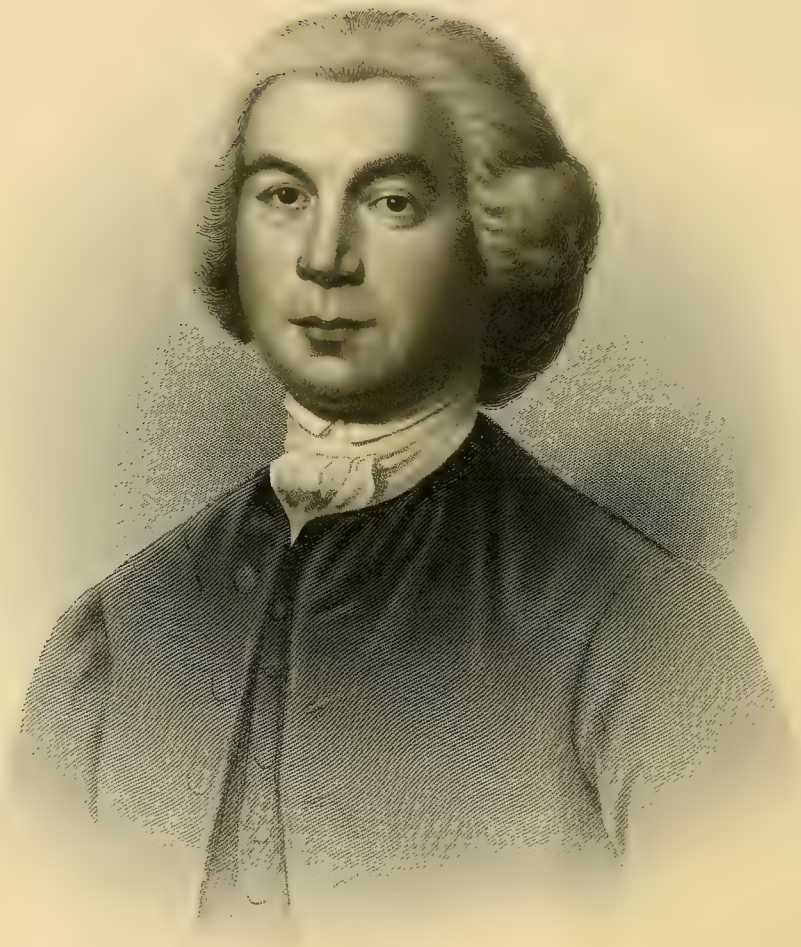
Colonel Thomas Marshall, son of Captain Christopher, born in 1717; baptized in the old South Church in 1719; was major of the Boston Regiment in 1765; lieutenant-colonel in 1767 to 1771; captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 1762 and 1767. He commanded the Tenth Massachusetts Regiment in the War of the Revolution. He was a selectman of the town of Boston when it was occupied by the British troops, and was considered too dangerous a person to be allowed to leave the town and had a guard placed over him. It is related, that in a dispute with a British officer, the latter drew his sword on Marshall, who, seizing a hoe near at hand, leveled the officer with it. He commanded Castle William, now Fort Independence, when the Continental troops were being recruited for the war. In 1776 he was made colonel of a new regiment by order of the Assembly at Watertown, and Moses Gill directed him to proceed at once to Watertown to receive his commission.

Colonel Thomas Marshall moved to Weston after the war and purchased the confiscated Jones estate in 1782. He married for his third wife the widow of the Rev. Samuel Woodward, December 6, 1795.

Colonel Marshall made the address of welcome when President Washington was in Weston in October, 1789, and he presented the inhabitants of the town to the President. He died in Weston in 1800, aged eighty-three years. *The Columbian Centinel* of that year mentions his death "as a man long known and highly respected, as the sincere friend of his country, the zealous asserter and defender of its rights, liberty and laws, the upright man and the sober Christian."

Captain Christopher Marshall, brother of Colonel Thomas, born March 20, 1743; commanded a company in his brother's regiment. He was a minute-man at the battle of Bunker Hill. His sister, who had died from the effects of the excitement of that period, was to be buried the day before the battle, and Captain Marshall applied to his superior officer for leave to attend the funeral; this was refused him, with the remark, "that if his own father was to be buried, he would not leave his post to attend his funeral." Captain Marshall was present at the execution of Major André, and said that there was not a dry eye in the throng of brave men who gathered around the fatal tree. He was also present at the surrender of General Burgoyne and Lord Cornwallis. Although never wounded in the many battles which he was engaged in, his coat and hat bore marks of bullets.

When Captain Marshall joined the army, in which he served seven years, he removed his family to Connecticut. After the war he returned to the city of



Thomas Marshall Col.

Boston, and resided on State Street. Through his term of service he would send to his wife large sums of money; the depreciation of the currency was such that $100 would barely suffice for a single day's food. Mrs. Marshall at one time paid forty dollars for a quarter of lamb, through which she could see daylight. Captain Marshall married Rachel Harris in September, 1766.

THOMAS MARSHALL, son of Christopher and Rachel Marshall; born January 18, 1781; married Sophia, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Kendall (born in 1788), on September 14, 1813; he died in 1863, aged eighty-three years. She died in Weston September 17, 1882, aged ninety-five years. Mr. Marshall was connected with the Bunker Hill Bank over thirty years and first president of the Warren Institution, holding that office for twelve years. He was highly respected by all during the many years he lived in Charlestown. It was truly said of him, "His was a beautiful life, so upright and noble, in many trials and sorrows so pleasant always." He was buried on the fiftieth anniversary of his wedding day.

JAMES F. BALDWIN MARSHALL, fourth child of Thomas and Rachel Harris; born August 8, 1818; baptized in Brattle Street Church by the Rev. John G. Palfrey. He was paymaster-general of Massachusetts in the War of 1861, and, with General Armstrong, established the Hampton School at Hampton, Va., until 1884.

CHARLES MERRIAM, born in Concord in 1803; became a resident of Weston in his youth. In 1821 he entered the dry-goods store of Colonel D. S. Lamson, and succeeded Mr. Lamson in the business in 1824. In 1828 he married Caroline Ware, of Newton. In 1833 Mr. Merriam formed the co-partnership of Sales & Merriam in Boston, the house later of the firm of Sales, Merriam & Brewer. In 1859 Mr. Merriam donated $1000 to the Library Fund of Weston, the interest of which was for the purchase of books. In 1865 he established one of the most laudable charities ever established in a town: he gave $1000 for the "Silent Poor of Weston." He had seven children: Charles Merriam, the second child (born in Weston October 6, 1832), is now a prominent merchant in Boston; Waldo Merriam, the fourth child, upon graduating from Harvard, became adjutant of the Sixteenth Massachusetts Regiment in 1861, and was killed at Spottsylvania May, 1864; at the time of his death he was lieutenant-colonel commanding.

HERBERT MERRIAM, the fifth child, born in 1841, purchased the Roberts farm, in Weston, in 1873, and is still a resident. Mr. Merriam died in Boston in 1865, aged sixty-two years.

BENJAMIN RAND, born in 1785, graduated at Harvard in 1808 in the class with Richard H. Dana; he was a distinguished member of the Suffolk bar, generally considered the best-read lawyer in Masschusetts, but was not considered an advocate. Charles Sumner studied law in his office in 1834. Mr. Augustus H. Fiske became his partner and succeeded to the large and lucrative practice upon the death of Mr. Rand in 1852. He can be classed as one of Weston's greatest sons.

SAMUEL PHILLIPS SAVAGE was the son of Arthur Savage, who married Faith Phillips, in 1710, daughter of Samuel Phillips, a distinguished bookseller in Boston. The grandfather of Samuel Phillips Savage, born in 1640, was the second child of Samuel Savage, who emigrated to America from England, and married the daughter of the famous Ann Hutchinson. She had two children, and died in Weston, June 6, 1775, aged eighty-four years. The brother of Faith Phillips, who married Arthur Savage Henry Phillips, was killed in a duel on Boston Common in 1728, and lies buried in the cemetery on Boston Common. Samuel Phillips Savage was born in Weston, and was a leading man of the town for many years; he represented the town in the Provincial Congress held at Concord in 1774. He was made judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Middlesex County in 1775, president of the Massachusetts Board of War, moderator of the meetings held in the Old South Church previous to and on the night the tea was steeped in the salt water of Boston Harbor. Judge Savage's first wife was a Russell, and, second, Mary Meserve, of Weston, in 1794. He died in Weston in 1797, and lies buried in the old cemetery. The portrait of Judge Savage, by Copley, is now in possession of Mr. John R. Savage, of Philadelphia.

REV. EDMUND HAMILTON SEARS, D.D., was born at Sandisfield, a town in the mountainous country of Western Massachusetts, on the 6th of April, 1810. He was the youngest son of Joseph and Lucy (Smith) Sears, and, with his two brothers, passed his youth in hard work upon his father's farm. As a boy he was serious minded, fond of study and given to writing poetry and sermons. He found it difficult to gratify his desire for a student's life, although his parents did all in their power to help his plans, but finally when he was twenty-one years of age he entered the sophomore class at Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., where he showed marked ability, both as a writer and as a student, and was graduated in 1834. He was drawn to Cambridge, Mass., by the writings of Channing and the Wares, and there he entered the Harvard Divinity School. His class was that of 1837, which numbered also the Reverend Henry W. Bellows, D.D., and the Reverend Rufus P. Stebbins, D.D. For nearly a year Mr. Sears preached as a missionary at Toledo, O. In 1839 he was ordained as minister of the First Church in Wayland, Mass., and it was in the same year that he married Ellen, daughter of the Hon. Ebenezer Bacon, of Barnstable, Mass. In 1840 he accepted a call to the Unitarian Church at Lancaster, Mass., where his health gave way after a most happy but laborious ministry of seven years. He returned to Wayland and gradually regained his

powers of usefulness, but it had become apparent to him that his strength was not equal to the care of a large parish, and though he received numerous calls from large societies he was never able to accept them. He was settled at Wayland in 1848, and here, as at Lancaster, he was happy and successful in his work; but it was here, too, that he met with the deepest grief of his life, a grief from which he never wholly recovered. In 1853 his only daughter, Katharine, died of scarlet fever at the age of ten. She was a thoughtful, serious, yet merry and most affectionate child, and so deeply did he feel her loss that it was months before he could bring himself to record the story of her suffering and death. That story, preserved among his manuscripts, is one of rare and deeply-moving pathos. He had three younger children, all of them sons,—Francis Bacon, born in 1849; Edmund Hamilton, born in 1852, and Horace Scudder, born in 1855. His married life was exceptionally complete and happy.

Mr. Sears' ministry at Wayland continued for seventeen years. In 1865 he was installed as colleague of Rev. Dr. Joseph Field, pastor of the Unitarian Church in the adjoining town of Weston, and upon the death of Dr. Field, in 1869, he became the sole minister of the church. The ten years he spent at Weston were exceedingly pleasant and happy ones, and were enriched by one of the most delightful experiences of his life—a tour to Europe in the summer of 1873. He died at his residence in Weston on January 16, 1876, after a long and painful illness.

Mr. Sears is well known as a writer upon religious themes, and, besides many sermons and discourses, he published the following volumes: "Pictures of the Olden Time," 1853; "Regeneration," 1853; "Athanasia, or Foregleams of Immortality," 1858; "The Fourth Gospel the Heart of Christ," 1872; "Foregleams and Foreshadows of Immortality" (revised from "Athanasia"), 1873; "Sermons and Songs of the Christian Life," 1875; "Christ in the Life," 1877. Some of his lyrical pieces are well known, and are to be found in many hymnals, especially the two Christmas lyrics: "Calm on the Listening Ear of Night," and "It Came Upon the Midnight Clear."

In anti-slavery and war times he composed several stirring songs which were then often quoted, particularly the one written upon the death of John Brown. Mr. Sears was also senior editor of the *Monthly Religious Magazine* for many years, and contributed to that periodical numerous articles upon a great variety of topics. His volume "Pictures of the Olden Time" is an historical romance founded upon some old family traditions, and contained as an appendix a genealogy of the Sears family. His other works were, as their titles indicate, of a religious nature. The catholicity of his spirit is revealed in the wide circulation which his writings obtained. "More than any other man of his day," said the *New York Evening Post*, "he held convictions and made statements which commanded the assent of considerable numbers of thoughtful and cultivated persons outside of the religious body to which he belonged."

He received the degree of D.D. from Union College in 1870.

Such is the brief and meagre record of a remarkable life and a remarkable man. For Mr. Sears was remarkable, not because his gifts were great, but because they were unique. In the elevation of his Christian character, in his piety and his unswerving loyalty to the truth as he saw it, in his courage, his honesty in the smallest things, his thrift, his shrewdness and his firm grasp upon the practical side of life, he did not differ materially from many eminent divines who have adorned the history of New England from the earliest Puritan times; but in the depth of his poetic and spiritual insight, he stands as a marked and unique figure among them. His gift of poetic utterance, though unusual, was yet very limited, and his best poems are remarkable for melody, feeling and lyrical fire rather than for richness of poetic phrase; but his insight as a poet was exceptionally profound. In was first developed in his boyhood amid the Berkshire hills he loved; it was cherished and fed at Lancaster by the elms and the clear-flowing Nashua; at Wayland by the fair river landscape that reveals itself from the high hills of the town; it was quickened by the lake scenery of England and the rugged mountains of Scotland; and finally it received its fullest and highest inspirations when applied to divine and spiritual things. Mr. Sears was like an Oriental in his readiness to apply it to such things, and was always a little impatient with the practical and prosy bent of the European mind, which he termed "our freezing Occidentalism." He was ready to see spiritual things through natural things, and grasped eagerly at the great fact revealed by Saint John, by Swedenborg, and by Wordsworth, that the outward universe is but a veil that dimly hides the Divine and Eternal Mind. And so quite naturally he loved Wordsworth more than any other poet, and found in him unfailing delight.

Yet Mr. Sears was not a visionary. His mind was severely logical. His insight divined truth, both natural and spiritual, with wonderful quickness, but he never trusted what he thus apprehended until his reason had confirmed it. Hence his religious works have a unique and peculiar character, especially the one on the Fourth Gospel. The style is fervid and poetic; the religious feeling is strong and even intense; and yet no conclusions are reached that are not logically defended and maintained.

This poetic nature that was so marked in Mr. Sears affected his character profoundly, giving to it great fineness and some limitations also. It made him sensitive, gentle, winning, so that he was beloved by the various peoples to whom he preached as a minister is seldom loved. But his sensitiveness was extreme, and though he was unusually firm, fearless and decided,





Edmund H. Sears

and possessed, too, uncommon force, it prevented his character from having that robustness and completeness that belongs to men of a different mould.

Mr. Sears was in sympathy with the earlier leaders of the Unitarian movement, yet it could hardly be said that he followed them, for he reached his most cherished convictions by his own independent thinking. To him the one central idea of Christian theology was the "Logos doctrine," that "the Word was made flesh and dwelt among" us, and hence that there was in Christ the Divine nature in its fullness as well as the human. In maintaining this view he found himself out of sympathy with the newer, humanitarian school of Unitarians; but in the preface to "Sermons and Songs," the last of his works published during his life, he affirmed his loyalty to the Unitarian body and his gratitude to it for the freedom it had always allowed him.

As a citizen he was prominent and active, taking a keen interest in town affairs as well as those of the State and the Nation. Especially did he labor in behalf of education, and not only did he raise the standards of the schools, but he gave to the more intelligent young people of his different pastorates most valuable mental stimulus and help. He did not often introduce secular topics into his sermons, but in great crises, as at the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law, he did not hesitate to declare from the pulpit that when the human and the Divine law were in conflict it was the duty of all to obey the latter. After the assault upon Charles Sumner he preached a sermon entitled "Revolution or Reform," which so commended itself to the anti-slavery leaders that they had a large edition printed and many thousand copies were circulated throughout the North.

For thirty years, including the greater part of his active life, Mr. Sears was a citizen of Middlesex County, where his influence upon the intellectual and spiritual life of his time was deeply felt.

Braddyll Smith, son of William Smith, born in 1715, married in 1736 Mary Hager. He was captain of the Weston Company of minute-men and made colonel of militia in 1776–77. He represented Weston in the General Court in 1775, and in 1776–77 was a delegate to the Continental Congress at Concord and Watertown; he held all the important offices in the town and church; he had eight children and died in 1779.

Samuel Seaverns, baptized in Watertown in 1686, married Rebecca Stratton in 1699; his son Samuel, born in 1706, when a boy, before going for the cows, would climb a tree and look out for Indians before venturing away from his father's house—a part of the Starr house, now of Bush heirs, was probably built by Samuel Seaverns. Dr. Starr was born in this house and married Abigail Upham in 1762. The house was repaired in 1856, and a copper coin of George II. found in the walls.

Samuel Seaverns, born in 1779, was so much opposed to the Boston and Worcester Railroad passing through his land, that during his life he could not be induced to enter the cars, and would turn his back on the trains as they passed along in sight. The compensation he received from the road was not considered by him as any equivalent for the intrusion upon his property.

Ebenezer Starr, M.D., born in 1768; graduated at Harvard College in 1789. He was made M.D. in 1825. He died in 1830. He was a member of the Legislature in 1815, 1817, and justice of the peace.

Ephraim Woolson, son of Thomas Woolson, of Weston, born in 1740; graduated at Harvard College in 1760. He settled in New Hampshire.

Samuel Woodward, son of the Rev. Samuel Woodward, born 1756; graduated at Harvard College in 1776. He was a surgeon in the Continental Army, and settled in Newburgh, New York. He died in 1785, leaving one son. His brother, Cyrus Woodward, born in 1764, died in 1782, while in the Sophomore class at Harvard.

Samuel Woodward, fourth child of Ebenezer and Mindwell Stone Woodward, was born in Newton in 1726; graduated at Harvard College in 1748; ordained pastor of the Weston church in 1751 by a unanimous vote of the town. In 1753 he married Abigail, daughter of the Rev. Wareham Williams, of Waltham, and had twelve children. Abigail, the third child, born in 1759, married the Rev. Samuel Kendall in 1786. Miranda, the fifth child, married Mr. Kendall for his second wife, in 1794. Mr. Woodward was a strong Liberty man throughout the Revolution, and he joined Captain Lamson's company as a private on the march to Concord, in 1775. He died October 5, 1782, having been pastor over the Weston church for thirty-one years. His death was greatly lamented. His widow married Col. Thomas Marshall in 1795.

Rev. William Williams was born in 1688, the son of the Rev. William Williams, of Hatfield. He graduated at Harvard College in 1705 and was ordained pastor over the church in Weston November 9, 1709; he married, in 1710, Hannah, daughter of the Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton. She died in 1741, leaving eight children; Lucy, his fifth child, born in 1721, married, in 1743, the Rev. Joseph Buckminster. Mr. Williams organized the church in Weston. Mr. Williams died in 1760, aged seventy-two years.

Phineas Whitney, born in 1740; graduated at Harvard College in 1759; ordained in 1762 the first settled minister in Shirley, where he remained over fifty years—his salary was £66 13*s.* 4*d.* He was trustee of Groton Academy from its foundation till his death, in 1819, in his eightieth year.

Charles Train, son of Samuel Train, of Weston, born in 1783; graduated at Harvard College in 1805; ordained a Baptist minister in Framingham in 1811, over the united churches of Weston and Framing-

ham. They separated in 1826, Mr. Train remaining in Framingham, which position as pastor he held until 1839. He was preceptor of Framingham Academy in 1808 and afterwards a trustee. He represented the town in 1822 for six years at the General Court and was afterwards a State Senator. He was active at that early date in the cause of temperance, and it was by his active initiation that we owe our State Library. In 1833 he met with an accident which incapacitated him from active life until his death, which occurred September 17, 1849. His son, Charles R. Train, graduated from Brown University in 1837; he was a prominent lawyer, at one time district attorney and State Senator.

ARTHUR TRAIN, son of Samuel and brother of Charles, born in 1772, married Betsey, daughter of Joseph Train, of Weston, November 30, 1797.

CHAPTER XXXV.

NATICK.

BY REV. JOHN F. NORTON, A.M.

NATURAL FEATURES AND PRODUCTIONS.

THIS town is situated in the southern part of Middlesex County, seventeen miles west of Boston and twenty-three miles east of Worcester. Its boundaries, which have been repeatedly changed since 1650, when it became an Indian plantation, are somewhat irregular. On the north lies Wayland, on the northeast Weston, on the east Wellesley, on the south Sherborn, on the southeast Dover, and on the west Framingham. In shape the town forms an irregular triangle.

The name Natick is doubtless of Indian origin and signified, in the language of the aborigines, as is generally supposed, "The Hilly Place." If so, it was appropriately given to this locality, where the hills are so numerous and so prominent a feature of the landscape. These hills are by no means as long and steep as are found in the mountainous portions of our Commonwealth; still not a few of them are notable for their size and height, and, interspersed as they are between the lakes, the plains, the valleys and watercourses of the town, greatly diversify and beautify its scenery in almost every direction. Of these, Peagan Hill is the best known and the highest. This lies in the southern part of the town and commands a magnificent view of the valley of Charles River and extensive regions beyond, while from no other height in this vicinity is the general prospect so grand and imposing.

Walnut Hill, upon the southern slope of which a considerable part of the large central village of Natick is built, gives from its summit the best view of the thickly-settled portion of the town, as well as of picturesque Lake Cochituate, and of the regions at the north, including Mount Wachusett and "Grand Monadnock," the great isolated mountain of Southern New Hampshire.

Other hills of less note are found in almost every section of the town, and the drives to the summits of and among these are remarkably pleasant.

There are three plains in the town, originally named Eliot Plain, upon the banks of Charles River, in South Natick; Peagan Plain, where the central village is chiefly located, and Boden Plain, in the northwest part of the town, so named to perpetuate the memory of William Boden, Esq.

The soil of Natick is fairly good, and, fifty years ago, nearly all the people were frugal and thriving farmers. Some of the most productive farms of that period are now covered by the populous central village, particularly those of Rev. Martin Moore, Dr. John Angier, Ruel Morse, Abel Perry and Capt. David Bacon.[1] At the present time the manufacturing interests of Natick render farming a matter of secondary importance in the public estimation, but its farms are not neglected and cannot be without affecting adversely the town's prosperity. The land produces large crops of grass, of the cereal grains and of potatoes, all of which find here a remunerative market.

Much attention has been given of late years to the cultivation of fruit. The apple orchards are generally prolific, while the soil and climate seem especially adapted to the growth and perfection of pears and grapes. All kinds of pear trees grow luxuriantly and nearly every year bear heavily. Nearly all the newer varieties of grapes are found in the yards and gardens, and climbing the sides of the houses and barns of Natick, while the older varieties, like the Concord, are still valued highly and largely cultivated. The small fruits, like the strawberry and raspberry, abound here in great perfection.

The rocks and ledges of this town afford material for roughly constructed walls, but nothing sufficiently fine for ornamental and monumental purposes. The quarries of Milford and Holliston are chiefly depended upon to furnish underpinning stones for the public buildings, the business blocks and all the better class of dwelling-houses, while those of the Connecticut Valley and of Southern New Hampshire afford the finer material for the numerous and large brick structures that have been erected during the last fifteen years.

Originally Natick was covered with a heavy growth of forest trees, among which the oak, the walnut, the chestnut, the elm and the maple were conspicu-

[1] Bacon's "History," page 149.

ous. Some trees are now standing in this town that have acquired not a little notoriety, the chief of which is "the Eliot Oak," that stands a few rods east of the Unitarian Church in South Natick. This is a white oak and of great antiquity. A century ago there were three large oaks in the centre of that village, forming a triangle. Under one of these Eliot gathered the Indians together and preached to them in 1650, as we shall presently see. One of these three trees, which was a red oak, was removed, probably near the opening of the present century. The second of these trees, which grew near the site of the drinking fountain in that village, was a very large tree and considerably decayed fifty years ago. This was a red oak and was cut down May 25, 1842.

Whether the last-mentioned tree was the real Eliot Oak, or this name properly belongs to the immense and venerable tree now standing, is a question that has been much discussed, but apparently decided in favor of the latter tree, for the following reasons: The red oak is well known to be a tree of rapid growth, and it has been computed that it comes to its growth in about one hundred years, and that in one hundred additional years it may be expected to fall from decay. On the contrary, the white oak grows very slowly, and does not reach its full size in less than three hundred years, and will remain in this condition of apparently perfect or nearly perfect health for three hundred years longer, and may be expected to live nine hundred years.

The tree now standing is doubtless the real Eliot Oak, for its competitor for this honor, the second of the red oaks, could hardly have been more than a sapling two hundred years before it was removed.[1]

The Charles River is the only river of Natick. This flows through the southern part of the town, and has been computed to cover in its course through Natick about one hundred acres of territory. At the rapids in South Natick it has long furnished valuable water privileges. Much of the water is taken from this river below Natick, before it reaches the ocean—as much, it is thought, as it receives from the brooks flowing into it in that part of its course. Broad's Hill divides the waters emptying into Charles River from those that reach Lake Cochituate, and these meet in the Atlantic through the channels of the Charles and Merrimac.

None of the brooks of Natick are large, but some of them, like Sawin's and Bacon's, have long furnished sites for mill purposes.

The Sawin saw-mill (the location of which was once changed because its dam injured the great meadows in Medfield) was built by John Sawin about 1720. This was a great boon to the Indians, especially after there was added to it a corn-mill. Peagan Brook, which coming from the east, and, flowing through the central village nearly parallel with the track of the Boston and Albany Railroad, empties into Lake Cochituate near its south-eastern corner, has acquired not a little notoriety by the recent litigation between the city of Boston and citizens of Natick touching the alleged pollution of the waters of the lake through the discharge of sewers into this stream.

Lake Cochituate, a large part of which lies in Natick, and from which the city of Boston receives much of its water supply, covers about six hundred acres of territory, and, with its windings, is nearly seven miles in length. Its opposite shores, in some places, approach within a few rods of one another, and while certain parts of it are comparatively shallow, in other places the water is nearly or quite seventy feet deep. The water from this lake is conveyed through the north part of Natick in its course towards Boston, while through the south part of the town and by means of another aqueduct the supply from the Sudbury River reaches the same city. In the latter structure is a very long tunnel under the high hill northwest of South Natick village. Lake Cochituate is a very attractive sheet of water.

South of Cochituate lies Dug Pond, so named, doubtless, because of its abrupt and regular shores, giving it the appearance of having been excavated by human processes. In extent it covers not far from fifty acres. From this pond, which is deep and clear, the water supply of Natick is taken, the steam pumping machinery on its northern shore raising the water and driving it through the village into a spacious reservoir upon a high hill east of the same. The water in Dug Pond is the product of springs in it, and not of streams emptying into it from the adjoining territory. The pond is separated from Lake Cochituate by a very narrow neck of land, but the water in the former is some feet higher than that of the latter. Less public interest attaches to the other ponds in Natick, of which there are a number.

The waters of Natick formerly supplied the inhabitants of the region with various kinds of fish, which were taken in great numbers. When Rev. Mr. Eliot established the Indian Plantation at South Natick he found that the fishing interest of the aborigines around the rapids of the Charles River had become a business of considerable and acknowledged importance. Before dams were built across the Concord River, and the city of Lowell grew up around the rapids of the Merrimac, the shad and some other kinds of fish that live a part of each year in the ocean, found their way into Lake Cochituate, and were taken from it in large quantities. Animals were fed with them, as well as men, we are assured, and the ancient records of Natick show that officers were annually chosen to superintend the fisheries of the parish, a part of whose duty it was to prevent strangers and all unauthorized persons from taking fish from the lake.

Among the destructive wild animals that were found in this region two hundred and fifty years ago

[1] See the pamphlet issued by the Historical, Natural History and Library Society of South Natick, 1881, p. 56.

the bear and the wolf were the most common, but, as these had no strongholds in the sides of precipitous mountains, to which they could flee when pursued by hunters, they were easily and quickly exterminated.

Among other animals which the region produced when white families began to settle in this place, the deer, the moose, the fox, the otter and the beaver may be mentioned, and the hunting and trapping of the fur-clad portion of these had furnished for a number of years before a somewhat lucrative employment for the Indians of the Natick Plantation. Waban, the chief, who removed, with a large part of his followers, from Nonantum to Natick in 1650–51 (as we shall presently see), was an Indian trader—in other words, a dealer in furs and skins—and in the first public building erected on this ground, a portion of the second story was used for the storage of Waban's merchandise. And later, when a new meeting-house was erected for the Indians, in 1721, we learn that the workmen were "pay^{d} every Saturday," and for their labor "rec^{d} 213 Beavers." Sometimes the skins appear to have been counted in the process of trade, and sometimes sold by weight; and, certainly, the animals that furnished such quantities as we read of must have been numerous.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

NATICK—(Continued).

INDIAN SETTLEMENT, 1650–1700.[1]

NATICK is a historic town, and its early history, for the space of nearly one hundred years, is almost wholly unlike that of any other town in the Commonwealth.

In the charter of the Massachusetts Colony that came to New England in the year 1630, we are told that one of the objects which it was expected would be accomplished by this movement was the physical, mental and moral elevation of the ignorant and barbarous Indians who inhabited the region. Other matters occupied the attention of the Colony for a number of years, but in 1646 an act was passed by the General Court of Massachusetts, which was designed to promote the evangelization of the aborigines of the Commonwealth. This matter was commended particularly to the pastors and leading men in the churches that had been organized.

The man before all others to take the lead in this movement was Rev. John Eliot, the minister in Roxbury. Born of religious parents at Nasing, Essex County, England, in 1603, he had been educated at the University of Cambridge, where he was matriculated in 1619, with the reputation of being an excellent grammarian and fond of philological studies in general. His purpose at that time was to enter the Christian ministry as soon as might be, but he was a non-conformist, and non-conformity in those days subjected a man who would be a religious teacher to the most severe disabilities. Rev. Mr. Hooker, who, at a later period, was the eminent first pastor at Hartford, Ct., had recently been silenced for non-conformity. Mr. Eliot was taken into Mr. Hooker's family, and made an usher in a grammar school which the latter, had established; but, according to the historian Neal, Eliot was "not allowed to teach school in his native country."

Under these circumstances it was only natural that he should seek a refuge and home in the new world. November 3, 1631, he landed in Boston from the ship "Lyon," that brought over with him the wife and children of Governor Winthrop. Rev. John Wilson, pastor of the First Church in Boston, was at this time in England attending to the settlement of business affairs in which he was concerned, and Governor Winthrop, with two other laymen, was conducting the services of the church in the absence of the pastor. Mr. Eliot was at once invited to preach there, and so acceptable were his labors, that the people were very unwilling to give him up when, to fulfill his promise made to friends in England who were anticipating a removal to the Massachusetts Colony, he settled in Roxbury, these friends having arrived from the mother country and being ready to abide by their part of the engagement.

November 5, 1632, Mr. Eliot became the minister at Roxbury, and continued such till the time of his death, May 20, 1690. His colleagues at different times were Messrs. Welde, Danforth and Walter. Mr. Eliot was now twenty-eight years of age, and remarkably well fitted to take the lead in the great enterprise of civilizing and christianizing the Indians. It was a formidable undertaking, so low were they in ignorance and barbarism.

Anticipating his mission, as early as 1641 Mr. Eliot entered on the difficult task of learning the Indian language, particularly the Mohegan dialect, which was spoken generally by the Indians in Eastern Massachusetts, securing for aid the assistance of an Indian who could speak English, and whom he took into his family. In a few months he could converse somewhat in the Indian tongue, but some years

[1] The authorities consulted in preparing this portion of the "History of Natick" are as follows: "Life of John Eliot," by Professor C. Francis; "The White Oak and its Neighbors," by Sarah S. Jacobs—better known by the title, "Nonantum and Natick"—"Temple's History of Framingham," very full and reliable upon the Indian history of this region; the Histories of Natick, by William Biglow, Oliver N. Bacon, Rev. Martin Moore and Rev. S. D. Hosmer; "Manual of the First Congregational Church of Natick," by Rev. Daniel Wight, a work carefully prepared, full and reliable; Drake's "Old Indian Chronicles;" and the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. These authors agree substantially in all their statements of facts, and these facts will be given in this sketch without the usual references to particular authorities. Due credit will accompany all direct quotations. The Indian apostle, Eliot, was a voluminous writer, and the same may be said of his ministerial contemporaries in Boston and its vicinity.

elapsed before he could trust himself to preach a sermon to the natives. His first Indian discourse was given at Nonantum, October 28, 1646.

Nonantum was an Indian village in the northeast part of what is now the city of Newton, bordering on Watertown. Waban (*the wind*), with his wife and a company of his followers, had come to this village not long before from what is now Concord, and at the time of which we are speaking he was the chief of the Nonantum settlement. This Waban is described as "the chief minister of justice among them," and was regarded as well disposed toward the project of giving instruction in morals and religion to the Indians. His son, at Waban's suggestion, was at this time attending an English school in Dedham, but came over to Nonantum to be present at the meeting above mentioned.[1] Notice having been previously given of this gathering for a religious service, Mr. Eliot and his companions were met not far from the wigwams by Waban and other Indians, who respectfully saluted them and conducted them to the dwelling of their chief, where a considerable audience had assembled.

Mr. Eliot took his text from Ezekiel, chap. xxxvii. 9, 10, "Prophesy unto the wind," etc., and when it is remembered that "Waban" signified "wind," we may well suppose that the chief made a personal application of the entire discourse, which occupied one hour and a quarter. In the course of the sermon the ten commandments had been recited and explained, and the whole matter made as practical as possible. Then followed a series of questions and answers from both parties, and after three hours had been spent at this first religious meeting of the Massachusetts Indians the services closed. At the request of Waban and his company, the service was repeated two weeks later in the chief's wigwam, and this was followed by a third and fourth meeting, all of which seemed to leave good impressions on the minds of the Indians.

Meanwhile, under Mr. Eliot's direction, the temporal affairs of this people began to show a marked improvement. Fences were made, ditches were dug, and something like a system of good husbandry introduced. The squaws learned to spin; the markets of the English began to be supplied with brooms, baskets, berries, fowls and fish, brought in by the Indians.

About the same time, or soon after, Mr. Eliot commenced holding religious services with the Indians at Neponset, but these were attended with less to encourage him than the meetings and visible improvement in temporal matters at Nonantum afforded. He also visited the natives at Concord, and later on an Indian town was constituted and named Nashobah, where one of Eliot's followers, an Indian teacher, conducted religious worship for a time.

It may here be stated that at this stage of his missionary labors, and during some years after, Mr. Eliot preached to the Indians in so many places in the eastern part of Massachusetts, and such results followed his labors, that as many as fourteen settlements of Praying Indians are named in the histories of those times. Besides those already mentioned, Punkapoag (now Stoughton), Hassanamesit (now Grafton), Okommakamesit (now Marlborough), Magunkaquog (now partly in Ashland), and Wamesit (now Lowell) are enumerated among the Christian towns or settlements. When we speak of these Indian towns we are not to picture to ourselves anything resembling one of our modern villages, with spacious and well-kept streets, lined with neat and attractive dwellings, but rather ten or twenty huts on the banks of a pond or stream, with a single room each, and this often partly under ground for the sake of securing warmth in winter, the whole so constructed that all valuable in or about it could be taken down and removed at a few hours' notice. All that has now been stated respecting the mission of Mr. Eliot seems necessary for a full understanding of the reasons that led to the Indian settlement in Natick.

Three or four years' labor in conducting his experiment at Nonantum were sufficient to convince this thoughtful and devoted man that he was laboring under serious disadvantages in endeavoring to civilize and christianize the natives in such close proximity to the English colonists. The white population was taking possession of the entire region within ten miles of Boston, and it was easily apparent that as society was then constituted, they and the Indians could not live and prosper in the same neighborhood. To say nothing of social habits and customs, which would prevent the two races from enjoying friendly intercourse, their different views of right and wrong made friction almost inevitable. The fences that the Indians put around their small gardens and corn-fields afforded but little protection against the cattle of the English, and after loss had been sustained, adequate redress was out of the question, while, notwithstanding the strictness of their laws, it must be confessed that the evil example of some of the colonists was demoralizing. According to the old historians, the Indians of New England knew nothing of drunkenness till the English began to settle in the region. The most reliable authorities state that they had nothing that could intoxicate before the coming of the white man; but when the taste for strong liquors had been once acquired, they became passionately fond of them, and would obtain them, if possible, at any cost.

As early as 1648 Mr. Eliot sent a petition to the General Court, asking that the sale of intoxicating drinks to the Indians should in Boston be confined to a single individual, and the order of the court was as follows: "On petition of Mr. Eliot, none in Boston to sell wine to the Indians except William Phillips, on fine of twenty shillings."

These exposures and troubles at Nonantum and

[1] See Francis' "Life of Eliot," p. 48.

elsewhere led Mr. Eliot to seek a more favorable location for the founding of an Indian town which should be a model settlement for the Praying Indians, and the headquarters of more general and better-directed efforts for their education and moral improvement. With this object in view, he seems to have explored, on foot or on horseback, the region of country west and southwest of Boston for the distance of twenty or twenty-five miles before a suitable place was discovered. To his great joy such a place was at length found upon the banks of the Charles River, about seventeen miles west of Boston.

This locality he deemed very favorable for many reasons. It was at a sufficient distance from the English settlements to remove the Indians, certainly for a time, from the inconveniences and exposures to which they had been subject at Nonantum, and yet was so near Roxbury that Mr. Eliot could go back and forth without great fatigue, or making serious inroads upon his valuable time. Besides, there was a large tract of fertile meadow-land upon the banks of the Charles River, at the place selected, already cleared—either by the beavers or by the annual burning of the grass and bushes by the Indians—so that the important business of husbandry could be commenced at once.

The selection of the place for the new settlement was made in 1650, and Mr. Eliot seems to have invited the Praying Indians in all the region, and all others who were disposed to join them, to remove to the new locality. During the summer of that year he sent men to cut and cure the heavy grass on the meadows, that there might be an abundance of hay for his horse during the autumn and when the spring of 1651 should open. A considerable number of Indians from Nonantum and other places removed at once to the new settlement named "Natick" (the hilly place) for reasons already given.

Measures were immediately taken to secure for the Indians a legal title to the land they had been invited to occupy. As early as 1636 (as it appears from the "Mass. Col. Records") the General Court had granted a tract of land five miles square, on the northerly side of Charles River, to the town of Dedham, and this tract embraced most, if not all, the territory now covered by the towns of Natick and Wellesley, and a part of Sherborn. Mr. Eliot asked of Dedham 2000 acres of this land, which was given, and by the General Court set apart as "The Indian Plantation at Natick."

But this did not satisfy Mr. Eliot's ideas of strict justice, for a considerable part of this territory was already occupied by others whose claims he would not disregard. This part was "the inheritance of John Speene and his brethren and kindred," and these Indians were in possession. There is, in the office of the town clerk at Natick, a paper supposed to be in Eliot's handwriting, under date of 1650, which sets forth the mode in which this matter was satisfactorily settled:[1] "Because all those Lands, or a great part, at least, which belong to Natick, were the inheritance of John Speene and his brethren and kindred; therefore, we thought it right that he and all his kindred should solemnly give up their right therein before the Lord, and give the same unto the publick interest, right and possession of the Towne of Naticke. They were all very willing so to do, and therefore, on a lecture-day, publickly and solemnly, before the Lord and all the people, John Speen and all his kindred, friends and posterity, gave away all their Right and interest, which they formerly had in the Land in and about Natick, unto the public interest of the towne of Naticke, that so the praying Indians might then make a towne; and they received nothing to themselves, saving interest in their wyers, which they had before put; for Lands they would only take up lots, as others did, by the publick order and agreement of the towne, and at the same time they received a gratuity unto their good Contentment.[2]" Following the above, and on the same page, is another similar document from another family, which the historian (Biglow) declared sixty years ago was scarcely legible. The agreements were signed by John Eliot, Waban and sixteen other Indians as witnesses. Though there is some conflict of authorities respecting the exact dates of these conveyances, there is none respecting the facts as stated above.

It having been determined that the settlement should occupy both banks of the river, a foot-bridge became necessary, since during a part of each year the stream was too deep for wading. In the autumn of 1650 this bridge was built in a substantial manner by the Indians, who, up to this time, had never accustomed themselves to such severe and protracted labor. The structure was eighty feet long and nine feet high in the middle, and built in the form of an arch. When it was completed, Mr. Eliot is said to have called the workmen together for a religious service and to praise them for their industry, zeal and success. He offered to pay them if any desired wages for their work, but all declined the offer, being fully satisfied with the part they had performed in promoting the public convenience and safety.

In the spring of 1651 the work of building was resumed, and an Indian village of considerable size appeared upon both banks of the river. Seed was sown or planted, fruit trees were set out, and soon the Indians were engaged in putting up a house in the English style for their school during the week and for religious services on the Sabbath. This house is described by Mr. Eliot and others as fifty feet long, twenty-five feet wide and twelve feet high between the joists, and two stories high. A white carpenter

[1] This is probably the most ancient of the Indian records which the town of Natick has in its keeping. Some of it is deciphered with difficulty; but the most important part was copied into a substantial record-book some years since by Austin Bacon, and this the town will preserve.

[2] Biglow, p. 23.

was employed for a very short time to direct about the framing and raising, but otherwise the entire work was done by the Indians. They felled the trees and hewed the timber for the frame, carrying it on their shoulders to the foundation already prepared, and finished the structure, not in elegant style indeed, but in such substantial work as called forth the commendations of visitors. The lower story was fitted up for the school and for religious gatherings, while above was a spacious room for the deposit of Indian valuables and especially for the skins, etc., belonging to Waban, who was in his way a trader. Another part of the second story furnished a comfortable study for Mr. Eliot when, as was often the case, he came over from Roxbury and passed a number of days at the Plantation.

Whether this entire building was surrounded by tall trees stripped of their branches and set close together in the ground, after the manner of the early forts in New England, it seems difficult to determine; but either around it, or in close proximity to it, such a fort was constructed and made capable of defence from hostile attack. It is supposed that for a considerable period, when the weather was favorable, their religious meetings were held in the open air, for we read that the Indians constructed canopies of mats attached to poles—one for the preacher and his attendants, others for the men and women respectively, the sexes being separated according to the custom of the times in English assemblies. The building described above was the first church edifice in Natick.

A few of the Indian homes resembled somewhat small and cheaply constructed English houses, but because of the expense attending their erection and the difficulty of warming them easily and sufficiently in the winter, most preferred wigwams like those in which they were born. These were located on the banks of the river on three streets, two on the north side of the stream, and one on the south side. House lots were measured off, one being assigned to each wigwam, and soon fifty or more Indian families were established in homes which at least were deemed comfortable, and which were really a great improvement on the filthy and crowded huts of their childhood.

The Indians were encouraged in every possible way to adopt the customs of civilized life, while their intellectual and moral training received from Mr. Eliot the most constant and careful attention. With their new and spacious room for educational purposes a new era opened, and soon a large number were engaged in study and making, according to all reports, commendable progress. An Indian by the name of Monequassen, who had been for some years under training, was engaged as teacher. Governor Endicot and Rev. John Wilson, of Boston, testified at the time respecting the good qualifications of this man for his work. He could read, spell and write English as well at least as most of the English teachers of that day—while all his instruction was given under the general superintendence of Mr. Eliot. As to the Sabbath services, we learn from Gookin that "upon the Lord's days, fast days and lecture days, the people assemble at the sound of a drum (for bells they yet have not) twice each day."[1]

This school at Natick, Mr. Eliot plainly designed as a seminary for the higher education of the brightest and most promising among the Indian young men of his acquaintance, that such might be fitted for instructors in less favored localities; and in this respect his hopes were at least partially realized. It was early discovered by this sharp-sighted, as well as devotedly pious man, that the exhortations of the Indians in their own tongue had a remarkable effect, especially upon strangers who might be present at their religious meetings (and the presence of such was not uncommon), and so he established the custom of selecting two of the scholars for each Sabbath "to exercise," as it was termed; that is, to repeat portions of the Scriptures as he read them, to offer prayer and to give, in their own language, the substance of his discourses. Mr. Eliot himself catechised the adults when he was present on the Sabbath, as he often was, for many years, while the children were catechised by Monequassen.

The material, intellectual and religious concerns of the Plantation having been provided for by these arrangements, Mr. Eliot now directed his attention to the mode of civil government which it would be best for the Indians to adopt. Though, in a sense, they were not absolutely independent, but were subject to the laws of the English colony, it seems to have been expected on all sides that they would adopt what we may call municipal regulations of their own, and the form and scope of these became, at a very early day, a serious matter.

Under his supreme regard for the authority of the Bible, Mr. Eliot's ideas respecting the best form of civil government differed from those entertained by most of the Puritan leaders. In one of his letters to friends in England, he exclaimed, "O the blessed day in England when the Word of God shall be their Magna Charter and chief law-book, and when all lawyers must be divines to study the Scriptures."

Entertaining such views, it is not surprising that Mr. Eliot proposed to the Indians that for the fundamental law of the Natick Plantation they should adopt the Mosaic code so far as it relates to civil officers. "England," he assured them, "did flourish happily under that kind of government," alluding, as Professor Francis supposes, to King Alfred's institutions, after he had expelled the Danes from Great Britain.

There appears to have been no objection on the part of the Indians to this proposal of Mr. Eliot. August 6, 1651, a general meeting of the Praying Indians was held in Natick, but how far those who

[1] Mass. Hist. Coll.

came from the other Christian settlements participated in this election of civil rulers we are not informed. The most we know is that a ruler of a hundred, two rulers of fifties and rulers of tens were chosen after Mr. Eliot had prayed and expounded to them the eighteenth chapter of Exodus. For the ruler of one hundred, Totherswamp was selected, who was a man in the prime of life, distinguished for uncommon ability and moral worth. Waban, to whom the reader has been already introduced, was chosen one of the captains of fifties. Ten captains of tens were also elected, and these Mr. Eliot denominated *tithingmen*, after, as he informs us, the custom of the mother country, when, for a little time, a similar form of government prevailed there. Then each man was requested to name his leader among the tithingmen, and, this being done, the organization of the civil government was complete. A day was named for entering into a solemn covenant with God, which was also a day for fasting and prayer. When first the rulers and then the people had taken upon themselves the solemn vow to live according to the commands of the Most High, Mr. Eliot's heart was full of praise and thanksgiving.

To show how these rulers demeaned themselves in office, the following incident may be related: Totherswamp, or Toteswamp, as he was sometimes called, the ruler of the hundred, had sent his son, a boy of eleven years, to one of the settlements nearer Boston to purchase some supplies. The lad found in that place three of the most vicious from the Praying Indians, who were making themselves drunk upon several quarts of strong liquor which they had obtained from the English. One of these men gave the boy a little rum in a spoon, and another forced him to drink from a bottle till he was thoroughly intoxicated; then they cried out, "We will now see whether your father will punish us for drunkenness, since you are drunk as well as we." Then a fight commenced among the intoxicated Indians, and the boy did not return home till the next day. The news of their shameful proceeding reached Mr. Eliot just as he was leaving his Roxbury home to pass the Sabbath in Natick, and he was almost overwhelmed with grief, particularly as one of the offenders had been employed by him as an interpreter, and was depended upon to aid in translating the Bible into the Indian language. The rulers were wisely left to try the case. The position of Toteswamp was especially trying, but in the final decision the just magistrate, rather than the father, prevailed. His boy, he said, had often been warned against being found in the company of the wicked, so that, though grievously sinned against, he was far from being guiltless, and deserved punishment. After mature deliberation the verdict rendered was as follows: The three chief offenders should sit in the stocks a long time, and then receive thirty lashes each at the whipping-post, while the boy should sit in the stocks a little while, and then be whipped by his father in the school-room, in the presence of the other Indian children—and this verdict, we are assured, was faithfully carried out.

In 1658, the tract of 2000 acres constituting the Natick Plantation being deemed too small, Mr. Eliot petitioned the General Court for an enlargement and readjustment of its boundaries. His petition led to the appointment of a committee "to lay out convenient bounds to Natick, out of the common lands adjoining, and also to treat with Dedham, and compound with them for such lands as lye adjoining to y^{e} said place, and seemed to be necessary for the Indians." This committee laid out and assigned to the Indian settlement a large tract of land lying north and west of the 2000 acres which had been donated by Dedham in 1650. But about 4000 acres of this tract were claimed by Dedham, and this town appealed to the General Court for redress. A committee was appointed in May, 1662, "to make final issue of the controversy between the town of Dedham and the Indians at Natick." About a year later this committee reported, when the General Court "judgeth it meete to grant Dedham 8000 acres of land in any convenient place or places, where it can be found free from former grants; provided Dedham accept this offer." Dedham appears to have been satisfied with the arrangement, for two years later these 8000 acres were laid out for Dedham, at Deerfield, in the valley of the Connecticut River.

The settlement appears to have prospered until 1675, and it was estimated a little before this date that the whole number of Praying Indians, chiefly in the Province of Massachusetts, amounted to 3600, of whom 300 at least belonged to the Natick community.

We come now to the sad part of this Indian history. King Philip was the son of Massasoit, with whom the Pilgrims at Plymouth made a treaty that was carefully observed for more than fifty years. Philip was ambitious, crafty and unscrupulous to the last degree. Deeming himself grievously insulted and wronged by the whites, he attempted to unite all the Indian tribes in Southern New England in an effort to exterminate the colonists; and in this attempt nearly succeeded. So general was this alliance that all the Indians in this part of the country fell under suspicion and were carefully watched. A few from the Natick Plantation were induced to join Philip, but the great body of the Praying Indians turned a deaf ear to his appeals and remained loyal to the whites. But nothing could appease the jealousy and calm the fears of the English.

Orders were soon issued for the arrest and removal of the Praying Indians of this vicinity. Captain Tom, who was among the early residents of the Natick Plantation, and one of the most respected of the converts, was seized at Grafton and taken to Boston, tried and condemned to be hung before Mr. Eliot was aware of his peril. "I went to

the prison to comfort him," wrote Mr. Eliot. "I dealt faithfully with him to confess if it were true whereof he is accepted, and for which he is condemned. I believe he saith truth." Mr. Eliot was with him at his execution: "On the ladder he lifted up his hands and said: 'I never did lift up hand against the English.'" No doubt Captain Tom was innocent.

A Captain Mosely commanded the troops that were sent to seize the Praying Indians at Marlborough. Arriving in the night, the soldiers surrounded the fort, seized the Indians, tied their hands behind them, connected them together after the manner of the slave-drivers of a generation ago, and hurried them off toward Boston. In Oct., 1675, Captain Prentiss, with a company of horsemen, seized the Indians on the Natick Plantation. No resistance was offered by the two hundred men, women and children who were then living peaceably in Natick, but they collected together a part of their goods, deposited them in the carts which the military had brought, and marched under the leadership of their captors to the place now occupied by the United States Arsenal at Watertown. At that point Mr. Eliot met them and did all in his power to comfort and cheer them in their great sorrow. The tide serving, at midnight they were taken on board some barges and removed as rapidly as possible to Deer Island, in Boston Harbor.

The Court had directed the county treasurer "to take care for the provision of these Indians," so as "to prevent their perishing by any extremity;" but the winter following was terribly severe, the snow was deep, their clothing was insufficient, and from all accounts their provisions barely served to prevent starvation. When visited by Mr. Eliot and Mr. Gookin, during the month of December, 1675, they were found patient under their trials, but suffering greatly.

This whole proceeding on the part of the officials at Boston was cowardly and cruel in the extreme. Their plea that their action was taken as well for the safety of the Indians as for their own, was a subterfuge unworthy of reasonable men, and cannot be condemned too severely.

As to the Natick Indians, eight in number, who were found with Philip's warriors and taken prisoners by the English, all were condemned to die, after several trials.

"Meantime," says the old Indian chronicle, "Mr. *Eliot* and Captain *Guggins* (Gookin) pleaded so very hard for the *Indians* that the whole Council knew not what to do about them. They hearkened to Mr. *Eliot* for his Gravity, Age and Wisdom, and also for that he hath been the chief Instrument that the Lord hath made use of in Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen; and was their Teacher till the time that some Indians were brought up in the University to supply his place. But for Captain *Guggins*, why such a wise Council as they should be so overbourne by him cannot be judged otherwise than because of his daily troubling them with his Impertinencies and multitudinous Speeches, insomuch that it was told him on the Bench by a very worthy Person (Captain Oliver) then present, that he ought rather to be confined among his Indians than to sit on the Bench.

"But so it was that by one and two at a time most of these eight *Indians* (and four were sent afterwards on the same account) were let loose by Night."

Plainly the writer of the above was influenced by strong prejudices, for Mr. Gookin, as superintendent of the Indians that acknowledged fealty to the General Court, was not only benevolent, but wise and discreet.

The Natick Indians imprisoned on Deer Island appear to have been divided into four companies in 1676, and placed under the care of Englishmen in different towns of the Province. The first company were sent to Medford to James Rummeny Marsh—twenty-five men and twenty-five women and children, The second company, we are told, "live near Natick adjoining to garison-house" of Andrew Dewin and his sons—ten men and forty women and children. The third company, "with Waban," seem to have been placed under the care of Joseph Miller and Captain Prentiss, "neare the Falls of Charles River"—twelve men and fifty women and children. The fourth company were "at Nonantum," on land belonging to John Cooms, and were employed by him and others on their farms—fifteen men and sixty women and children. Total, two hundred and thirty-seven. Besides these, about thirty were "put out to service to the English," "three were executed," "above twenty ran away."[1]

The death of King Philip, who was shot by a treacherous Indian in August, 1676, brought to an end this most cruel and destructive war which he inaugurated, and some of the Natick Indians soon began to return to their homes; but sickness and death had greatly reduced their numbers. Mr. Eliot bore the most ample testimony to their patience, forgiving spirit and adherence to Christian principle under their sore trials. But they came back poor and disheartened. To repair the wastes occasioned by their enforced absence for a year or more was not a pleasant undertaking.

Their school and religious services were resumed, for their old friend and guide was yet among them when the feebleness and infirmities of old age would permit; but while they were in a measure prosperous during the last twenty years of the seventeenth century, they never recovered from the shock experienced through the unjust and cruel treatment received at the hands of the officials of the Province.

[1] Quoted from Shattuck's Manuscript by Biglow, but greatly condensed as given above.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

NATICK.—(Continued).

1700–1800.

Anomalous Condition of the Township—Change in the Indian Government—Their Records—Population—Acts as Proprietors—Allotment of Lands—Sale of the Same—Natick as a Parish—Acts of General Court Relating to it—Parish Meetings—Warning Out of Town—In the Revolutionary War—Parish Declaration Regarding Independence—Natick Soldiers—Oath of Allegiance—Town Incorporated.

DURING the early part of the period indicated above, the condition of Natick was anomalous. At the opening of the eighteenth century it was simply an Indian settlement, as it had been for fifty years. The land was owned by the Indians, and so far as it was cleared and cultivated this was done by the Indians. They claimed the fish in the lakes, ponds and streams, and, so far as municipal government was maintained, the laws were made and executed by the Indians. Their school had an Indian teacher and their Sabbath services were conducted by one of their own nationality. And yet it is plain that their contact with the whites was gradually modifying their characters and nearly all their habits and customs. After the trial of the Mosaic Code, to a greater or less extent, for nearly half a century, they were ready to substitute other officers for their captains of hundreds, fifties and tens.

Many of them had learned to write and one, at least, had become a skillful penman, as the stray leaves of their records now in the office of the town clerk of Natick attest, though the items contained in these are generally without date and largely in the Indian language. Before 1719 they were transacting their public business like any of the neighboring towns and recording their proceedings in the most methodical and legible manner.

How many there were of the Indians who regarded the Natick Plantation as their home, from 1700 to 1725, it is impossible to determine. In 1678 there were 212 "Praying Indians" in Natick, and about ninety years later there were only thirty-seven. The historian Bacon records a tradition that about the year 1700 three hundred Indians paraded at an Indian training in this place. It must not be understood that all of these belonged in Natick, for in the most prosperous days of the plantation, just before King Philip's war, it is doubtful whether the entire adult population of the place equaled this number.

If this parade ever took place, the three hundred Indian soldiers must have come largely from other Indian settlements in the region.

The Indians kept records of all their business as a plantation certainly after the year 1700, but a large part of these have perished.

Under the date of 1702 an account has been preserved of "a meeting of selectmen and principall Indians of the Town of Natick," to run certain boundary lines. In 1708 a "Tything man" and constables were chosen, at which time Thomas Waban, son of the old Indian chief of Nonantum and Natick in 1650, was "Town Clerk," making his entries in the records in the best style of English town officers. In 1716 the town officers "were sworn in" as well as chosen, and this was, doubtless, a common proceeding. Later we have a "list of the haires of the plantation or proprietary of Natick," and in this list thirty-three names are given. From 1728, in a separate record-book from the one about to be described, we have regular proprietors' records, which are made up largely of the acts of Indian committees in laying out lands, the whole being approved of and assented to by Francis Fullam, Esq. Mr. Fullam was, at that time, superintendent of such of the Indians as acknowledged fealty to the English government of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, having been appointed by the General Court. He resided in Weston, and for many years appears to have been present at most of the business meetings of the Indians, by whom he was highly esteemed.

The Indian committees for laying out lands often signed the surveys with their marks.

In 1733 Thomas Peagan, Jr., was chosen "Saxton," and by a vote of the meeting swine were permitted to go at large in the plantation.

William Robinson, of Sudbury, and Elizabeth Tom, of Natick, had their intention of marriage published June 7, 1735.

Going back a few years in the order of time, there is inserted here an Indian document of great importance. It is taken from their second book of records, and the whole entry is made in extremely beautiful handwriting, but by whom does not appear.

"At a General Town Meeting of ye Propriators, Freeholders and Inhabitants of ye Town of Natick, Orderly Warned and Met together On Monday the 11th Day of May 1719.

"1st. In Order to ye better Stateing, Distinguishing, Knowing and Settling the Proprietors and Proprietee of ye Lands in Natick and rents of ye money of the Maguncoge Lands, and also of the freeholders District from the other Inhabitants of Natick, also to order How ye Yearly Payments of ye s^{d} Rents Shall be Rec^{d} for ye future of the Hon^{ble} Trustees and paid to the Indian Propriety of Natick lands.

"2dly. To take Effectual care to prevent Stripp and Waste of Wood and Timber, Standing, Lying or Growing on ye Comon and Undivided Lands in Natick or the Unnecessary Selling of ye Timber, Poles or Trees from Said Comons.

"3rdly. To Take Effectual Care that Each Person's allottment of ye Land in Natick, now Laid out and to be Laid out by Mr. Jones, Surveyor, be very Exactly & Truly Recorded, and that ye Surveyor be paid for Laying out of the Same.

FRANCIS FULLAM, ESQR., PRESENT AT S^{d} METTING.

"Voted unanimously at the above Said Meeting That Abraham Speen, James Speen, Moses Speen, Josiah Speen, Isaac Speen, John Speen, Isaac Muniquasin, John Wansamugs heirs of, Capt. Thomas Waban, Thomas Peagan, Simond Ephraim, Benjamin Tray, Samuel Bowman, Sam^{ll} Wills Right, Sam^{ll} Ompatawin, Hannah Tabunsug, Solomon Thomas in Maquahos Right, Israel Pumhamon alias Rumnimarsh, Samuel Abraham and also John Neesnumin if he Live and Dye in ye Worke of ye Gospel Ministry in Natick, Shall be henceforward Allowed, Held, Reputed and Distinguished to be ye Only and true proprietors of Natick, to whom the Rents and the Money of the Maguncoge Lands shall from Time to Tyme Hereafter be paid by such Person or Persons as Shall, in

behalf of the Indians, receive the Same of ye Trustees, & also the whole property or Right to all the Comon and Undivided Lands in the bounds of the Town of Natick to be pd to sd Proprietors and their heirs for Ever, ye said Neesnumin to have equal Share in Sd Rent Money During his continuance in ye Ministry in Natick. Each Proprietor's proportion in the first Division of Lands to be as followeth."

Then follows the allotment of sixty acres of land to each of these proprietors, with the number of the page of the record-book upon which the surveys are recorded.

At the same meeting certain persons, to the number of twenty-seven, are designated to "be Known and Distinguished For Ever Hereafter," "by the name of freeholders," the same to have no right to any "Rent Money" or to any later division of land in said Natick.

To eleven of these were assigned severally sixty acres of land, to one fifty acres, and to each of the remaining fifteen, thirty acres; but upon what principle this distribution was made, we know not.

This action disposed of 2360 acres of the common land.

At the same meeting Francis Fullam, Esq., was constituted the agent of the Indians to receive and pay out their rent money, and to see that the above-mentioned allotments of land should "be very exactly recorded in the New town book."

To understand this matter of rent money, it should here be stated that the Magunkook lands lay originally beyond the western boundary of Natick, but by an exchange of territory with Sherborn, a part of them came into the possession of the Natick Indians. On the petition of Rev. Mr. Eliot, 1000 acres had been granted, soon after 1669, to this plantation, and he there established a school. Mr. Gookin speaks of "Magunkaquog as the seventh of the Old Praying Towns," and of there being "eleven families and about 55 souls" in the place. In 1715 the trustees of "The Hopkins Donation" asked of the General Court the privilege of purchasing of the Indian inhabitants of Natick "a tract of waste-land, commonly known by the name of Magunkaquog," and this petition was granted.

The territory thus acquired, with lands lying west of it, was incorporated in 1724 into a township called Hopkinton. An arrangement was made with the Indians that they should receive an annual rental for the lands which they parted with, and this was paid to their agent, and distributed by him among the Natick Indians for thirty-five years or more after the sale of the lands. The territory conveyed constitutes at this time portions of Hopkinton and Ashland.[1]

The town officers appear to have been all Indians until the March meeting in 1733, when Thomas Ellis was chosen one of the tithingmen and John Sawin one of the constables. A year later (in the presence of Francis Fullam, Esq.) Thomas Peagan was chosen moderator, and David Morse town clerk, with three Indians as selectmen. The other officers were divided about equally between the whites and the Indians.

The last clerk of the proprietors made his last entry in their records in 1787, and this informs us that, at that date, there were in Natick several small pieces of undivided land of no great value, which they desired of the General Court power to sell and liberty to divide the net proceeds among themselves. In 1764 there are said to have been in the township sixty-five white families, and it is stated that, at that time, the whites greatly outnumbered the Indians.

January 3, 1745, Natick was constituted a precinct, or parish, by the action of the General Court. By this change the responsibility for the regulation of the civil affairs of the township passed from the Indians to the whites, and the former lost what they may have deemed their citizenship. From this time onward no Indian held a town office, but considerably later, it is said, not a few of the white members of the church voted for an Indian as deacon.

1745. At this date the history of Natick as a township, as this term is generally understood, begins.

The action of the General Court by which this change was effected was as follows:

"In the House of Representivss, 3d Jan., 1745, voted that the Plantation known by the name of Natick, and lying in the County of Middlesex, be and hereby is erected into a Precinct or Parish: and the Inhabitants of Said Plantation are hereby endowed with all the Privileges, and subjected to all the Duties which the Inhabitants of other Precincts or Parishes, as such, are, by the laws of the Province, endowed with or subjected to; and whereas the said Plantation is not annexed to any township within this province, and cannot by law raise monies for laying out and maintaining their highways, for the support of their poor, and for maintaining a school; It is further voted that the Parish Assessors in sd Plantation, the Parish Constables, or Collectors, to collect all such sums as at a Parish meeting regularly warned for that purpose, shall be voted to be raised for the uses and services aforesaid, and the Parish Committee shall have the same Power in Said Precinct or Parish, with respect to the Privileges aforesaid, as the Selectmen of any town have by law in Such Town."

In this manner Natick became, for nearly all important purposes, a town under the name of a parish, and such it continued to be for the space of thirty-six years.

April 23, 1746 another act appears to have been passed, as follows:

"Whereas great part of the inhabitants of Natick are Indians and the minister there is in a great measure supported by charitable donations or funds for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and it is reasonable that the House for Public Worship should always be placed convenient for them, it is further ordered that no vote or acts of the Sd Parish of Natick for altering the place of Public Worship shall be deemed valid or have any effect until they are approved by this Court."

This explains the reason why there was so much difficulty, for many years, in building a meeting-house and establishing public worship in the centre of the township, even after this part of the parish had become populous.

The General Court having provided for the first parish meeting, it was legally warned and opened by

[1] See Temple & "History," pp. 61–71.

David Morse May 12, 1746, with Ebenezer Felch as moderator.

The Parish Committee chosen consisted of Ebenezer Felch, Edward Ward, Captain John Goodenow, Lieutenant Timothy Bacon and John Coolidge. Ebenezer Felch was elected parish clerk, and, with Captain John Goodenow and Lieutenant Timothy Bacon, constituted the first Board of Assessors; John Bacon and Jonathan Carver were chosen constables, and the other offices belonging to the organization of a township were filled, including the choice of Thomas Sawin and Daniel Bacon as "deer reves."

The parish meetings, for years, were chiefly held in the meeting-house at South Natick. May 22, 1749, the building of a new meeting-house at South Natick having been previously determined upon, the parish voted "to give the Indians an equal privilege with them (selves) in a new meeting-house if they will meet with them," and the same year "two thousand pound, old Tenor," were raised "in order to the carrying on the work" of building. During nearly all of the time that Natick was a parish, movements were made to induce the Indian preachers at South Natick, Messrs. Peabody and Badger, to consent to the building of a church edifice in the centre of the town and the establishment of Christian ordinances here. Under the head "Ecclesiastical" of this historical sketch, those matters will be fully considered.

Under the date of February 15, 1749–50, we find the first of a long series of notifications regarding persons who came from time to time to Natick to reside:

"To Mr. Sumner Morse, constable of the Parish of Natick. We the committee of the S[d] (Parish) of Natick being informed that Ebenezer Wilson and Jane Penneman, widow, are come to reside or dwell in this Parish, and not having been here eleven months, you are therefore hereby required in his Majesty's name forthwith to warn the above named persons forthwith to depart out of this Parish and stay no longer therein, and make return of this warrant with your doings thereon to myself as speedily as may be. By order of the Parish Committee.

"EBENEZER FELCH, *Parish Clerk.*"

This warrant was immediately executed.

The parish records show that from 1750 to 1772 two hundred and twenty-six persons (beside "their children" in a number of instances), who had come to the parish to reside, received similar warnings to leave. In the later cases of this description the words "not permitted" are inserted in the warning, and in one instance the person named was "a Molatto Girl." From all this it would appear that in its early years the Natick parish did as some of the towns in New Hampshire, settled about the same time, were accustomed to do, viz.: they warned out every family that should come in to reside, no matter how high its standing might have been in the place from whence it came.

This proceeding, which seems to us so objectionable, was merely to comply with the law regarding strangers obtaining a residence in any particular locality, thus preventing the accumulation of paupers in any town or parish.

But whatever its purpose may have been, the whole matter must have had a disagreeable aspect, and the custom (except in special cases) seems to have been wisely discontinued after 1772.

For more than twenty years the records of the Natick parish furnish us but little more than a full and intelligible account of all that was done in the way of laying out roads, building bridges, establishing boundaries, raising and paying out money for public improvements and other matters of a similar nature.

The following from the parish records is of interest

"*To the Selectmen of Natick:*

"*Gentlemen:* These are to give Notice that I have taken in to Dwell with me Abraham Parkhust, his wife, Hannah, and five children, viz., Abraham, William, John, Hannah and Ruth, last from Waltham—under low circumstances, came to me the 13 day of Instant Sep[t].

"JAMES BEAL.

"Natick, Sept. 28, 1763."

This notice, recorded as it is, doubtless saved the family named from being warned out of the Parish, as Mr. Beal thus became responsible for its maintenance.

In 1774, when the oppressive acts of the British Government were awakening indignation and the spirit of resistance all over the land, this parish chose a Committee of Inspection and Correspondence "to carry into execution the agreement and association of the late respectable Continental Congress," and this important committee was composed of Captain John Coolidge, Mr. Peletiah Morse, Lieutenant William Boden, Captain Joseph Morse and Lieutenant Abel Perry. Of the doings of this committee we have no particular information, but, like similar committees all over the land, it had, in the course of a few months, all it could do in watching and reporting the movements of the Tories, and carrying into execution the plans and purposes of the Continental and Provincial Conventions.

May 12, 1775, the parish was called upon "to see if the inhabitants will provide Guns and Blankets for Soldiers that are going into the Service, that are destitute." In this case the action seems to have been in the affirmative. At the same meeting it was voted to relieve "Capt. Joseph Morse, Lieut. William Boden and Lieut. Abel Perry from being Selectmen" (or rather Parish Committee), because they were "going into the Massachusetts service," and to appoint "Lieut. Timothy Smith, Elijah Goodenow and William Bacon in their room."

Of the part borne by the people of Natick in the memorable conflict with the British, at Concord and Lexington, April 19, 1775, our knowledge is very limited. All that we know comes to us through the statements of the historian, William Biglow (1830), but as he had the facts which he gives us from eye-witnesses of, and participants in, the fight, they may be deemed reliable.

Earlier in the month intimations seem to have

reached Natick that a body of British troops were about to march upon Concord, and so the Natick soldiers were not wholly unprepared to leave at a moment's warning, and "every man," as one of the survivors expressed it, "was on that morning a minute-man." "The alarm was given early, and all marched, full of spirit and energy to meet the British. But few had an opportunity to attack them," because when the men arrived from this region, their enemies were in full retreat. "Ceasar Ferret and his son John (from Natick), arrived at a house near Lexington Meeting-house, but a short time before the British soldiers reached that place on their retreat from Concord. The two discharged their muskets upon the regulars from the entry and secreted themselves under the cellar-stairs till the enemy had passed by."[1] These men escaped safely, but in the encounters of that day Captain David Bacon, of Natick, was killed.

All warrants for the parish meetings before May 20, 1776, had been issued in the name of His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, but from the date just given onward, the freemen met under the authority of the Government of Massachusetts Bay.

How many soldiers from this place participated in the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, it is impossible to ascertain. The circumstances under which the place had been settled were such that the white population of the township at that time was small. So far as known, but one military company from Natick, and organized with Natick officers, was present at the Bunker Hill battle, but not a few soldiers from this place were connected with companies and regiments raised chiefly in the neighboring towns. Captain Baldwin, of Natick, fell at Bunker Hill, but how many others from this place met with a similar fate on that memorable day cannot be determined.

At a large parish-meeting June 20, 1776, of which Captain James Mann was moderator, the following action was taken:

"In Consequence of a Resolve of the late House of Representatives being laid before the town, setting forth their sense of the obligations which lie upon every town in this Colony, solemnly to engage to support with their lives and fortunes the Honorable Continental Congress, should said Congress, for the safety of the American Colonies, come into the measure of declaring themselves independent of the Kingdom of Great Britain; it was unanimously voted, that, in consideration of the many acts of the British Parliament, passed in diverse sessions of the same, within about thirteen years past, relating to said Colonies, especially those within the two or three last years, by which every idea of moderation, justice, humanity and Christianity is entirely laid aside, and those principles and measures adopted and pursued which would disgrace the most unenlightened and uncivilized tribe of aboriginal natives, in the most interior part of this extensive continent; and also in consideration of the glaring impropriety, incapacity and fatal tendency of any State whatever, at the distance of three thousand miles, to legislate for these Colonies, which at the same time are so numerous, so knowing and so capable of legislating, or to have a negative upon those laws which they in their respective Assemblies and by their united representation in General Court shall from time to time enact and establish for themselves; and for diverse other considerations which for brevity's sake we omit to mention—We, the inhabitants of Natick, in town-meeting assembled, do hereby declare, agreeably to the tenor of the before-mentioned Resolve, that should the Honorable Continental Congress declare these American Colonies independent of the Kingdom of Great Britain, we will, with our lives and fortunes, join with the other inhabitants of this Colony and with those of the other Colonies, in supporting them in said measure, which we look upon to be both important and necessary; and which, if we may be permitted to express an opinion, the sooner it is entered into the fewer difficulties shall we have to conflict with, and the grand objects of peace, liberty and safety will be more likely speedily to be restored and established in our once happy land.

"DANIEL MORSE, *Town Clerk.*"

Rev. Stephen Badger was the chairman of the committee that drafted this declaration, and it will be noticed how unsparing it is in its arraignment of the blind and infatuated Government that, with an iron hand, was ruling the American Colonies. Nothing can better show how loyal to humanity, right and justice the people of Natick were in 1776.

The day before the Declaration of Independence was adopted by Congress in Philadelphia, viz.: July 3, 1776, a parish-meeting was held, of which Samuel Wells was moderator, when it was voted to give "Seven pounds as an additional sum to the bounty of seven pounds that the Colony gives to those that Inlist into the Canada Expedition."

Then followed the Declaration of Independence July 4, 1776, a printed copy of which the Council of State ordered to be sent to all ministers of the Gospel within the bounds of Massachusetts, with the direction to read the same to their respective congregations "as soon as divine service is ended in the afternoon on the first Lord's Day after they shall have received it; after such publication thereof, to deliver the said Declaration to the Clerks of their several towns or districts, who are hereby required to record the same in their respective Town or District Books, therein to remain as a perpetual Memorial thereof."

This admirable arrangement was carried out, and so we have upon the ancient parish records, in plain but beautiful writing, a copy of the great declaration, page 147 and onward.

Then for the space of nearly seven years the action of the parish in its frequent meetings had respect chiefly to the raising of men and money to support the war for independence.

The following sets forth the spirit of the people of Natick during those years of trial:

At a parish meeting May 15, 1777, it was "Voted that the town grant money to pay the Charges of the Present war from the 19th day of April, 1775 (the date of the fight at Lexington), encluding the men that are or must be raised to Compleat the Continental Army, and be assessed forthwith for the same."

To prepare clothing for its soldiers in the field called for the repeated action of the parish. May 22, 1780, the parish voted to pay to three individuals on the clothing account the sum of £235 10*s*.

The enlisting or hiring soldiers for the Continental Army continued till the close of the war, the treaty of peace being signed January 20, 1783. How many

[1] Biglow, page 44.

soldiers Natick furnished to achieve our independence it is impossible to determine, and will be till the Revolutionary rolls, now in the possession of the State, shall have been arranged. No record is found of the deaths among the Natick soldiers during the Revolutionary War, but a considerable number must have fallen. The historian of Natick, O. N. Bacon (1856), gives us the names of a company from this place under the command of Captain James Mann, in Colonel Samuel Bullard's regiment, that marched on the alarm just before the battle of Bunker's Hill. These soldiers were paid for two days' services and allowed one penny per mile for travel, the whole bill amounting to £11. 8*s.* 9*d.* The other officers beside Captain Mann were Timothy Smith, lieutenant; Daniel Morse, ensign; and Oliver Bacon, Henry Loker, Elijah Esty and Hezekiah Broad, sergeants. The privates numbered thirty-four. Whether these men were actually in the fight June 17, 1775, is doubtful, for only a small part of the forces assembled from nearly every part of New England, were really engaged in the contest. The brief period of their service leads us to conclude that, as a company, they were not in the ranks when Washington assumed command of the army in and around Boston.

Though the document that follows is without date in the records, it probably belongs to that period of the history of Natick which we are now considering. It is entitled

"Oath of Allegiance.

"We, the subscribers, do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify and declare, that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is, and of right ought to be, a free, sovereign and independent State; and we do swear that we will bear true faith and allegiance to the said Commonwealth, and that we will defend the same against conspiracies and all hostile attempts whatsoever. And that we do renounce and abjure all allegiance, subjection and obedience to the King, Queen or Governor of Great Britain (as the case may be), and every other foreign power whatsoever. And that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, superiority, pre-eminence, authority, dispensing or other power, in any matter, civil, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this Commonwealth, except the authority or power which is or may be vested by their constituents in the Congress of the United States.

"And we do further testify and declare, that no man or body of men hath or can have any right to absolve or discharge us from the obligations of this oath, declaration or affirmation.

"And that we make this acknowledgment, profession, testimony, declaration, denial, renunciation and abjuration, heartily and truly, according to the common meaning and acceptation of the foregoing words, without any equivocation, mental evasion or secret reservation whatsevever. So help us God. Hez. Broad, Thomas Broad, Joshua Fisk, Samuel Morse, Wm. Bigelow, Moses Sawin, Oliver Bacon, Samuel Morse, Jr., Thomas Sawin, Jr., William Goodenow, Aaron Smith, Eleazer Goulding; David Morse, Town Clerk; David Morse, Town Treasurer; Hezekiah Broad, Oliver Bacon, Thomas Broad, Joshua Fisk, Selectmen; Samuel Morse, Jr., Thomas Sawin, Jr., Timothy Smith, Assessors; Joseph Morse, Adam Morse, Constables."

Here are seventeen different names, and they represent most, if not all, the leading men in the township near the close of the Revolutionary War. The signatures attached to this oath upon the records are plainly all in the handwriting of the signers, and in four instances, at least, the signatures are repeated, without counting those which were given officially. As mentioned above, no date is attached to this remarkable document. In the records it is preceded by the recorded action of the town (for it was now a town), at the annual meeting March 5, 1787, and it is followed upon the next page by the warrant calling a town-meeting for April 2, 1787. But when it was prepared, or for what purpose, we are left to conjecture. In 1778 the town had voted not to accept the new Constitution for the Commonwealth, but we know of no emergency that had arisen calling for such a solemn declaration. Possibly the fact that the township had rejected the new Constitution had awakened elsewhere the suspicion that Natick was not heartily loyal to the government of the Commonwealth, and the purpose of this oath was to remove all doubts in the community respecting this matter. The reader will notice the singular accumulation of specifications in this document, as if the subscribers would bind themselves, by their oath, beyond the possibility of the least misunderstanding of their purpose by others, as well as, on their part, of the least evasion.

May 24, 1779, the parish "Voted to send a Petition to the General Court to be incorporated into a town"; and, on the same article, it was voted for the General Court "to give the town a new name," and then appointed the selectmen, Messrs. James Mann, Elijah Bacon, Lieut. Abel Perry, Samuel Perry and Elijah Esty, as a committee to present these matters to the General Court. With respect to the matter of the incorporation of the township, this committee was successful, but nothing appears to have been accomplished regarding the change of the name of the town. And why any considerable portion of the people should have desired such a change we cannot conjecture, unless the fact that, for ninety-five years, this had been an Indian plantation, and nothing more, had created a prejudice against the name in the community generally, which, it was feared, might hinder the town's prosperity. That this part of the effort failed, and the ancient name was retained, was well; for few names of towns in New England are more suggestive of varied scenery, more euphonious, or less liable to be so written as to mislead.

February 19, 1781, the town of Natick was incorporated, but no special changes in the officers or business of the township followed this event.

1786. "This was the season of Shays' rebellion, when not only every full-grown male citizen, but every school-boy, was '*a Government-man.*' Then it was the fate of every barn-door fowl that was clothed in white to become a sacrifice to law and good order; for the feathers rose to the hat-crown, in the shape of a cockade, and the carcass was stowed in the knapsack of the soldier, as part of his rations. One lieutenant, one sergeant, a drum-and-fife-major, and eight or ten rank and file joined Lincoln's army and assisted in restoring peace and order."[1]

[1] See Biglow's "History," pages 45–46.

"Friday, Nov. 23, 1787, made choice of Major Hezekiah Broad Delegate to represent the town of Natick in Convention, agreeable to a Resolve of the General Court."

"This," says Biglow, "was the convention which adopted the Federal Constitution. The good Major voted *against* it, but immediately acquiesced in the doings of the majority, and promised to do all in his power to defend this palladium of our liberty, safety and prosperity."

November 7, 1796, the town having been duly warned, cast votes for one elector of President and Vice-President of the United States, and one Representative in Congress, as follows: For elector, His Excellency, Samuel Adams, twenty-one votes; for Representative, H. G. Otis, twenty-seven votes.

Voting for Governor, Lieutenant-Governor and Senators, April 3, 1797, the votes cast were: For Governor—Moses Gill, twenty-five; Increase Sumner, thirteen. For Lieut.-Governor—Moses Gill, eleven; Increase Sumner, nineteen. The leading candidates for Senators were Eleazor Brooks, thirty-four; Ebenezer Bridge, thirty-six; Aaron Hill, thirty-seven.

Pursuant of an act of the General Court, the selectmen of the towns of Needham and Natick met, Oct. 23, 1797, and so changed the boundary lines of these towns, that 1656 acres of land were set off from Needham to Natick, and 404½ acres from Natick to Needham, exclusive of a pond.[1]

At the close of the eighteenth century Natick was a farming-town and generally prosperous, though the volume of its business would now be pronounced exceedingly small.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

NATICK—(Continued).

1800–1890.

Prospects of the Town more Encouraging—General Progress—Town Action Respecting the Pastors of the Church—Town Hall Erected—The Town in Suppressing the Great Rebellion—Losses in the Same—Financial Condition—The Centennial Celebration—Town Officers and Representatives in the General Court.

When the nineteenth century opened Natick could hardly have been classed among the important towns of the Commonwealth, for its population numbered only six hundred and ninety-four and none of its great manufacturing establishments of the present day had been founded. The people generally were hard-working, frugal farmers, but the expense of marketing the surplus products of their farms prevented anything like a rapid and large accumulation of property. Still they were not poor. Their taxes were comparatively light, their farms were productive and they were beginning to look forward to more prosperous days. The unhappy controversy which had so long prevailed respecting the location of their meeting-house, and the support of a Gospel minister had, in a great measure, subsided. The town had erected, what was deemed in those days, a respectable house of worship, in the centre, where the brick church now stands, at an expense of about $1500, and had provided for the renting of the pews, while the selectmen had been authorized to hire the preaching, for church and State were still practically one in supporting religious institutions during more than twenty years after this century opened. This arrangement, which prevailed in the mother country, was adopted by both Pilgrims and Puritans as they settled New England, and few seem to have questioned its expediency and justice for the space of one hundred years.

The town owned the Natick meeting-house, and the cost of maintaining preaching in it was met by drafts upon the town treasury, so that all of the property of the town was in this manner pledged for the payment of the pastor's salary, except in the case of individuals who "signed off" or connected themselves with some other religious society. This was frequently done as time went on, and so the town records contain many certificates like the following:

"Agreeable to the law of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, bearing date June 10, 1811, the subscribers being a special Committee chosen for the purpose, hereby certify to the Town Clerk of Natick that Mary Esty and Caroline Bacon, inhabitants of Natick and Brookline, are Members of the Religious Society in Newton called Baptist.

"Dated this 30th day of May, 1812.

"Stephen Dana,
"Nathan Pettee,
"Elijah Corey,
"*Committee.*"

The words "and contributes to their support" were often inserted in the body of these certificates.

In 1797 four families had, in this manner, "signed off" to Dover, twelve to Sherborn and seventeen to Needham—thirty-three families in all.

These facts will serve to explain the action of the town at its adjourned meeting, on the 16th day of May, 1803, which was as follows:

"Voted to offer to those who have annexed themselves to other parishes for parochial duties, by virtue of an act passed June 22, 1797, to give them their choice either to accept of the new meeting-house where it now stands, free from any further expense, or to move the old meeting-house (standing at South Natick) to school-house Hill, on the cost of the town, and there erect it for a house of Publick Worship, with such additions and alterations as shall be though(t) necessary. If the last shall take effect, the new Meeting-House to be appropriated to some other publick use as the town shall think proper.

"Further voted, if either should take effect, to petition the General Court to pass the same into a law. Voted that the town clerk serve those who it may concern, with copies of this vote, one copy to Capt. John Atkins, one Do to Lieut. Elijah Perry, one Ditto Ensign Thomas Sawin, requesting them to make answer to the town clerk by the first day of June next in writing, of their objections, if any they have. Otherwise this town will take their silence for concent."

But to which of the propositions made, as set forth above, the silence of the persons named was to give

[1] See "Biglow," page 46.

"concent" we are not informed. Probably it was well understood, when the propositions were made, that these individuals would do nothing about the matter, for the serious thought of disposing of their new meeting-house in this or any other manner for common purposes, the town must have been very unwilling to entertain. November 28, 1803, "the town voted to lett the pews to the first Monday in April next." Very wisely March 1, 1802, the town had "voted to keep the Parish matters separate from the town (matters) in the future."

April 2, 1804, the town "voted to provide biers for each burying-ground, and that committee appointed for fencing the burying-yard provide the same."

Also under the article in the warrant "to see if the town will provide cartridges for the soldiers," the vote was in the affirmative, and "further voted that the commanding officers of the company be a committee to make the cartridges to be put into a tight box and deposited in the powder-house, and to be revewed annually by the Commanding Officers of the Company."

November 5, 1804, the town cast thirteen votes for each of nineteen Presidential Electors, four of whom resided in the district, now the State of Maine, viz.: in Portland, Wiscasset, Hallowell and Berwick.

Also the town cast, at the same time, fifty-one votes for each of seventeen candidates for Representatives in the Congress of the United States, four of whom belonged in the district of Maine.

At this period the town cast from 90 to 100 votes for State officers, the stronger party casting from fifty to fifty-five and the weaker from thirty to forty, with many and great variations, however.

September 12, 1805, the town "voted unanimously to join with the church in the choice of Mr. Freeman Sears for their Gospel Minister," and October 24th following, the action of the town regarding Mr. Sears' support is accompanied in the records with an "N. B." to the effect that "if Mr. Sears should be occationally absent three or four Sabbaths in a year the town to take no advantage," which is the first provision on record for a Natick pastor's annual vacation. Later the town made provision for the entertainment of the council that should assemble for the ordination of Mr. Sears, and, in addition, chose Benjamin Marshall, Captain William Stone and Jonathan Bacon "a committee to wate on said Council."

Other facts regarding Mr. Sears' ministry, and that of his successors, will be found under the head "Ecclesiastical," in this historical sketch.

During all the earlier years of the period now under review the town was annually called together to elect a Representative to the General Court, but invariably voted, and often unanimously, not to be represented.

Recording this fact the historian (Bacon) remarks: "The fine for not sending was $100, but it was never prosecuted; and, having its own Representative to pay, the town chose to incur the risk, and in dollars and cents was so much the gainer." Eighty years later this whole matter is managed differently, and the town does not fail of representation, for economic reasons. And it never failed for lack of good material from which to make a selection. Such men as Eben Felch, William Goodenow, Samuel Perry, Samuel Morse, David and Jonathan Bacon, William Stone and many others that might be named, would have honored the town in any responsible position.

The town appropriations in those days were not very large. In 1806 they were as follows: For schools, $500; for necessary town charges, $130; for the pastor's salary, $425; for repair of highways, $600. "To pay ministerial charges," which in this case included expenses "for trimming the pulpit," "painting the meeting-house," and "for the expence of ordination and other ministerial charges that has arisen, $250;" but does not include anything for the support of the poor—total, $1905. The last-mentioned appropriation of $250 was exceptional. Ordinarily, at that time, the annual appropriations did not exceed $1700 or $1800. This sum does not seem large when we compare it with the grants and appropriations for the year 1889, which amounted to $88,340.

It may be of some interest to know that, beginning as early as 1790, a very large proportion of the warrants issued by the selectmen of Natick for town-meetings contained a full notice of the qualifications requisite to be a voter, as "being twenty-one years of age and resident in said town for the space of one year next preceding, having a freehold estate in said town of the annual income of three pounds, or any estate to the value of sixty pounds." The custom of including these matters in the warrants prevailed in Natick as late as 1821.

In the year 1807 the deacons of the church and a committee of the town leased to their pastor, Rev. Freeman Sears, land for a building lot on the corner of what is now West Central Street and Main Street, where the Edmund Walcott business block now stands, and a record of this transaction fills three pages of the town records. The whole statement is exceedingly, almost curiously, minute and formal, and is signed by Abel Perry, Jr., and William Goodenow, deacons of the church in Natick, Daniel Travis and Jonathan Bacon, committee of the town, and Freeman Sears, minister of the Gospel. It is plain that in the early part of this century the business of the town received the most careful attention.

November 7, 1808, the town chose a committee to lay out the ground for some sheds or stables near the meeting-house, "and report in twenty minutes." This was done, and the location which the town accepted was defined thus:

"The south part of the ground be sixty feet north of the Meeting-house on a perpendicular line with the back side of said meeting-house, to extend to Mr. Moses wall as far west as the westerly line of the burying-ground, and northerly the width of the

stables." This we can perhaps understand if we substitute the the word "horizontal" for perpendicular. These stables must have covered some part of the ground now occupied by the brick block of Mr. P. F. Woodbury, while north of them, where the blocks of Messrs. Rice, Morse and Winch now stand, lay the burying-ground.

The question whether "the Rev. Freeman Sears is settled here during life or only during the pleasure of him and them jointly," having been previously before the town, was finally disposed of October 16, 1809, by the unanimous adoption by the town of five resolutions, of the following import:

1. "If Mr. Sears will agree to spend his days here," the town will consider all contracts, as to salary, with him void, and make new proposals as follows:
2. The town will give him the use of the ministerial lot.
3. They will give him the use of the first pew in the meeting-house.
4. The town will pay him in the month of January each year the sum of $100, or give him a note upon interest for that amount.
5. The town will agree to fulfil the preceding contract so long as Mr. Sears sustains the relation of a gospel minister to this church and society.

Mr. Sears' salary was provided for in 1810 and 1811, but on the 30th day of June of the latter year he died, deeply lamented, at the age of thirty-three years.

The town chose a committee "to see what expense has arisen at the funeral of Rev. Freeman Sears," but its action upon the report of that committee was not recorded. January 27, 1812, it was voted to concur with the church in the choice of Mr. Joel Wright as pastor, and in offering him an annual salary of $425, the town agreed that "in case of sickness or old age he is unable to perform the above duties, the society to pay him $60 annually so long as he remains our minister, if his circumstances are such that he needs it, or any part as he shall need." Mr. Wright did not accept the call.

War having been declared against Great Britain in June, 1812, the town voted November 2d of that year, "to make up the pay of the detached soldiers to $12 per month, after they march into actual service." In 1813 the town chose as its representative in the General Court, Samuel Morse, "by a majority of three."

December 6, 1813, the town having concurred with the church in the choice of Mr. Martin Moore as its minister, offered him "a salary of $500 and the use of the first pew in the church, so long as he remains our minister and supplies the desk." Mr. Moore accepted the call and was the pastor about nineteen years. He appears to have purchased the house erected by his predecessor, Mr. Sears, upon the spot where the Edward Walcott business block now stands. The house fronted the east and its door-yard occupied a considerable part of the ground now covered by that block. Later, when West Central Street was opened, the house was moved to the west and turned so as to front the north, and is the house now standing on West Central Street, next west of the Edward Walcott block. Mr. Moore was quite a farmer as well as a laborious minister, and his horse and cow pasture was west and northwest of his house, upon both sides of what is now West Central Street, and including the land now used for that pleasant thoroughfare.

The pews in the meeting-house were appraised December 13, 1813, at from $55 for No. 2, on the lower floor to $5 for No. 22, in the galleries. This, it must be understood, was for actual sale and not for annual rent, and according to it the pews were worth at that time $1230. This was probably about the estimated value of the meeting-house, independent of the lot upon which it stood.

During these years the care and support of the paupers of the town were awarded to the lowest bidder, as was generally the custom in the country towns of New England. Sometimes a considerable sum was paid for the support of a pauper, if we may trust the entries made upon a loose paper found in the book of records, which are as follows:

"Pauper to Mrs. Walker	$206.
" " John Gray	25.75
John Morse at $1.50 per week, for one year	75.30
Total	$307.05."

Probably the first of these was an exceptional case.

At the choice of Presidential electors, November 1, 1824, fifty-six votes were cast, which seem to have been divided politically into fifty-three and three, except in a single instance, when all were cast for the favorite candidate. The town voted four times for a Representative in Congress at that election before the district gave a majority vote.

Sixty years ago there remained in Natick some common or undivided land which belonged to the Indians, and this land the town took special pains to have disposed of and the proceeds devoted to some good object, as there were then no Indian claimants.

Only twenty-five votes were cast at the meeting for the choice of Presidental electors in 1828, and these were all given to one of the lists of candidates.

Nov. 1, 1830, the town chose a committee of three, viz., Rev. Martin Moore, Rev. James W. Thompson and William Farris, "to petition the Legislature in behalf of the inhabitants of said town for an alteration of its name," and instructed the committee to ask that the new name should be Eliot. Later, it would appear that this name was actually given to the post office in South Natick, for in the published "Review of the First Fourteen Years of the Historical, Natural History and Library Society of South Natick" this statement is made: "The name of the Post Office and Village having been changed to 'Eliot,' the name of the Society was, at the April Quarterly Meeting, changed correspondingly."

This meeting appears to have been held in April, 1872. William Farris, Esq., represented the town in the General Court in 1831.

From this date onward till March, 1853, Chester Adams served the town as town clerk, and all the entries in the records were made in the most convenient manner possible and in plain and beautiful handwriting. And the same may be said of all the town clerks who have succeeded him. Mr. Adams was also town treasurer for the same period, and when he declined longer service he received the thanks of the town for the faithful manner in which he had discharged his duties.

Feb. 28, 1838, a large committee of the town reported in favor of purchasing a farm as soon as possible for the home of the town paupers, and about one month later the town appointed Elijah Perry, Jr., Oren Coolidge and Samuel Fisk a committee to purchase a poor farm. In that year Edward Everett received 136 votes for Governor and Marcus Morton 52 votes, which probably indicated the relative strength of the two great political parties in Natick at that period. Nathaniel Clark was at the same time chosen Natick's Representative in the General Court. In 1839 the town voted to pay the sum of $25 to each parish having a church bell, provided such parish would cause it to be rung from April till October each week-day at noon, and during the remainder of the year at nine o'clock in the evening.

In 1841 the matter of building a Town-House was agitated, when it was proposed to use a part of the surplus revenue received from the United States to build the same. But this proposition was defeated at first (the voters repairing to the Common to be counted) by a majority of four votes. Later this matter came before the town in various forms and with changing results, but the Town Hall was finally built. It stood near the northeast corner of what is now the Common, not far from the dwelling-house of Mr. John Kimball, whose home was near the centre of the present Common.

It was but a single story in height, and when the buildings were removed and the ground laid out for the Common, the Town Hall was moved to the east and became the Old High School house, fronting north on East Central Street. After the New High School house was erected and furnished, the old building was sold to Mr. M. W. Hayward and removed by him to Washington Street. There it was raised and made two stories high, the lower part being a blacksmith's and carriage-maker's shop and the upper fitted up for tenements.

In 1841 Natick had 205 enrolled soldiers; in 1843, 294; in 1844, 383; in 1845, 403; in 1846, 310, the members of the fire companies being exempt. In 1841 the matter of providing fire-engines for the town was agitated, but nothing effectual was done till 1844, when the town appropriated $1700 to purchase two engines, which were built by William C. Hunneman & Co., of Boston, and brought to Natick, without charge, by the Boston and Worcester Railroad.

These gave general satisfaction. In 1845 Henry Wilson was elected to represent the town in the General Court, receiving 177 votes, being a majority of 38 votes over 19 other candidates.

The tax on dogs, which had been $1.25, was reduced in 1846 to one cent.

The same year (1846) the town voted "that fifteen dollars be allowed to the Methodist Episcopal Society out of the funds belonging to the estate of Timothy Smith, late of Natick, a town pauper, deceased, and that the Selectman take possession of the effects of said deceased and dispose of the same according to law, and that the town erect suitable grave-stones to the memory of said deceased."[1]

In 1847, the article before the town being "to see if the town will grant leave to Henry Wilson and others to enclose a portion of the common land in South Natick and erect thereon a monument to the memory of John Eliot," the liberty asked for was granted "without apparent opposition."

In 1849 the town voted "that Jonathan Walcott, Asher Parlin and Nathan Rice be a committee to purchase the farm of John W. Perry and Alfred Bacon and wife for a pauper farm." In the same year the matter of a new cemetery was agitated, when the town voted "that as soon as land can be purchased for a new cemetery the old one shall be closed." The lot for the Dell Park Cemetery having been secured, it was consecrated July 12, 1849, by suitable religious ceremonies, performed, at the request of the committee, by Rev. Messrs. Hunt and Walton, of the Central Village, and Rev. Mr. Watson, of South Natick. Rules were established by the town respecting cutting the trees on it, laying out the grounds, selling the lots, etc.

In 1850 the enrolled militia of the town numbered 501; in 1851, 552; in 1852, 690. In that year Nathaniel Clark was elected Representative to the General Court by 233 votes. In 1851 the town appointed a committee of seventeen, with Edward Walcott as chairman, to make arrangements to celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Natick, but nothing later is found upon the records concerning this matter. In 1852 the selectmen were directed "to prosecute all violations of the License laws." In 1853 B. F. Ham was chosen town clerk and treasurer. In 1855 William A. Leighton was appointed agent for the sale of spirituous and intoxicating liquors in Natick, such liquors to be owned by the town and "sold for use in the arts or for medicinal or for chemical or mechanical purposes only, at the market of N. & G. D. Chamberlain, on Summer Street." In 1856 the town required the keepers of all

[1] This Mr. Smith was quite a character in his day. He was a bachelor and was often in prison, being addicted to intemperance. Having frozen his feet, they were amputated, but still he managed to go from place to place when not intoxicated. Late in life he thoroughly reformed, and was distinguished for his simple piety and devotion to temperance principles as he had been for his wickedness and vicious habits in general. After his reformation he earned in various ways his support and left some money at his death; but he had been a pauper, and so the town disposed of his estate.

dogs to put collars upon their necks, with owners' names plainly engraved thereon, and to pay license fees of two dollars each for males and five dollars for females. In the same year an appropriation of $1000 was made for providing "reservoirs for water," in order to have a supply in case of fires.

Nathaniel Clark was again chosen to represent the town in the General Court, the votes standing—for Nathaniel Clark, 475; for Aaron Davis 2d, 110; for J. B. Walcott, 244; and for B. F. Ham, 2. In 1857 the town voted to purchase additional hose for the fire-engines, and a supply of hooks, ladders, axes, etc., with suitable carriages for the same. Also an appropriation was made for a new fire-engine and new hose, the whole amounting to $4107.

The owners of the Citizens' Library having offered to the town the books of their library, upon certain conditions (see under the head—Educational), the town voted to accept the same, granted $300 for the Town Library, and committed the care of it to the Superintending School Committee. Later the town voted to adopt the rules for the regulation of the library reported by the School Committee. The question respecting the ownership of the lot used for many years as a cemetery, where the brick blocks of Leonard Winch, the heirs of Leonard Morse and Martin Rice now stand, when the remains of the dead buried there should have been removed, was submitted in 1858 to the decision of Hon. E. R. Hoar, of Concord, by the committees of the town, of the Congregational Parish, of the trustees of the Ministerial Fund of said parish, and by John W. Bacon, as guardian of the Natick Indians. The decision of Mr. Hoar was, that the land in question belonged to the town, for various reasons, but chiefly because the town had held the exclusive and undisputed possession of the same for thirty-seven years. In 1859 the town accepted and adopted the report of its committee, to confer with the city of Boston relative to taking water from Lake Cochituate, according to which Natick was to receive from Boston for the privilege the sum of $3000.

During the same year there was so much dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the town's liquor agent, that the committee appointed for the purpose of investigation recommended that he be dismissed forthwith and that the agency be placed in the hands of some party who would conduct the business according to law. This recommendation was adopted by the town. The "crookedness" complained of was discovered by finding upon the books of the agency, as purchasers, the names of parties very regularly buying "who were noted as habitual drinkers." Mr. Horace N. Stockbridge was appointed the next agent, with very strict injunctions regarding the persons to whom he might sell and the records of the sales which he might make.

April 23, 1859, the town authorized the town treasurer, with the approbation of the selectmen, to fund the sum of $15,000 of the town's debt, the notes to be payable as follows: $5000 in twenty years, the same amount in twenty-five years and the remaining $5000 in thirty years, with interest at the rate of five and a half per cent., payable semi-annually.

The militia enrollment at that date contained 1431 names. At the State election in November, 1859, 714 ballots were cast.

Beginning of the Great Rebellion Movement.—April 3, 1854, the town had adopted the following resolutions, reported by its committee, John W. Bacon, chairman:

"Whereas, the bill now before Congress for the organization of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska proposes to repeal so much of the Act of March 6, 1820, as forever prohibiting slavery north of 36° 30' in the Louisiana purchase—Be it therefore

"*Resolved*, That the inhabitants of Natick in town-meeting assembled do solemnly protest against the passage of said bill because

"1st. It will violate the plighted faith of the nation.

"2d. Because it will allow African Slavery to enter into 480,000 square miles of territory, from which it has been excluded for thirty years.

"3d. Because it will tend to keep out of these territories the farmers, mechanics and workingmen of the free States and the poor men of the slave States now oppressed and degraded by African Slavery who would rear in these territories free institutions for all.

"4th. Because it will tend to increase the influence of Slavery over the policy of the national government."

Thus early did this town commit itself to the cause of human liberty against the encroachments of slavery, in the fearful contest which the wisest and most patriotic all over the North and West foresaw was impending.

April 29, 1861, the town appropriated $5000 to be expended under the direction of the selectmen, for the benefit of the families of such citizens of the town as may serve in the impending war.

The selectmen at that time were Willard Drury, William Edwards and C. B. Travis.

Leonard Winch, Deacon John Travis and John Cleland, Jr., were chosen a committee to consider "the wants of those citizens who may volunteer their services for the impending war." May 7, 1861, the town authorized the selectmen to pay for the uniforms of the Mechanic Rifle Company, of Natick, to the amount of $1000. It was also voted that each volunteer soldier should be furnished with one rubber camp blanket, and one pair of woolen stockings and each commissioned officer and musician with a revolver. Also the town appropriated $500 to furnish arms, equipments and clothing to volunteers, if called into actual service. July 17, 1861, the town voted to raise the sum of $10,000, in aid of the families of volunteers, and at the same time appropriated $1400 to meet expenses already incurred and to carry out contracts already made with volunteers.

In 1862 the enrolled militia numbered 592. July 25, 1862, provision was made to pay $100 bounty to each person who should enlist in the service of the United States and be mustered into the same as a part of the quota required of Natick under the call of the President for 300,000 volunteers for the war. Also voted that the town will pay to each person who shall volunteer and be mustered into the service an

additional sum of fifty dollars, making the amount of bounty offered $150. A committee of fifteen was chosen to assist the recruiting officers in procuring the quota of volunteers. The bounty was promised within five days after the soldiers should be mustered into the United States service.

August 13, 1862, the treasurer was authorized to borrow $16,000 for five years at six per cent. or less interest, and to pay to each volunteer who should be mustered into the service the sum of $150, to the number of 103, this being the quota at that time required of Natick. The same bounty was offered a little later to volunteers to fill the quota for this town under a new call for 300,000 nine months' men.

November 4, 1862, the town instructed the selectmen "to pay to the families of those volunteers, residents of the town, who have been or may be killed during the present Rebellion, the same State aid which they were previously receiving, until the end of the war."

"July 15, 1863, one hundred and fifteen police officers were appointed for Natick," with the powers possessed by constables of this Commonwealth, except that of serving and executing civil process. Most of these took the oath of office.

April 21, 1864, the town voted to pay "a bounty of $125 to each person who enlists for the town of Natick and counts upon her quota." And May 23, 1864, the town voted unanimously to "pay to each person who had been drafted into the service of the United States, or who may be drafted previous to April, 1865, the sum of $125, when he shall satisfy the Treasurer that he has been accepted by the District Board of Enrollment."

Also it was voted "that we pay every re-enlisted man who has counted on Natick's quota, and has not received full government bounty, the sum of $175, on his furnishing evidence that he has not received full government bounty."

Such was the action of the town of Natick when the great slave-holders' rebellion began. This took form before the world by the assault upon Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861, assumed the most fearful proportions when it appropriated the last dollar, and brought into the field the last man it could control, but was finally crushed by the overwhelming forces of the friends of constitutional government and of human freedom when General Grant captured Richmond, April 2, 1865. All that the town did in the way of voting money and giving such a firm and determined moral support to the Federal Government was honorable and absolutely necessary; but the self-denial and suffering chiefly fell to those who actually fought the battle of freedom; and to them the reader's attention will now be directed.

In 1863, while the war was in progress, the General Court of Massachusetts took measures to secure in each town and city of the Commonwealth a full record of all the soldiers and seamen that it had furnished, or might furnish for the suppression of the Rebellion, and so we have in the town clerk's office a volume in manuscript, entitled "Rebellion Record." This book contains the name of every soldier that counted upon the several quotas furnished by Natick, with his position in the army, time of service, bounty received, previous occupation, age and experience, while in the service of the country.

The number of men in the army from Natick was 534, so that it is impracticable to give in this historical sketch even the names of them all.

From the adjutant-general's report in 1865, it appears that Natick furnished thirty commissioned officers for the army. The record of these officers, from the sergeants upward, follows, abbreviated as much as possible, in the least important particulars:

Thomas T. Nason, sergeant; 3 years; discharged by reason of sickness, January 20, 1863; served 2 years.

George H. Willis, sergeant; killed at Cedar Mountain, August 9, 1862; served 2 years, 3 months.

Perry D. Chamberlain, first lieutenant; resigned and discharged; served 7 months.

Francis Z. Jenks, second lieutenant, June 21, 1864; first lieutenant October 7, 1864; was in service through the war.

William H. Brown, sergeant, second and first lieutenant; served nearly 3 years.

I. B. S. Randall, sergeant; served nearly 1 year.

Oscar F. Morse, sergeant, second and first lieutenant, and captain; served 3 years.

Josiah S. Bacon, sergeant; wounded in lungs at Second Bull Run; served 2 years, 7 months.

Henry Wilson, colonel, United States Senator; held his commission 23 days.

Thomas Duggan, sergeant; enlisted October 1, 1861; "Deserted and came back."

William W. Pray, sergeant, second and first lieutenant, in 1863; re-enlisted and served through the war.

Albert H. Bryant, assistant surgeon 36th Regt., enlisted as private 1861; discharged May, 1862, to be contract surgeon; August 29, 1862, com. asst. surgeon; served till close of the war.

Ephraim H. Brigham, captain, recruited a company in Natick, 1862; com. August 21, 1862, and marched with ninety-nine men August 13, 1862.

Simon Mulligan, first lieutenant under Capt. Brigham, and marched at same time; Capt. Brigham served two years and was discharged for disability; Mr. Mulligan served one year and two months, and was discharged for disability.

Benning Hall, Jr., sergeant; discharged for disability and died of disease contracted in service soon after his discharge.

William D. Parlin, sergeant; discharged and promoted to capt. of Co. E, 1st U. S. C. T.

Henry F. Felch, sergeant, second and first lieut. and capt. June, 1865; served three years.

Charles P. Currier, sergeant; wounded May 8, 1864, at Spottsylvania Court-House and taken prisoner; leg amputated and paroled at Richmond, Va.; later, was in hospital at Annapolis; had a furlough granted Oct. 19, 1864, then reported at Readville, Mass., and was discharged.

Nathan Reed, sergeant; served during the war and was discharged June 15, 1865, for disability.

Alexander Blaney, capt.; discharged after nine months' service; was in 28th Regt., Co. G.

Ira Russell, surgeon 11th Regt.; enlisted August 27, 1861.

Harrison Harwood, Jr., first sergeant 42d Regt., Co. K; enlisted for three months; served his time and mustered out Nov., 1864.

Florence F. Buckley, second and first lieut.; wounded June 16, 1862, and promoted to first lieut. on the field for gallantry; wounded again at battle of Bull Run Aug. 30, 1862; taken prisoner and paroled; joined regiment again Dec. 4, 1862; promoted capt. Jan. 16, 1863; discharged for disability; re-enlisted and was again capt. of Co. C, 20th Regt.; served nearly the entire period of the war.

Augustus E. Dyer, surgeon at Portsmouth Grove Hospital and died in service.

Horace Bosmore, sergeant; was reduced to private Aug, 1861, and killed during Gen. Banks' retreat from Winchester, Va., May, 1862.

Alfred S. Hartwell, first lieut.; com. capt. in 54th Regt.; lieut.-col. in the 55th and col. of the same Nov., 1863; wounded at Honey Hill, 1864, and promoted brig.-gen. Dec. 1st of that year.

Charles A. Hartwell, first lieut. U. S. Infantry; wounded in the thigh at Gaines' Mills; taken prisoner at Savage Station; confined six months at Richmond, Va.; com. col. of 5th Infantry (colored); brev. capt. U. S. A.; major, lieut.-col. and brig.-gen. of U. S. Volunteers, (breveted), and was such 1866.

Leonard B. Perry, second lieut.; then acting adjt.; later, first lieut.; and later still, acting asst. adjt.-gen. of the post of Folly Island; annexed to the staff of Brig.-Gen. John J. Hatch, and served under him till the war ended.

Josiah A. Bean, second and first lieut. of 55th Regt., Co. D; discharged August 1, 1865.

George Graney, 9th Regiment, Co. B; promoted to sergeant July 1, 1862.

Henry Hamilton Wilson, first lieut., then lieut.-col. U. S. C. T.; then first lieut. in regular army; died in service Dec. 24, 1866, at Austin, Texas.

William Nutt, enlisted as private, then second lieut. in 54th Regt.; later, first lieut. 55th Regt.; then capt., major and lieut.-col., and promoted col. by brevet; served through the war, and is now (1889) Judge of the District Court.

Otis M. Humphrey is credited to Natick as asst. surgeon in the 6th Regt., upon the Adjt.-Gen.'s Report, 1863, but his name is not found upon the record book of Natick. The reports of this officer in 1863, were, of necessity, very imperfect.

Upon the Soldiers' Monument appear the names of eighty-nine Natick soldiers who died in the war, and since it was erected, in 1868, many more have yielded to diseases contracted in the service. From year to year numbers will die from the same cause.

Thirty-eight of the Natick soldiers, at least, were taken prisoners, quite a number of whom died from cruel treatment during their confinement. The number of the wounded was very large, and many of their wounds have proved fatal since the end of the Rebellion.

The certificate that follows is found in the report of the adjutant-general for 1865 in Public Document, No. 7:

"No crime has been committed by any returned soldier resident of Natick. Being personally acquainted with a large majority of those residing in this town, I am pleased to say that there is not one exception wherein the moral and social condition of the soldier of to day is not fully equal to his position as citizen before entering the service. There are many cases of marked improvement. I do not hesitate to say that the general condition of the soldiers and of those dependent upon them is much better than before the war.

"C. B. TRAVIS, *Chairman of the Selectmen.*"

And now, after the lapse of twenty-five years, the appearance of the surviving members of the General Wadsworth Post 63, Grand Army of the Republic, is that of temperate, law-abiding, high-minded, industrious, useful citizens, who are honored by all the present generation, whose country they helped to save by their valor.

That such heavy drafts upon the working force and treasury of Natick, as the suppression of the great Rebellion made necessary, did not paralyze the industries and exhaust the means of the town, appears from its increasing prosperity during those years of trial.

The printed annual report of the selectmen for the year ending March, 1850, shows that the amount of appropriations made for 1849 was $5094, with floating accounts unsettled amounting to $798.50. The expenditures for the year amounted to $6454.56. In the year 1861, when the Rebellion broke out, the grants and appropriations amounted to $16,255, and the liabilities of the town at the same time amounted to $25,923.53. In 1862 the appropriations and liabilities were nearly the same. Up to January 1, 1862, the town had paid to the families of volunteers the sum of $3524,33, but it was expected that nearly all of this sum would be refunded by the State. During that year the interest account paid by the town amounted to $1767.83.

In 1867, two years after the war had ended, the grants and appropriations amounted to $36,554.36, while the liabilities of the town, after deducting the sums due the treasurer, amounted to $24,351.85. The orders drawn by the selectmen for the year ending February 20, 1868, amounted to $77,485.40, while the receipts of the town had been $80,526.12. This indicates for Natick a sound financial condition, as the town was recovering from the heavy expenses and losses occasioned by the war. The town officers received for services during the year 1867–68 the sum of $1149.

The amounts for the year following do not vary materially from those set forth above. In 1870 the receipts of the town amounted to $63,969.07, while the amount of orders drawn by the selectmen was $61,067.85.

The births in the town the same year were 195, the marriages 63, and the deaths 105. In 1884 the births were 204, the marriages 80, and the deaths 155. The receipts of the town for 1884 were $124,-803.27, and the expenditures, $125,307.22, leaving a balance against the town of $503.95. The Water-Works account, at the same time, showed receipts ($85,000 of which came from water bonds) of $128,-292.10, while the expenditures amounted to $110,-096.50, leaving a balance for the sinking fund of $18,-195.60. The interest paid in 1884 amounted to $18,-193.38, $8790 of which were upon water bonds. The net indebtedness of the town, exclusive of water bonds, March 1, 1885, amounted to $114,551.50, while, at the same time, there was due to the town the sum of $37,551.55.

The town having voted to grant licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors for 1884–85, the selectmen granted forty-nine licenses. The receipts for these amounted to $4600, of which the State received one-quarter, leaving a balance for the town of $3450. The town having directed that a part of the money received for licenses should be expended in putting in curbstones for the sidewalks, $1982.13 were paid out for this purpose. Arrangements were made during the year 1884–85 for the town to have the use of Concert Hall and of the selectmen's room for $600 annually from July 1, 1885. The town debt, which had been increasing during some of the preceding

years, was diminished in 1884 and 1885 to the amount of $13,365.19.

For the year ending March 1, 1888, the births were 233, the marriages 100, and the deaths 145. No licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors were allowed. The grants and appropriations amounted to $81,400, while the liabilities of the town were $126,000, which is to be reduced by amounts due the town to $93,851.52, exclusive of the water bonds. The water notes and bonds at that time amounted to $118,400. The amount collected for water, 1887, was $15,520.27.

For the year ending March 1, 1889, the births were 219, the marriages 77, the deaths 162. A liquor license was granted to Washburn & Reed, druggists. The appropriations for the year amounted to $88,340.

The 827 orders given by the selectmen amounted to $71,385.07. The interest paid on the town debt amounted to $11,289.18, while $3000 were expended to reduce the debt. The town's liabilities, March 1, 1889, amounted to $123,000, and it owed at that date $4023.10 accrued interest on notes and bonds, making the sum total of indebtedness, $127,023.10. At the same date, $38,465.14 were due to the town, so that its net indebtedness amounted to $88,557.96, exclusive of water bonds, being a reduction of about $5,294, from the net indebtedness of the preceding year.

The valuation of the town May 1, 1888, was as follows: Personal estate, $1,006,405.00; real estate, $4,198,150.00; total, $5,204,555.00. The number of polls assessed was: Males, 2627; females, 502. The tax rate was $17.20 per $1000, and the total amount for collection was $99,302.47.

It is proposed here to resume the general history of this town, which was interrupted to present connectedly some account of Natick's sacrifices for the suppression of the Rebellion,—a matter concerning which but few of the present generation are as familiar as every patriot ought to be.

The project of erecting a soldiers' monument being before the town, a monument committee, consisting of E. H. Brigham, G. P. Fay, N. Reed, Simon Mulligan and Willard Mann, was raised to attend to this matter, who reported, April 1, 1867, that they had put in the foundations and prepared the ground for a monument, on the Common, at the expense of $372.97, and had contracted with Messrs. Russell, Clough & Co., of Lowell, to prepare and erect the monument. The same committee was directed to go forward and complete the same. The town's grant for the erection of such a monument was made April, 1866, and amounted to $3500.

Nov. 6, 1866, the town instructed the selectmen to petition the Legislature to grant the town of Natick the privilege of equalizing the bounties among those who served in the war of the Rebellion.

The Library Committee reported, April 1, 1867, that the number of volumes in the library was 2563, and that thirty dollars were due for unpaid fines.

Dec. 16, 1867, the matter of building a Town-House upon the old burying-ground lot, where the brick block of Leonard Winch and the Masonic Block now stand, was agitated, and the matter was deemed so far settled, that a large building committee was appointed to conduct the work, but no actual progress was made. This project was again before the town in 1868, but was defeated. At the annual meeting in March, 1868, the subject of securing a better supply of water, and of purchasing a steam fire-engine, was brought before the town by the engineers of the Fire Department, and a committee was raised to consider the matter.

Newton Morse was chosen Representative, in 1868, by 564 votes.

At a town-meeting, April 3, 1869, a communication was received from Mrs. Sally Spaulding, dated Oct. 3, 1868, in which she offered to the town of Natick the sum of five hundred dollars, the interest of which should be annually expended at or near the time of the annual Thanksgiving, to furnish to the female inmates of the almshouse such warm and comfortable clothing as the town would not feel called upon otherwise to supply, such as warm woolen dresses, woolen hose, small shawls, etc. The donation was accepted unanimously by the town, and a vote of thanks for the same was passed. At this meeting "the blocking-up of the line of Washington Street by the Boston & Albany Railroad corporation" was condemned by an emphatic vote. A railroad station-house had been built directly across the street above mentioned, and the agitation commenced at this time did not cease until, by an act of the General Court, the corporation was compelled to remove the depot about one hundred feet to the east.

As early as 1871 the money received by the town for the license of dogs began to be appropriated to the support and increase of the town library.

In 1872 the town, upon the recommendation of its committee, voted in favor of obtaining a charter which should give the liberty to take water from Dug Pond, for extinguishing fires and for household purposes. Also, the town voted to purchase a steam fire-engine for South Natick.

Upon the article in the warrant for the meeting, "Shall any person be allowed to manufacture, sell or keep for sale, ale, porter, strong beer or lager, in this town," 382 voted yes, and 355 voted no.

At the Presidential election in 1872 the party votes stood 683 to 449 on electors-at-large.

March 25, 1873, the town unanimously accepted the act of the Legislature entitled "An Act to Supply the Town of Natick with Pure Water."

Jan. 13, 1874, the great fire occurred, which destroyed all the buildings on both sides of Main Street, except the Leach (now the Eagle) block, and all on the west side of Washington Street, south of the railroad, except the dwelling of Miss Susan Morse. West of Main Street, for a considerable distance, the

destruction was complete. Among the valuable buildings consumed were Clark's new and beautiful brick block, containing rooms for the National and Savings Banks, and the spacious Concert Hall, and the Congregational Church edifice, nearly new, and just enlarged and improved at an expense of about $13,000, upon which was good insurance amounting to $31,500. Two large factories of foot-wear were also consumed; all the dry-goods stores, and all the public halls in the village, including the one in the Winch Block in which the Methodist Episcopal Society was worshiping while they were erecting a new church. The loss to the town was very great, being estimated at the time at about one-fifth of the entire taxable property of Natick. But the amount of insurance, in most cases, was large, and the companies were able to meet their losses.

In 1874 the name of Railroad Avenue was changed to South Avenue. April 9, 1874, a Water Board was chosen, consisting of E. B. Saunders, James W. Morse and P. F. Woodbury for one year; Royal E. Farwell and F. C. Tucker for two years, and Calvin H. Perry and Herman Crosley for three years. And the Board was directed "to introduce water into the town as soon as convenient." The treasurer was authorized to issue water scrip, not exceeding $80,000. Also the selectmen and the Water Board were authorized to expend $14,500 in erecting such buildings as were necessary for an engine-house, station-house, lockup and stables. In 1874 additional water scrip was authorized to the amount of $30,000, which was increased in 1875 by $40,000. In 1876 the town voted salaries for town officers, as follows: The chairman of the selectmen, $200; the other selectmen, $175 each; each assessor, $150; each member of the School Committee, $125; town clerk, $50; town treasurer, $200.

April 6, 1868, the town chose Calvin H. Perry, Horatio Alger and Elijah Perry a committee to prepare a code of by-laws for the town, and in May of the same year this committee reported such a code in eight articles. This report having been accepted, the same committee, with the addition of the town clerk, George L. Sleeper, Esq., was requested to present a copy of the proposed by-laws to the Superior Court or a justice thereof for approval. This was done; and June 23, 1886, the code was approved by the Court sitting at Cambridge. In 1877 the town voted to issue water bonds, bearing interest at five per cent., sufficient in amount to carry water to South Natick and to the north part of the town, and ordered $20,000 worth of the old bonds, bearing six per cent. interest, to be canceled, and the new bonds to take their place.

March 5, 1877, the town appropriated $500 to pay for Cobb's painting of the late Vice-President, Henry Wilson, the same that now hangs in the town hall. Messrs. J. B. Fairbanks, George L. Sleeper and Alexander Blaney were made a committee to procure plans and estimates for a new high-school house. New and additional by-laws for the town, prepared by Messrs. George L. Sleeper, J. B. Fairbanks and William Nutt, having been previously accepted by the town, were presented to, and approved by, the Superior Court at Lowell, April 20, 1877. May 3, 1877, the town voted to build a new high-school house, and appointed a building committee consisting of John B. Fairbanks, George L. Sleeper, Alexander Blaney, Josiah L. Bean and Calvin H. Perry; and in March, 1878, a final grant of $7000 was made to finish and furnish the high-school house and to grade and fence the lot. November 8, 1880, the committee appointed on celebrating the first centennial of the incorporation of Natick, presented their report and it was accepted. From this report it appeared that the committee had organized by the choice of Hon. John W. Bacon as president, and Rev. Daniel Wight as secretary, and had recommended that the celebration should take place on the first Wednesday of June, 1881, and that the town apply to the Legislature for liberty to raise money to meet the necessary expenses of the celebration. The town thereupon voted that an executive committee of fifty-five be chosen, which shall constitute the committee of arrangements, and made provision to apply for the needed legislative act. At the annual town-meeting, 1881, the town granted $500 for celebrating the 100th anniversary of incorporation, to be expended under the direction of the town's committee on celebration heretofore elected, and that this appropriation shall not be exceeded.

The town having voted, November 8, 1880, to celebrate the centennial of the incorporation of Natick on the 1st day of June, 1881, the committee of fifty-five in charge made all the preparations necessary for this important event. A brighter and more beautiful day than June 1st could not have been desired.

At sunrise all the church, school and engine-house bells were rung for half an hour, and a salute of thirty-nine guns was fired. This was repeated at noon and sunset. By eight o'clock the people from the outlying districts and the surrounding towns had assembled in great numbers. At 9.30 the procession was ready to move, and this presented an imposing spectacle. It moved in five divisions, with the platoon of police in front under the charge of Chief A. C. Pease. Wm. H. Wright was chief marshal, and I. K. Felch chief of staff. In the first division were the cornet band, General Wadsworth Post 63, G. A. R., and the Fire Department in full.

The second division contained the various benevolent and other societies of the town.

The third division, with the Hibernia Brass Band, was made up of the town officers, Governor Long and staff and other officers of the State.

The fourth division contained the youth and children of all the schools, many of them in costume and in barges, followed by representatives of the various trades and business of the town generally and

citizens in carriages and on foot. Young ladies from the High School, representing each of the States, and all with corresponding badges, and conveyed in a barge drawn by four horses, presented one of the most attractive features of the procession. When all had passed, the youth and children were drawn up in line in front of the Common, when J. B. Fairbanks, president of the day, introduced to them the Governor of the Commonwealth, John D. Long, who addressed them briefly, but appropriately. All repaired now to the tent which covered the northeastern section of the Common, and was furnished with seats for the large assembly. The president of the day made an appropriate address at the opening of the exercises, and then introduced the chaplain of the day, Rev. Daniel Wight, a native and resident of the town, who offered prayer. A hymn, composed for the occasion by Mr. Isaac Gale, was then sung, after which the act of the incorporation of the town was read by Hon. Henry B. Pierce, Secretary of State. The centennial address, by Hon. John W. Bacon, followed, which was full of the most deeply interesting facts appertaining to the history of Natick, and couched in the plain and easily-comprehended language for which Judge Bacon was remarkable.

A centennial song, by Mrs. Mary L. Turner, was next in order, and this was followed by the centennial poem, written and delivered by John B. Mann, Esq., a resident of Washington, D. C., but a native of Natick. This poem was entitled "The Spirit of Freedom as illustrated in a Town's History."

At the close of the exercises in the tent about 650 of the audience dined together in Concert Hall, after the divine blessing had been invoked by the chaplain; Mr. Alexander Blaney was toast-master, and Governor Long responded happily to the sentiment, "The Old Bay State." Hon. John W. Candler, member of Congress then (and now Congressman-elect) from this district, responded to the sentiment "The Congress of the United States;" Hon. Robert R. Bishop, president of the Senate of the Commonwealth, spoke for "The State Legislature;" Colonel William Nutt, chairman of the selectmen, and R. E. Farwell, Esq., chairman of the Board of Assessors, spoke for the "Town of Natick," while James McManus, Esq., responded to the toast, "Our Adopted Fellow-Citizens;" Charles Q. Tirrell, Esq., made an address for "The Ladies of Natick," in which he gave some personal history; Rev. Daniel Wight responded to the toast, "Our Free Public Libraries."

Natick was gay on this occasion with banners, streamers, flags and beautifully-arranged decorations. These last extended to all the public buildings, the most important business blocks and stores and many private residences, conspicuous among which was "The Home of Wilson," on West Central Street.

Among the relics and curiosities exhibited in Clark's North Hall were a rare copy of the old Indian Bible, translated by Rev. John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians, printed in Cambridge in 1685, the silver service presented to the Hon. Henry Wilson by the citizens of Natick, and the original challenge sent to Mr. Wilson by Brooks, of South Carolina, to fight a duel.

In 1883 Captain Willard Drury gave to the town, in trust, the sum of $500, on condition that the town shall apply the net annual income from the same to the care and preservation of his lot in Dell Park Cemetery, and the town accepted the trust.

In 1883 the appropriations of the town (including county and State taxes) amounted to $79,240.38.

In 1884 the grants, including the same, were $82,-367.20. The town voted to grant licenses for the sale of intoxicating drinks, the votes standing 780 to 631. July 28th Stephen A. Sweetland was appointed one of the Board of Registrars, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Willard W. Wight. In the Presidential election, 1884, the votes for Presidential electors were divided as follows: 638 for Republican candidates, and 460 for Democratic candidates. Francis Bigelow had 933 for Senator in Fourth Middlesex District. For Governor George D. Robinson had 689 votes, and Julius H. Seeley, 534.

1885. The town voted to grant licenses to sell intoxicating liquors by 690 to 678 votes. At the State election Frederick O. Prince received 671 votes, and George D. Robinson, 581. For Senator, Francis Bigelow received 805 votes, and Alexander Blaney, 528. For Representative, Justin Perry received 699, and Albert Mead 640 votes.

1886. The town voted not to grant licenses, by a vote of 853 to 687. August 20, 1886, George L. Sleeper, Esq., who had long been town clerk, having been appointed postmaster, resigned his office, and James McManus was chosen in his place, to act till the date of the annual meeting in 1887.

1887. The town voted not to license by a vote of 938 to 827. The vote for town clerk stood 911 for James McManus and 882 for Irving G. Glidden. David H. Clark was chosen Representative by a vote of 905, over David J. Murphy, who received 716 votes.

1888. The vote on the license question stood 921 to 844 against granting licenses.

Under the article "To see if the town will intrust the money granted for necessary aid to soldiers, sailors and families of the slain, to the Post of the Grand Army of the Republic located in this town to be disbursed under the direction of said Post, to such persons residing in this town as are to receive it, according to Chapter 189, of Acts of Legislature of 1855," the town voted in the affirmative.

At a special town-meeting April 26, 1888, the town was divided into two precincts, 1 and 2, for the conducting of State and National business and elections, the legal votes in Precinct No. 1 being at the time 1820, and in Precinct No. 2, 287.

The registrars of voters for 1888 and 1889 were

George L. Bartlett, S. A. Sweetland and Patrick Mahan, with James McManus, town clerk, member ex-officio. Francis Bigelow and Bernard F. Moran were wardens for Precinct No. 1, with Irving C. Glidden clerk, while in Precinct No. 2, Michael D. Sheenan and Gustavus Smith were appointed wardens, with Frank J. McCullough, clerk. Henry A. Gray and Charles Stevens were appointed supervisors of election for Precinct No. 2, by Governor Ames upon petition.

At the Presidential and State election November 6, 1888, the Democratic candidates received in Natick 968, and the Republican 859; the Prohibition ticket received 72 votes,—total 1899.

For a Representative in Congress for the Ninth District, Edward Burnett, 1008 votes; John W. Candler (who was elected), 831; and John C. Park, 54. For Governor, William E. Russell had 982 votes; Oliver Ames (who was elected), 838; and William H. Earle, 54. William L. Davenport was elected Senator in the Fourth Middlesex District. Colonel Edgar S. Dodge had 162 plurality in Natick. For Representative in the General Court, Albert Mead was elected over Patrick F. Hallinan by 27 votes, after the recounting of the votes in Precinct No. 1.

1889. The warrant for the annual meeting contained fifty-one articles. The vote on license stood 905 to 645 against granting licenses, being a majority of 260. James McManus was re-elected town clerk by 707 votes, and Edward Clark, treasurer, by 1746 votes. For water commissioner for three years Francis Bigelow was elected, while the Board of Health was composed of Dr. W. H. Sylvester, Dr. William Richards and Isaac R. S. Randall. Among the appropriations were "For enforcing the Liquor Laws $1000, lighting streets $3500, sidewalks and crossings of concrete $1500, the abuttors to pay one-half of the expense for the concrete sidewalks," while $300 were appropriated to publish a pamphlet setting forth the advantages of Natick as a place of residence and for conducting a remunerative business. The grants and appropriations amounted to $88,270. The selectmen appointed Lyman A. Spooner superintendent of streets with a salary of $1000. John J. Oakes was appointed one of the registrars of voters.

On the proposed amendment of the Constitution, to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors to be used as a beverage, the vote of the town, which was cast April 22, 1889, stood for the amendment, 619; against the same, 786. Precinct No. 1 gave for it 592 votes to 595 against it, and Precinct No. 2 gave 27 for it and 191 against it.

May 1, 1889, the valuation of the town was $5,314,900, viz.: Personal estate, $1,096,750; real estate, $4,317,550—a gain within the year of about $125,000. Number of polls, 2627; tax, $77,940; rate per thousand, $16.80.

Representatives in the General Court.—As already noticed, the voters of Natick, for a long course of years, declined to be represented in the Legislature.

Before 1856 Samuel Morse, Moses Fisk, Abel Perry, William Farris, Chester Adams, Steadman Hartwell, Aaron Sanford, Nathaniel Clark, Henry Wilson, John Travis, John Kimball and Nathaniel Smith appear to have served the town as Representatives. Of these, Nathaniel Clark (who is now living) was repeatedly called to fill this office. Since 1876 the Representatives have been: 1876, Warren A. Bird; 1877, Noah L. Hardy; 1878 and 1879, Francis Bigelow; 1880, Edward McManus; 1881, Daniel Dorchester, D.D.; 1882, Warren A. Bird; 1883 and 1884, Alexander Blaney; 1885 and 1886, Justin Perry; 1887, David H. Clark; 1888, Albert Mead.

The dates here given refer to the time of election; the service in each case was one year later.

Selectmen beginning with 1879.

1879, Calvin H. Perry, Josiah A. Bean, Alexander Blaney; 1880, the same board was elected; 1881, Daniel A. Mahony, James W. Valentine, William Nutt; 1882, Daniel A. Mahony, James W. Valentine, Aaron Wheeler; 1883, Warren A. Bird, Alexander Blaney, Joshua A. Bean; 1884, the same board was elected; 1885, Warren A. Bird, Albert Mead, Reuben Hunting; 1886, Gustavus Smith, Daniel A. Mahony, Albert Mead; 1887, Daniel A. Mahony, Albert Mead, Edgar S. Dodge; 1888, Samuel W. Mann, Edgar S. Dodge, Patrick F. Hallinan; 1889, Samuel W. Mann, Arthur F. Atwood, Frank B. Tilton.

The assessors of the town since 1879 have been as follows:

1879, Reuben Hunting, Edward McManus and Royal E. Farwell; 1880, Royal E. Farwell, Edward McManus, Reuben Hunting; 1881, Royal E. Farwell, Reuben Hunting, Patrick Pettee; 1882, the same board was elected; 1883, Reuben Hunting, Willard W. Wight, Patrick Pettee; 1884, Patrick Pettee, James W. Valentine, William J. Cronin; 1885, Patrick Pettee, James W. Valentine, Amos P. Cheney; 1886, James W. Valentine, Willard W. Wight, David Finn, Jr.; 1887 and 1888, the same; 1889, Davin Finn, Willard W. Wight, Daniel Coleman.

Senators, Fourth Middlesex District.

Charles Q. Tirrell in 1880 and 1881; Walter N. Mason, in 1882 and 1883; Francis Bigelow, in 1884 and 1885.

In 1888 Charles Q. Tirrell was chosen one of the Presidential electors, and cast his votes for Benjamin Harrison as President, and Levi P. Morton as Vice-President, of the United States.

In examining the entire records of the town, leaf by leaf, including the Indian, for the purpose of discovering the historical information given above, the work of the compiler has been greatly facilitated by the convenient arrangement in making entries adopted by all the town clerks of later years.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

NATICK—(Continued).

ECCLESIASTICAL.

Organization of the Indian Church—Eliot's Translation of the Bible—The Printing and Distribution of the Same—Mr. Eliot's Death—Memorial Windows to Perpetuate his Memory – Pastor Tukawambait—Rev. Messrs. Peabody and Badger Missionaries to the Natick Indians—Organization of the Congregational Church in the Centre of the Town—Sketches of its Pastors —The Baptist Church—The Methodist Episcopal Church—St. Paul's Episcopal Church– The Roman Catholic Churches—The Unitarian or Eliot Church—The John Eliot Church—The Universalist Church.

THE first minister of the Gospel who preached in Natick was Rev. John Eliot, who, we are assured, often prayed for divine direction, as he rode through the forests of this region in search of the best location for a new Indian settlement; and whoever stands on one of the hills that overlook the part of the valley of the Charles River where is now the pleasant village of South Natick, must be convinced that the prayers of the anxious man were answered. For in all this region, where excellent sites for villages abound, hardly another place combining so many advantages for the successful prosecution of his experiment, and at the same time so attractive and beautiful, could have been discovered.

The earliest gathering in Natick for religious purposes was doubtless in 1650, for during that year the site for the plantation was selected, the Indian title to the land secured, and the work of laying the foundations for the new settlement begun. But few, if any, of the Indian families that a little later built their wigwams and constituted the Indian community here, came to the place before 1651, but during the preceding year Indian men, in considerable numbers, were felling the trees and doing other preparatory work upon the Plantation. To these men, gathered together under the shade of the famous "Eliot Oak," Mr. Eliot doubtless preached the first Gospel sermon that was ever listened to in Natick. His hearers were not only respectful, but thoughtful, for, coming at the preacher's invitation from the Indian settlements, where he had occasionally held religious services, and especially from Nonantum, they were the most enlightened and religiously inclined of all the Indian population of the region, and for four years some of them had been under his instruction. That his preaching and other religious services had not been in vain Mr. Eliot was thoroughly convinced months before the Natick Plantation was founded, for many of his hearers at Nonantum abandoned their wicked habits and heathenish customs and became thoughtful, sober-minded and conscientious. Among these the chief, Waban, and his son, Waban, Jr., were conspicuous.

After the removal of the Indians to Natick and the establishment of regular religious services here, the fruits of Mr. Eliot's labor for the spiritual welfare of the Indians became more and more apparent. In a considerable number of instances the reformation seemed real as tested by time, and thoroughly pronounced; but though for many months Mr. Eliot had regarded a number of the Indians as true converts to Christianity, with characteristic prudence he had postponed the organization of a Christian Church.

But in 1652 he believed that the time had arrived to take at least the preliminary steps for such an organization. October 13th of that year a large company met in this place for the purpose of listening to the statements and confessions of such of the Indians as might be deemed candidates for church membership. Among the visitors were a number of the pastors and lay messengers from the churches in Boston and vicinity and some of the best educated and promising from other settlements of the Praying Indians.

The early morning was spent in prayer and listening to discourses by Mr. Eliot and two of the Indian exhorters. Quite a number were ready to relate their Christian experience, but as they were slow of speech and Mr. Eliot wished to make a full record of their statements, the work of examination could not proceed rapidly. Night approached before the fifth of the candidates—the schoolmaster—could finish his confession, and it was deemed best to adjourn the meeting. The statements made on this occasion by the Indians were soon published in London, and produced a profound impression upon many of the leading philanthropists and Christians of England.

The adjourned meeting for the examination of candidates for church membership did not take place till 1654. This was held in Roxbury, and, it is supposed, in Mr. Eliot's meeting-house, July 13, 1654, and was, in most respects, similar to the former gathering in Natick. But while the examinations seemed satisfactory, Mr. Eliot advised further delay, and so great was his prudence that it was not till 1660, or eight years after the first meeting for examining candidates, that the Indian church was organized at Natick. No records are known to exist respecting the exact date of this proceeding or of the number received at that time into church fellowship. Indeed, the entire records of the Indian church of 1660 have doubtless perished. We have every reason to suppose that all the transactions just named were recorded, as well as the important matters appertaining to the growth and condition of the church during the life of Mr. Eliot, at the least; but his books of records were kept in Roxbury, and some years elapsed before any one else served as clerk of the church in Natick. All the preserved records of the Plantation during the seventeenth century are upon a few loose pieces of paper, and upon these a considerable part of the entries were made in the Indian language.

We come now to the great work in the life of the Indian apostle and first minister of the Gospel in Natick. Reference is here made to his translation of the entire Bible into the Indian language, and the printing and distribution of the same among the Indians.

From his preaching and other religious instruction Mr. Eliot hoped for good results, but for a number of years the conviction had been growing upon him that the Indians must have the written Word as well as the spoken, if permanent results were to be expected. In his preaching services only fragments of the Bible could be read or recited, while the children in the school and all the families in their wigwams needed the entire word of God before their eyes from day to day before the Gospel could be expected to control the hearts and lives of any considerable number of the population. In other words, his views upon this matter coincided exactly with those of the most intelligent of the Christian missionaries to the heathen at the present day. It was a formidable undertaking which he proposed, sufficiently so to require indomitable courage, for the difficulties to be encountered were such as probably no mortal before him had been called to meet.

The Indians had absolutely no literature, not even a scrap of a printed book or paper of any sort. The philologists of the present day, even when studying languages that have not been spoken for ages, have well-stored libraries at their command, but Mr. Eliot had nothing to begin with but the indistinctly spoken and very common words of the Indians in their ordinary conversation. And those words were of a formidable character, some of them containing between forty and fifty letters, and all bearing no conceivable analogy to the words of any other known language.

Moreover, the Indians knew nothing of the nice shades of meaning that are to be found so often in the Hebrew Bible, and in many of the modern translations thereof.

That Mr. Eliot appreciated the difficulties he would encounter when he entered upon his preparation for this work is hardly probable. But as early as 1649, a year before he selected Natick for his Indian plantation, he expressed in letters his ardent desire to translate some part of the Bible into the Indian tongue; and, two years later, he referred in a letter to his Indian assistant in the work of translation as making some progress in the undertaking, which he had no hope, he said, to see completed in his day.

With his other labors he early found that he must have assistance, if any considerable progress should be made in the translation; but this he could not obtain through lack of funds, as he had a family of five sons and one daughter to support. To what extent the English Society for Propagating the Gospel among the American Indians aided him in this emergency we know not, but certain it is that the funds for printing the New Testament in the Indian language came from that quarter. This printing was accomplished in September, 1661, and twenty copies of this part of the Bible were soon sent to England, one of which was destined for the King, Charles II., whose "royal favor and assistance" were craved for carrying the Old Testament through the press. This last was an undertaking that required two additional years, but in 1663 it was accomplished, and, as it would appear, without any aid from the royal purse. The two Testaments were then bound together, and to the whole Bible thus completed were added a catechism and the Psalms of David in Indian verse.

This was the first Bible that was printed in New England.

What the edition cost cannot be ascertained. When it was about half done there had been paid out as one item "two hundred and thirty-seven pounds and five shillings," and it was estimated that two hundred pounds more would be needed. The press and types, with all the other necessary materials for the work, were sent over from England, and the printing was done by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson. How large this edition was is uncertain, but it probably consisted of fifteen hundred copies. When the New Testament had been completed, the Indians were at once supplied with two hundred copies strongly bound in leather.

About twenty years later Mr. Eliot had the satisfaction of seeing a second edition of his great work, the New Testament portion of which was printed at Cambridge in 1680, and the Old Testament at the same place in 1685, by Samuel Green. Whether alterations and improvements had been made for this second edition we know not, but the supposition that this was the case is not improbable. To this edition belongs the Indian Bible which is kept in the safe of the town of Natick, in the town clerk's office. The rare book belongs to this town. It is, perhaps, about eight inches long, five inches wide and two or a little more inches in thickness. This Bible is a treasure, but it is supposed that no living man is able to read it. This great work of his eventful life having been accomplished, the first Gospel minister of Natick died at Roxbury, May 20, 1690, at the age of eighty-six years. He was buried in the ministers' tomb in that place, where a monument was erected to his memory. In October, 1847, a few of the citizens of Natick erected a monument to commemorate Mr. Eliot's life and work, at South Natick. It is a neat sandstone shaft, costing between two and three hundred dollars.

The Eliot Church and Society of Newton (the ancient Nonantum) have just erected and dedicated one of the most convenient and elegant church edifices in New England. This church has perpetuated in its name the memory of the apostle to the Indians as well as that of one of his sons, John Eliot, Jr., who, after assisting his father greatly in his missionary work for a considerable period, became pastor at Newton (then called Cambridge Village), more than two hundred years ago. There have been placed in the new church edifice at Newton ten memorial windows, among which one in the nave is very con-

spicuous. It represents, with singular appropriateness, Rev. John Eliot preaching to the Indians. John Eliot, Jr., is said to have been an excellent pastor and preacher, but died when comparatively young, in 1668.

Among the memorial windows just placed in Memorial Hall, Harvard University, are two (the gift of the class of 1878), in which appear, in full size and side by side, the figures of Warren and Eliot, the one in the act of presenting a musket and the other offering a Bible. Under the figure of Warren is a small panel representing him as a statesman, while under that of Eliot we see the man of God offering the Gospel to the savages.

The Natick historian, Oliver N. Bacon, has preserved for us the following extract from the speech of Hon. Edward Everett, delivered at Bloody Brook: "Since the death of Paul a nobler, truer and warmer spirit than John Eliot never lived. And taking the state of the country, the narrowness of the means, the rudeness of the age, into consideration, the history of the Christian Church does not contain an example of resolute, untiring, successful labor, superior to that of translating the entire Scriptures into the language of the native tribes of Massachusetts—a labor performed, not in the flush of youth, nor amid the luxurious abodes of academic lore, but under the constant burden of his labors as a minister and preacher, and at a time of life when the spirits begin to flag."

When he was eighty-three years of age Mr. Eliot preached to his Indian friends as often as once in two months, and as long as he was able to give them this amount of service they were adverse to any movement respecting the choice and ordination of his successor. But the matter assumed a new aspect when the aged man found the journey from and to Roxbury wearisome

When the election of a new pastor at length took place, the choice fell upon Daniel Takawambpait, who, without doubt, was also the first choice of Mr. Eliot. He was an Indian. His name is variously spelled in the records of that time, and sometimes certainly he, himself, omitted the "b" in giving his signature, while, perhaps oftener than otherwise, he called himself simply *Daniel*, the name by which he was most generally known.

Takawambpait appears to have been one of the earliest converts to Christianity and to have enjoyed the confidence of Mr. Eliot and all the better class of the Indians, while his scholarship was so good that for years he taught the Indian School at Natick. Two of the pastors of neighboring churches, after having made the tour of the Indian settlement in 1698, reported thus: "At Natick we find a small church consisting of seven men and three women. Their pastor (ordained by that reverend and holy man of God, Mr. John Eliot, deceased) is Daniel Takawambpait, and is a person of good knowledge. Here are fifty-seven men, fifty-one women and seventy children under 16 years of age. We find no schoolmaster here and but one child that can read."[1] This report indicates a waning interest in the religious concerns of the Natick Indians after the death of Mr. Eliot, and this impression is confirmed by a statement in Mather's "Magnalia," under date of 1693: "The Indian Church in Natick (which was the first Indian church in America) is, since blessed Eliot's death, much diminished and dwindled away. But Mr. Daniel Gookin has bestowed his pious care upon it." Mr. Gookin was a son of the Indian superintendent, Daniel Gookin, of Cambridge, and pastor at Sherborn. This was during the pastorate of Takawambpait, and from this reference to Mr. Gookin's preaching to the Natick Indians and from the interest they took in his services as indicated by a vote they passed, respecting his labors about the same time, it is plain that what he did for their spiritual good was done during some temporary illness or absence of their pastor.

This Indian minister, Takawambpait, died September 17, 1716, and his tomb-stone stands in the inner line of the sidewalk, nearly in front of the Unitarian Church in South Natick.

It should be stated in this place that the house erected by the Indians for school and religious purposes, under the superintendence of Mr. Eliot, had become very poor and unfit for use by or before the year 1698. So May 21, 1699, the Indians sent to the Governor and General Court of the Province a petition for the privilege of selling "unto John Coller, Jr., carpenter, a small nook of our Plantation," to remunerate him for building for them a new meeting-house. In this petition they speak of thirty families on the plantation, and "that we are now greatly diminished and impoverished," that "our meeting-house where we were wont constantly to meet Sabbath days and lecture days to worship God is fallen down and we are not able to build us another." And later, 1702, June 3d, the General Court received a statement from this John Coller, in which he says, "I, John Coller, have built and erected a Meeting-house for the Public worship of God amongst ye Indians of Natic, according to agreement with ye town of said Natic and also the advice and direction of the Hon'ble Lt.-Governor and ye hon'ble Mr. Danforth." The land was granted, not exceeding 200 acres, to Mr. Coller June 5, 1702. This house stood upon the site of the one erected in 1651; Daniel Takawambpait preached in this, the second meeting-house, probably twelve or thirteen years.

That another Indian, John Neesmumin, next preached to the Indian congregation at Natick we infer from the fact that at a general meeting of all the freeholders and voters of the plantation May 11, 1719, at which a list was adopted of the real pro-

[1] Biglow's "History."

prietors of Natick, the name of this Indian appears as the last on the list and against it is written, "If he shall live and die in the work of the Gospel ministry in Natick." Of his qualifications for and success as a preacher we know nothing. He may have died soon, for the next year this record appears, "The town of Natick had agreed with Josiah Shonks to imply him of preaching at Natick for six months and begin said work 19th of December, 1720, for five pounds."

The ministry of this Indian must have been short, for during the following year other and more definite arrangements were made for the religious instruction of the Indians.

About this time, 1721, another meeting-house was erected for the Indians, on the spot where the school and meeting-house was built in 1651. A part of the funds required for this purpose may have come from England.

The Board of Commissioners for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians of America took measures in the year 1721 for supplying the Natick Plantation with a better and more permanent ministry.

Oliver Peabody, who graduated at Harvard College in 1721, was requested by the Board above-named to go at once to Natick, as a missionary to the Indians. Probably without any extensive theological education, but with a good mind and a warm and devoted Christian heart, Mr. Peabody obeyed this summons, and is said to have preached his first sermon in Natick, August 6, 1721. He found, we are told, but two white families in the place, and, later, committed to writing this statement: "After my most diligent inquiry and search, I can find no records of anything referring to the former church in Natick, nor who were members of it or baptized, till my coming to town." Mr. Peabody seems to have labored faithfully in this field before he was ordained or a new church organized, for the space of eight years. "June 24, 1728, Voted that Rev. Mr. Peabody, during his continuance in the work of the ministry in Natick, have the sole use and improvement of the Ministerial Lot," of which more hereafter. And Nov. 25, 1728, "Voted that there be a contribution for y^e^ Rev. Mr. Peabody the last Sabbath of every month, and Lieut. Wamsquam to hold the box." Of course this was an Indian provision for the support of their ministers. And the Indian Proprietors' Records show that grants of land were made to their minister by the Indians in 1729, 1730, 1732, 1733 and 1734. The lots given to him were often of considerable size, making in the aggregate two hundred and eleven acres, but probably not very valuable, as much of the common and undivided land conveyed by the Indians in those years covered the poorer portions of Natick. But certainly his parishioners showed their good will by these gifts to their pastor. A considerable portion of Rev. Mr. Peabody's salary doubtless came from the English friends of this enterprise, just as they had furnished the funds for printing Rev. Mr. Eliot's Indian Bible.

A committee of the Board of Commissioners visited Natick October 21, 1729, to consider particularly the religious concerns of the plantation, and by their advice a new church was organized, consisting of three Indian and five white male members. This organization took place December 3, 1729, Rev. Mr. Baxter, of Medfield, preaching the sermon. On the 17th of the same month Mr. Peabody was ordained at Cambridge, and he was permitted to report to a convention of ministers in Boston July 7, 1743, that "there have been added to our church of such as I hope shall be saved—about fifty persons of different nations—during the past two years, whose lives witness in general to the sincerity of their profession."

Meanwhile the white population of Natick was increasing with considerable rapidity, and in 1749 it appears to have outnumbered the one hundred and sixty-six Indians. The English had, at that date, fifty dwellings and the Indians forty.

Comparatively few of the white families had settled in the immediate vicinity of the Indian meeting-house, for Peagan Plain (where the central village of the town is located) was fast becoming a favorite place of residence. Besides, it is perfectly plain that the "color question" (which, in many minds, is now so difficult of solution) was beginning to affect public opinion in Natick one hundred and forty years ago. The Indians appear to have been respectable, and they certainly transacted their public business in an orderly and becoming manner, but the prejudices awakened by the matter of nationality were nearly inveterate. These statements will aid in understanding the animus of the votes that follow, which are copied from the parish records, for Natick had not as yet arrived at the dignity of a town, but was only a parish or precinct:

"January 25, 1749–50, voted to accept the Rev. Oliver Peabody as the parish minister, upon condition he will come to the centre of the parish to preach and so long as he preaches there."

The same conditions were annexed to the following: "Voted to grant Mr. Peabody £300 salary, old tenor, yearly." At a later period, when the article in the call of the parish meeting was—"To see whether they agreed to take Rev. Mr. Peabody, the Indian pastor, to be the Parish Minister, the vote stood twenty-four to six against the proposition." So this excellent man lived and died the pastor of the Indians, who loved him as a father. His death took place February 2, 1752, after a ministry of thirty-one years, during which time he baptized one hundred and ninety-one Indians and four hundred and twenty-two whites, and admitted to the church one hundred of the latter and thirty-five of the former. Two hundred and fifty-six Indians died during the same period.

From the above it is evident that, in the face of the votes of the parish, a large part of the white popula-

tion of Natick regarded Mr. Peabody as their religious teacher.

Mr. Peabody's successor in the ministry at Natick was Rev. Stephen Badger. In a letter to the corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, written five or six years before the close of his long pastorate, Mr. Badger said: "Immediately previous to my settling in this place a church was gathered which consisted partly of English and partly of Indians, and though some additions were soon after made of Indian professors, yet, from the causes already mentioned, a decrease gradually took place and has continued to the present time."

From this statement it has been generally supposed, and that not without reason, that the Natick Church which was gathered by Rev. Mr. Peabody was disbanded at or soon after his death, in 1752. If so, it was a very unusual proceeding for which no adequate reason can be imagined.

Mr. Badger was born in Charlestown in 1725, of humble parentage, as the Historian Biglow declares, because his name stood last of his class in the Harvard College catalogue, at a time when the names of the students of that college were arranged upon its lists "according to the real or supposed dignity of their parents."

Be this as it may, Mr. Badger graduated in 1747, and in March, 1753, he was ordained by the Commissioners for Propagating the Gospel in New England, as a missionary over the Indians in Natick.[1] From the beginning to the end of his long pastorate of about forty-six years Mr. Badger enjoyed but little peace, for the local divisions among the people of the town, especially in regard to the location of the meeting-house, which so annoyed and hindered the usefulness of his predecessor, continued and bore fruit during this entire period. The third meeting-house, which had been built chiefly for the accommodation of the Indians upon the site of their first rude building for school and religious purposes, had become unsuitable for public worship before the death of Rev. Mr. Peabody, and soon after Mr. Badger had commenced his ministry here the fourth house had been raised and partially finished upon the same locality. At an early day such progress had been made in this work that the building could be used for the Sabbath services, but it was not finished for thirteen years, or till 1767. This delay was due to the prevailing contentions. The minister appears to have given good satisfaction to the Indians, but the white inhabitants were very unwilling to acknowledge the "Indian Missionary" as their Pastor, and for a considerable period did but little for his support. Biglow asserts, in his "History," that "a large part of the white people of his (Mr. Badger's) day had adopted as many of the Indian manners and habits as the Indians had of theirs, so that a considerable number of both nations were but half civilized, and their pastor received such treatment as must naturally be expected from such a flock." Obviously this was a harsh judgment of the case, for Mr. Badger came to Natick and continued here as "the Indian Missionary," and the white people had taken no part in his settlement.

The action of the church with regard to obtaining another minister we only know from inference, but the parish, July 6, 1756, "voted to concur with the church in their unanimous choice of the Rev. Solomon Reed to be their minister;" and to grant Rev. Mr. Reed £66 13*s.* 4*d.* as encouragement for him to settle with them, fixing his annual salary at £53 6*s.* 8*d.* in case he should accept the call. The former of these amounts, it will be understood, was intended as a gift according to the custom of the times when a pastor was called. Mr. Reed, who had been pastor of a second church in Framingham for a short time and was highly esteemed in the region, as a matter of course, declined the invitation, as the church had already its missionary pastor.

In 1762 the parish took action relative to the support of Mr. Badger that had the appearance at least of peaceful intentions, and voted £19 6*s.* 8*d.* annually for four years for "his salary." A committee chosen by the parish, consisting of Mr. William Baldwin, of Sudbury, Captain Josiah Stone, of Framingham, and Samuel Bullard, of Sherborn, appears to have labored here to settle "disputes and controversies," but with what success is uncertain, but in 1773 the town voted "to repair the meeting-house and that the selectmen see it done."

In 1778 the town voted refusing Mr. Badger as its minister and forbidding his preaching any more at the cost of the town, but very soon was found voting the money for his salary, including a considerable sum that had been withheld, with interest on the same. Later, propositions were made by both parties for the settlement of the difficulties, but all without favorable results, till July 23, 1798, the town "chose a committee to treat with Mr. Badger, and request of him in writing what objection he has to the town to have preaching in said town; if none, to manifest the same in writing; if otherwise, to join him in calling a council, and if he refuse, to call a council without him." This action seems to have brought matters to a crisis, for he closed his services in Natick in 1799, and died about four years later, viz., August 28, 1803, at the age of seventy-eight. Mr. Badger was buried at South Natick. Mr. Biglow says of him, "Like many of his distinguished contemporaries in the ministry, he was a Unitarian; but like the rest, with the exception of Dr. Mayhew, of Boston, and Dr. Howard, his successor, he thought that, though it was lawful for them to avow this sentiment, it was not expedient." This testimony plainly should be taken with considerable allowance. During the later years of Mr. Badger's ministry many Natick families connected themselves with the congregations in neighboring

[1] Biglow's "History," p. 60.

towns,—thirty-three in 1797,—and at his death the church became extinct. Sixty-nine were admitted to the church during the ministry of Mr. Badger, and he is the "Parson Lothrop" who figures largely in Mrs. Stowe's "Old Town Folks." No date is given, but the Indian proprietors laid out, in their own right, land "to satisfy a purchase for the Rev. Mr. Bagger."

The fourth meeting-house seems to have become unfit for use before the close of the eighteenth century.

Anticipating what was to come, September 18, 1798, the town voted to build a new meeting-house and fixed the site of it on the ministerial lot at "the cross-roads, where the Old Pound formerly stood." The brick church of the Congregational Society now stands upon this spot. This fifth church was to have a "suitable porch in front." The edifice, for the building and finishing of which fifteen hundred dollars were raised, was commenced in June, 1799, and was forty by forty-five feet in size and two stories high. The town voted "to paint the roof of the meeting-house red and the rest white," to rent the pews, that the selectmen should hire the preaching and that "the blacks sit in the hind seats in the north part of the galleries."

In February, 1802, a new church was organized with ten male and thirteen female members, and a month later William Goodnow and Abel Perry were chosen its first deacons. April 22, 1802, a call was given by the church to Mr. Samuel Brown to become pastor, and the town concurring voted to give Mr. Brown a salary of $300 per year, twelve cords of wood and the use of the ministerial lot, besides building a decent two-story house and barn within two years, and providing house-room for him until all this was done. But before he could answer the call, his sickness and death intervened. Three years passed and Rev. Freeman Sears was called to the pastorate, with similar proposals regarding support, "so long as he serves the town as a faithful gospel minister and supplies the desk." But such changes were subsequently made in the conditions of settlement that Mr. Sears built a house for himself on leased land, which is now the first house fronting north on West Central Street, later the home of Rev. Martin Moore.[1]

Mr. Sears was a graduate of Williams College in 1804, became a licensed preacher in 1805, and was ordained pastor of this new church January 1, 1806. He is represented as a man of good intellectual attainments, of pleasing address and of consistent and unaffected piety. Once each month he heard the children of the congregation recite the Assembly's Catechism and in every good work was laborious and faithful. But pulmonary disease forced him to spend the winter of 1810–11 in Georgia, and he reached home very feeble June 10, 1811. On the 30th of that month he died at the age of thirty-three years. He was buried in the cemetery just north of his church, where the brick blocks of Messrs. Rice, Morse and Winch now stand. In 1857 his remains were removed to a central place in Dell Park Cemetery, and in 1873 a granite monument was erected over them at the expense of the friends of true piety and genuine worth in Natick.

Nearly four years now elapsed before another pastor was settled, and in the interval a number of clergymen preached as candidates. November 18, 1813, a call to the pastorate was extended to Rev. Martin Moore, in which the town concurred, offering an annual salary of $500 and the use of the first pew. Mr. Moore was a native of Sterling, and a graduate of Brown University in the class of 1810. His theological studies were pursued under Rev. Elisha Fiske, of Wrentham. He was ordained at Natick February 16, 1814, when he was twenty-four years old, and the ordaining council "voted that the Bishops who may be in the pulpit at the time of the consecrating prayer be requested to lay on the hands of the Presbytery." His wife was Miss Sarah Fiske, of Natick. Under the ministry of this pastor, missionary concerts were established, the first Sabbath-school in Natick was organized, with Deacon Oliver Bacon as its superintendent, the first Standing Committee of the church was appointed, the South Middlesex Conference of churches came into existence, the first Temperance Society with a Total Abstinence Pledge began its work, and many other forms of Christian usefulness were introduced. One hundred and eighty-three members were admitted to the church during his pastorate. Dismissed in 1833, Mr. Moore was a pastor at Cohasset for eight years, when he removed to Boston to become one of the editors and proprietors of the *Boston Recorder*. In this last-mentioned service he spent nearly twenty years, and died March 11, 1866, aged seventy-five years.

Rev. Erasmus D. Moore was the next pastor of the Congregational Church. Born in Winsted, Conn., educated at Amherst and Yale Colleges and Yale Theological Seminary, he was ordained here November 6, 1833. His salary was $600 per annum. The year following the settlement of Mr. Moore, the Boston & Worcester Railroad was opened, and with a large increase of business in the town, the meeting-house became too small, and a new one was erected upon the same site. This was done in 1835, at a cost of about $8000. Thirty-three were admitted to the church during the short pastorate of Mr. Moore, who was dismissed in 1838. Later he was settled in Kingston and Barre, and then became one of the editors of the *Boston Recorder*. Later still, viz., in 1847, he published the *Boston Reporter*, which, after two years was enlarged and became *The Congregationalist*. For six years Mr. Moore was employed in preparing the Old Colony and Bay State records for publication.

Rev. Samuel Hunt succeeded Mr. Moore as pastor.

[1] Church Manual.

Graduating at Amherst College in 1832, and studying theology at Princeton, N. J., he was ordained in Natick July 17, 1839, on a yearly salary of $650. He was an active and useful pastor here for about eleven years, when he was installed in Franklin, where he labored for fourteen years. Later he became the superintendent of education among the freedmen, and finally the private secretary of Hon. Henry Wilson, his former parishioner and friend. "The History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America," which Mr. Wilson left unfinished at the time of his death, Mr. Hunt completed and carried through the press. In 1858 he prepared "The Puritan Hymn and Tune Book."

The next pastor of the church was Rev. Elias Nason, who was ordained May 5, 1852. His salary for the space of three years was $900, and then raised to $1000. Mr. Nason graduated at Brown University in 1835 and studied theology with Rev. Theodore M. Dwight in Georgia. The congregation having again outgrown the meeting-house, this was sold to a Universalist Society, which later, becoming extinct, sold the house to the Roman Catholic denomination. This, enlarged, is the Catholic Church of the present day in the centre of Natick. The Congregational Society then erected a third meeting-house upon the site of the one removed, during the years 1853–54, which was dedicated Nov. 15th of the latter year. Including the bell and organ, that edifice cost $28,-103.65. Mr. Nason remained pastor about six years and admitted to the church one hundred and twenty members. In 1858 he was dismissed and became pastor of the Mystic Church in Medford. Later he was settled in Exeter, N. H., and then removed to North Billerica, Mass. He was a voluminous writer and lectured more than one thousand times before literary and scientific associations. Mr. Nason died of Bright's disease June 17, 1887, aged seventy-six years, leaving five children, one of whom is Rev. Charles P. H. Nason, of Germantown, Pa.

Rev. Charles M. Tyler, D.D., was the next pastor. He graduated at Yale College in 1855, and studied theology at the Union Theological Seminary, New York. His first settlement was at Galesburg, Ill., and he was installed at Natick May 19, 1859, upon a salary of $1200, which was raised to $1600 in 1866. Mr. Tyler represented this town in the Legislature of 1862, and was the chaplain of the Twenty-second Massachusetts Regiment during "the Wilderness Campaign." His Natick pastorate continued about nine years, or until December 31, 1867, when he accepted a call to the South Congregational Church in Chicago. The changes that followed the great fire in that city in 1872 introduced him to the pastorate of the First Congregational Church in Ithaca, New York, where he is most highly respected and increasingly useful. One hundred and ninety-three were added to the Natick church under Mr. Tyler's ministry.

Rev. Jesse H. Jones succeeded Mr. Tyler, July 21, 1869, the salary offered being $2000. He was born in Belleville, Canada, graduated at Harvard University in 1856, and at Andover Theological Seminary in 1861. During the war for the suppression of the Rebellion he was the captain of a New York company for nearly two and one-half years. During the two years of his Natick pastorate he admitted to the church twenty-eight members. Since leaving Natick Mr. Jones has preached in East and North Abington, and was a member of the Legislature in 1876. His publications have been very numerous, mostly bearing upon the great questions of human rights and progress. He now resides in North Abington.

Rev. Francis N. Peloubet, D.D., who succeeded Mr. Jones, was born in New York City, was graduated at Williams College in 1853, and at the Theological Seminary at Bangor in 1857. Before coming to Natick he had been a pastor at Lanesville, Oakham and Attleborough. His installation here took place January 17, 1872, and the salary given him was $2500. Two years after his settlement, viz., January 13, 1874, nearly all the business portion of Natick was laid in ashes, including every hall in the place and the Congregational Church, just enlarged and improved at the cost of about $13,000. This loss of the sanctuary rendered necessary the building of a temporary tabernacle, which, in a rough way, was made ready for religious and other purposes as soon as possible, at the cost of about $1700. Additional land was purchased upon the east side of the old church lot, and the erection of the present beautiful brick church edifice commenced, and so far completed that the vestries could be used for public worship April 30, 1876. The bell was the gift of Mr. Leonard Morse, and Mr. Nathaniel Clark gave the valuable clock for the church tower. At the date last given the families connected with the congregation numbered 325, the church, 386, and the average attendance in the Sabbath-school was 326.

In 1875 Dr. Peloubet commenced the publication of his "Select Notes upon the International Sabbath-school Lessons," and each year since has given to the public a similar though now greatly improved volume. These "Notes" may now be found in nearly every part of the Christian and even heathen world. And to these he has added a series of Sabbath-school Question Books, which are used in large numbers. These publications demanding more time and thought than any pastor of a large church and congregation can give to such work, led Dr. Peloubet to ask a dismission from his pastoral charge in 1883.

The additions to the church under his ministry were large, as many as 142 having been received during the first five years of his pastorate, and later many more, bringing the whole number received up to 296.

In 1884 Dr. Peloubet published "Select Songs for the Sunday-school," a compilation of the best hymns and tunes for such service in the English language.

In the same year he edited a new edition of Smith's Bible Dictionary. In 1889 he attended, as a delegate from the United States, "The World's Sabbath-school Convention," in London, and took an active part in its proceedings. Mrs. Peloubet was Miss Mary Abbey Thaxter, of Bangor, Me., and they have four daughters, viz., Mary Alice, wife of Prof. L. M. Norton, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, residing in Auburndale; Grace Thaxter, wife of Mr. D. W. Farquhar, a Boston merchant, residing in Newton; Ernestine May, the wife of George A. Swallow, of Allston, and Harriet Louise.

Dr. Peloubet's honorary degree was conferred by the University of Eastern Tennessee, at Knoxville, in 1884.

After Dr. Peloubet's retirement from the Natick pastorate several clergymen were heard as candidates for settlement, without giving entire satisfaction, until public attention was directed to Rev. F. E. Sturgis, D.D., pastor of a Presbyterian Church in Knoxville, Tenn., who had supplied the pulpit—but not as a candidate—for two Sabbaths in 1883. With great unanimity a call was extended to Dr. Sturgis, which he accepted. The salary offered was $2500, and additional provision was made for the removal of his family. He commenced his labors as pastor in March, 1884, and was installed 14th of May of the same year. Dr. Sturgis was born October 1, 1841, at Riverside, Kennebec Co., Maine, and fitted for college at Augusta High School; graduated at Amherst College in 1864, and from Bangor Theological Seminary in 1868. In October of the same year he was ordained at Skowhegan, Maine. Later he visited Europe and Western Asia, and after his return became pastor of a Presbyterian Church in Knoxville, Tenn., continuing such from 1876 till he removed to Natick in 1884. He married at Knoxville Miss Charlotte C. Abbott, and they have five children. His honorary degree was given by the University of East Tennessee, at Knoxville. The church and congregation are increasing constantly under the pastorate of Dr. Sturgis. January 1, 1889, the church membership amounted to 580, of whom 49 had been added in 1888. Since the opening of the year 1889, 37 have been added, and the membership is 617 now. Amount raised for benevolent purposes in the year 1888, $8668.57. Recently $11,050 were subscribed, during one day, for the extinguishment of the debt upon the church edifice. Practically the parish is free from debt.

The superintendent of the Sabbath-school is Mr. George A. Swallow, and Messrs. Charles H. Jones and Melvin Brock are his assistants. Mrs. William P. Bigelow has charge of the intermediate department and Mrs. W. L. Coolidge of the primary. The school is very large, the weekly enumeration repeatedly showing from 600 to 660 present.

Among the deacons in Natick have been Joseph Ephraim, an Indian, who bore this title as early as 1734 and as late as 1754. He was an intelligent and trusted man. Ebenezer Felch must have been the associate of Deacon Ephraim for a number of years, and was a man of large ability and great worth. Micah Whitney was a deacon as early as 1761 and as late as 1770. Nathaniel Mann and Nathaniel Chickering were among the early deacons, and so was John Jones, who died in 1802. William Bigelow, born in 1749, was not only a deacon, but the "good Deacon Badger" of Mrs. Stowe's "Old Town Folks." The deacons of the Congregational Church, since it was established in the centre of the town, have been the following: Abel Perry and William Goodenow, who were elected at the first meeting after its organization, viz., March 13, 1802. They always sat—according to the custom of the times—in front of the audience, close to the pulpit, on communion occasions. Oliver Bacon, 1822, but died after one year's service; Samuel Fiske, 1828, served till 1844, when he united with the church at Saxonville; John Travis, 1831, served till his death in 1869; Willard A. Wight, chosen in 1852, and his name is still borne upon the list of the deacons of this church. The same is true of John O. Wilson, chosen in 1852. John R. Adams, chosen in 1869, is still one of the deacons; William L. Coolidge, elected in 1869, served till 1878; George L. Bartlett was chosen January 3, 1878, and is still in office, and is treasurer of the parish; E. H. Walcott was chosen January 1, 1880; Mark B. Babb was chosen January 9, 1884; Gilbert W. Howe was chosen January 14, 1886; Messrs. Bartlett, Babb, Howe and R. H. Randall are regularly officiating deacons at the present time; Frank M. Forbush is the parish clerk; Deacon George L. Bartlett is the clerk of the church.

The First Baptist Church.—By advice of friends of the Baptist cause, a Baptist meeting was held in South Natick, in "Eliot Hall," February 13, 1848, and this was the beginning of the large and influential Baptist organization of the present day in Natick. In October, 1848, Rev. W. H. Watson commenced serving as stated supply, and February 20, 1849, the Baptist Church was recognized, with a membership of twenty-five—eight males and seventeen females. Rev. Mr. Watson was now called to the pastorate. A legally-organized parish was formed March 19, 1849, named, at the time, "The South Natick Baptist Society," but subsequently changed to "The First Baptist Society of Natick." In 1875 this society was dissolved, the church having assumed all its work and having a legal corporate existence. In 1851, a change of locality having been deemed advisable, a lot was secured on the west side of South Main Street, in the Central Village, and a church edifice built thereon, costing about $5000. This church was moved across the street in 1866 and placed where it now stands. In 1874 a considerable addition was made to it, to accommodate an organ presented to the church by Mr. W. D. Parlin. And now (July, 1889), the congregation having outgrown the church edifice, a large addition is being made to its seating capacity, $10,000

having been not only subscribed, but actually raised for this purpose.

Rev. W. H. Watson served the church four and one-half years, Rev. A. S. Lyon was pastor four years, Rev. W. H. Walker about two years, Rev. G. M. P. King about nine months, Rev. Addison Parker about three years, Rev. A. E. Reynolds from 1869 to 1883; Rev. F. P. Southerland was pastor from 1884 to December, 1886, and he was succeeded by the present incumbent, Rev. Jonathan Bastow.

Mr. Bastow was born in Bradford, Yorkshire, Eng., in 1835, and began life as a collier-boy. At the age of thirteen he learned to read in a Sabbath-school. His support having been secured by an acquaintance whom he met in England, he came to this country and fitted for college in the academy at Hamilton, New York. In 1861 he graduated from Madison University at Hamilton, studied theology one year, preached in England one year, and then entered the Theological Department of his *alma mater*, from which he graduated in 1864. Mr. Bastow was pastor or acting pastor at Brockville, Ont., Faribault, Minn., at Port Chester, N. Y., and Mansfield, Ohio. Then, for twelve years, he supplied, from three to nine months each, the Baptist Churches at Washington Avenue, (Brooklyn, N. Y.), Jamaica Plains, Arlington, Brookline, Warren Avenue, (Boston), Sixteenth St., (New York), Williamsburg, N. Y., Hamilton, N. Y., and Indianapolis, Ia., receiving many commendations and large compensation. Then, after being pastor three and one-half years at Ogdensburg, N. Y., he became pastor at Natick, January, 1887, where he has been very successful—church membership, 331. The Baptist Sabbath-school began in 1848 with 21 members. It numbers now 366. The largest number ever present, June 30, 1889, was 348. Mr. James M. Forbush is superintendent; Sumner P. Annis, assistant superintendent; Mrs. F. C. Noyes, superintendent of primary department; Mrs. E. B. Bastow, superintendent of Berean class; Mrs. A. E. DeWitt secretary and treasurer.

The deacons of this church have been John J. Perry and Isaac B. Clark, chosen in 1849; Jonathan Colburn and Elijah Edwards, chosen in 1863; Dexter B. Wingate and P. F. Woodbury, chosen in 1878. The clerks have been John J. Perry, Jewett T. Woodbury, Pliny F. Woodbury and D. B. Wingate.

The Methodist Episcopal Church.—The first church of this denomination in this region appears to have been organized in Needham, near the boundaries of Natick and Weston, in 1792, and there a small meeting-house was erected in 1799.

Some of the members of this church having removed to the central part of Natick, a meeting-house was erected here in 1834. It stood upon the ground now occupied by the brick engine-house, and was dedicated July 4, 1834. In 1868 the town purchased the building, and the Methodist Society worshiped in Winch's Hall for about six years, or until the great fire in 1874. Meanwhile, their present church edifice had been so far completed that, in about six months after the fire, its vestries could be used as a place of worship. The spacious audience-room remained unfinished for some years. The edifice was dedicated after a spirited and successful effort had been made to remove the entire amount of debt which the building and furnishing of the same had created.

This church has been very fortunate in its ministers, especially during the last ten years. Drs. Dorchester, Knowles and Gracey are all able men; and so are Messrs. Davis and Toulmin. Dr. Gracey, the present pastor, was born in Philadelphia, 1835; Studied theology in what is now Boston University; went into the army as a private; was made chaplain, and served three years. An active Temperance Republican, he represented for two years the Fourteenth Essex District in the General Court, and served with distinction. The church and congregation are increasing.

St. Paul's Episcopal Church.—The first religious services in connection with the parish of this church were held in Centre Hall, Natick, July 16, 1871, and were conducted by Rev. J. B. Clarke, under the auspices of the Eastern District Missionary Association. Fifteen persons were present. Later Messrs. A. T. Smith, George H. Gunning, George Williams, J. P. Dean and some others were particularly active in the movements which resulted in the organization of the church and society. In 1872–73 the house of worship was erected on Wilson Street, but services were not held in it till 1875, and it was not consecrated till December 13, 1877. Rev. S. F. Fisher was the first rector, and he was succeeded in August, 1878, by Rev. B. R. Gifford, who remained till 1881. Mr. Bigelow then became rector, but his health failing he left after a few months' service. Rev. Frank S. Harraden succeeded Mr. Bigelow, and his ministry continued for the space of seven years and four months, when he removed to Hanover, Mass. During most or all of this period he had charge of the Episcopal Church in Framingham, and was very laborious in his service. Rev. Mr. Baily is now the Rector. The communicants number about eighty, the Sabbath-school seventy-five, while forty-five families are connected with the parish. Charles Q. Tirrell, Esq., is the superintendent of the Sabbath-school. The wardens and vestrymen are Messrs. Frank E. Cummings, Charles Q. Tirrell, Dr. George J. Townsend, John M. Fiske, Walter E. Rawson, James H. Gilligan, Edward Williams and Edward S. Ramsdell.

The Roman Catholic Churches.—The house of worship which was sold by the Congregational Parish to the Universalist Society was, upon the disbandment of the latter, in 1860, purchased by the Roman Catholic denomination, and by them greatly enlarged and improved. As it now is, the edifice has a very large seating capacity, but none too large for the numerous congregation with which it is very often crowded.

The history of this enterprise is here briefly given. The first services of which any definite date is preserved were held in South Natick during the spring of 1844. These were conducted by the late lamented George Foxcroft Haskins, the founder of the Home of the "Angel Guardian," Vernon Street, Boston. He was a convert to Catholicity in 1843, and was, for many years, resident chaplain of the old House of Reformation in South Boston. In his ministrations to the few Catholics of Natick he was succeeded by the Reverend Frs. Fitton, of East Boston, Gibson, Riordan, Doherty, Hamilton and Walsh, of Saxonville, the latter of whom has just completed his thirty-fourth year of service as Catholic rector of Natick.

Father Walsh studied his classics as well as divinity in St. John's Seminary, Waterford, Ireland, but was ordained in Worcester, Mass., in 1853.

Thirty-four years ago he had as his missionary field, Marlborough, Hudson, Hopkinton, Ashland, Assabet, Framingham, Milford, Natick and South Natick. Upon this field in 1889 sixteen Catholic clergymen are employed.

In Natick Mr. Walsh is aided in his ministerial work by Revs. John Aloysius Donnelly and Patrick Bowen Murphy, both of whom are graduates of the University of Leval, Quebec. Fr. Donnelly was born in Hingham, and graduated from the grammar-school in that place before entering Leval. Fr. Murphy passed his childhood and youth in Boston, and graduated from the Lincoln School, South Boston, under Master Clarke, and from the old English High-School, Bedford Street, Boston, under the late lamented Master Cumston.

At South Natick a spacious Catholic church edifice has been recently erected, and the large congregation there, it is understood, is served by the ministerial brethren residing in the centre of the town.

The Unitarian Church, or Eliot Church.—This church is in South Natick, and stands very nearly or exactly upon the spot where the first building for school and religious purposes was erected by the Indians, under the superintendence of Rev. John Eliot, in 1651. The location is very pleasant, and this is undoubtedly the fifth meeting-house that has stood upon the same spot. The four of ancient date appear to have been erected severally in 1651, 1700, 1721 and 1749, but the last-mentioned was not finished till 1767, and was standing (but for a number of years unused) as late as 1812. The reason for the brief existence of the second and third of these meeting-houses may be found in the cheap and poor manner of their construction.

The second house was built by John Coller, Jr., and as he agreed to take his pay in "a nook of land," which was not granted to him till 1702, he possibly could not have afforded to build a more durable house. The third house was built, or partially built, by one Jebis, who was styled "a regular cheat." "What Jebis promist to do in four months is not finisht in four years." "He has plac't it just as the ground was, instead of digging to the firme earth, as he ought to have done." So run the complaints and the petitions for help.

The South Congregational Parish (now the First Unitarian) of Natick was incorporated March 1, 1828, with thirty corporators, only one of whom—Lindall Perry—was known to have been living fifty years later. The house of worship was erected in 1828, and dedicated November 20th of that year. Mr. James W. Thompson was ordained as pastor February 17, 1830, and March 11th of the same year a church was gathered. The Lord's Supper was first administered to twenty-two communicants March 28, 1830. Mr. Thompson was pastor for two years, and was succeeded by Rev. Edward Palmer, whose term of service was only ten months. February 25, 1835, Rev. Ira Henry Thomas Blanchard was installed pastor for the term of five years, at the close of which period his precarious health prevented his re-engagement, and he died April 9, 1845. Early in 1843 Rev. Thomas Brattle Gannett became pastor, and remained such till April 1, 1850. From 1850 to 1852 Rev. James Thurston was pastor. The ministry of Rev. N. O. Chaffee for one year and of Rev. Edward Stowe for two years followed, as did that of Rev. William G. Babcock for three years.

Rev. Horatio Alger commenced his long pastorate in May, 1860, and was pastor until April, 1874, a period of fourteen years. Mr. Alger was closely identified with all the educational interests of Natick, faithfully serving the town as a member of the school committee and as one of the trustees of Morse Institute for fifteen years. He was also the president of the Historical, Natural History and Library Society of South Natick from the time of its organization, in 1873, till his death, November 6, 1881. At the semi-centennial of the Unitarian Church of South Natick, November 20, 1878, Mr. Alger delivered one of the two leading addresses, which was full of historical information of great value.

Rev. Joseph P. Sheafe, Jr., was Mr. Alger's successor in the ministry of this church, and was ordained September 30, 1874. Mr. Sheafe became the corresponding secretary of the Historical, Natural History and Library Society in 1877, and prepared important papers for the "Field Days" of that society in 1881–83. Mr. Sheafe was dismissed December, 1885, and was succeeded by Rev. George H. Badger, who was ordained December 22, 1886. Mr. Badger is a native of Charlestown, was born in 1859; a graduate of Williams College, 1883, and studied theology in Andover and Cambridge. The church numbers about seventy; the Sunday-school from seventy to one hundred, of which Mr. Eliot Perry is superintendent. The church edifice was renovated in 1887 and 1888.

John Eliot Church, South Natick.—This church was organized in 1859, and Rev. E. E. Strong was its first pastor. He remained pastor until 1865.

Rev. George W. Sargent was installed pastor September 27, 1865, and remained such for two years, when he removed to Racine, Wisconsin. Rev. B. F. Clarke now supplied for a few months, Rev. S. C. Strong for three years and Rev. Gorham D. Abbott for nine months. In 1873 Rev. Samuel D. Hosmer became pastor and remained such for five years. Rev. Pearse Pinch succeeded, remaining three years. Rev. George Allchin, commissioned a missionary to Japan, then preached eight months. Rev. W. A. Lamb followed for two years. March, 1884, Rev. W. D. P. Bliss was ordained pastor, but was dismissed during the year following. Rev. John Colby, the present pastor, commenced his labors in December, 1885. Mr. Colby was born in York, Maine; fitting for college in Gilmanton Academy, New Hampshire, he graduated at Dartmouth College in 1852, and from Andover Theological Seminary in 1855. Mr. Colby was pastor in Hampton, New Hampshire, at Southborough, Massachusetts, and for thirteen years at Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire, before coming to South Natick. While pastor at Fitzwilliam he was elected a member of the New Hampshire Legislature and took a prominent part in its proceedings during its session in 1885. Mr. Colby has a wife and two daughters, viz.: Annie Lavinia, a graduate of Wellesley College in 1880, and Helen King. Deacon M. V. B. Bartlett is the superintendent of the Sabbath-school. This school numbers about one hundred.

THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH.—The First Universalist Parish of Natick was organized September 20, 1879. The pulpit was supplied by Rev. W. A. Start until March, 1880, when Rev. Albert Hammatt was settled, who continued as pastor till March, 1883, when Rev. W. N. Haywood was pastor for three years, or until April, 1886. Rev. Darius Cobb then supplied for a few months. Rev. W. H. Gould preached from November, 1887, until June, 1888, when he was settled as pastor and is such at the present time.

The church was organized in 1882 with twenty-three members. The church edifice was erected in 1887 and first occupied December 18th of that year. The cost of the land and building was $8000.

CHAPTER XL.

NATICK—(Continued).

EDUCATIONAL.

Schools—Libraries—Morse Institute—College and University Honors.

THE custom which prevailed in the settlement of most of the towns in New England of planting the school-house by the side of the meeting-house was not strictly adhered to in the case of Natick, for here the first school-house was the first meeting-house. This building, as already noticed, was erected by the Indians of the Natick Plantation, under the general superintendence of their guide and religious teacher, Rev. John Eliot, in the year 1651, and stood nearly or exactly upon the spot where now stands the Unitarian Church edifice in South Natick. This school-house, which was used for religious gatherings as well, was roughly built, but of suitable size, and in it assembled the first school ever taught in Natick. The pupils were all Indians and by no means all children, for not a few adult Indians of both sexes were glad to enjoy the advantages it afforded. The teacher was a young Indian by the name of Monequasan, who had been for some years under the instruction of Mr. Eliot and perhaps of some others, in anticipation of the work to which he was now called. He was a bright and intelligent young man, but after a comparatively short service sickened and died.

We have no positive information respecting the branches of study pursued in this Indian school, but only the rudiments of education were taught, as reading, spelling, writing, etc. It seems nearly certain that the instruction given was largely in the Indian language, for this was employed for many years in the religious services of the Sabbath and Mr. Eliot's translation of the Scriptures into it, at a later period, was for the common use of the Indians. Gradually, however, they acquired some knowledge of the English language and a few of them could write and compose in it, as well as, if not better than, the majority of the whites of their neighborhood. This school was suspended during King Philip's War for a considerable period, from 1675 onward; and the progress of the Indians in the matter of education greatly hindered, so much so that in 1698, while there were 110 adult Indians belonging to the Plantation and 70 children under sixteen years of age, no schoolmaster was employed, and but one child was found that could read.

In 1679 the inhabitants of Sherborn exchanged with the Natick Indians four thousand acres of land, more or less, "giving 200 bushels of Indian graine to boot. There was also to be a lott of fifty acres sett out where the Commissioners of ye Colonies, Major Gookin and Mr. Eliot and Indian Rulers shall choose within that tract of land which Sherborn was to have of Natick, to be appropriated forever to the use of a free school for teaching the English and Indian children the English language and other sciences." This agreement was signed by Daniel Gookin and six other white men, and by Waban and four other Indians, the latter making their marks.[1]

No records have been found respecting the outcome of this arrangement, but, upon the face of it, it certainly has promising features.

[1] Quoted by the Historian Biglow, and credited by him to the Sherborn Records.

At what time this Indian school was discontinued it is impossible to ascertain.

In 1731–32 Ebenezer Felch was paid six pounds "for keeping school in Natick," and in 1733 "four pounds" for a similar service. Where this school was kept we know not. There is a tradition that Mr. Felch instructed Indian children, but it is more probable that his pupils were chiefly, if not wholly, from the white families that were now settling in the town. Ebenezer (or Eben) Felch was among the ablest men of the early settlers. He seems to have been a deacon of the church, a selectman, a surveyor, and proprietors' clerk, as well as teacher, and lived, certainly during the later years of his life, in the north part of the town, upon the spot where the dwelling of Mr. Oliver H. Felch now stands.

Oct. 1, 1746, the year after Natick "was erected into a Precinct or Parish," a vote was passed "not to have a school this year," but the next year the parish "Granted forty pounds, old tenor, to be laid out in a reading and writing school." In 1760, 1764 and 1767 the parish granted £13 6*s.* 8*d.* for the support of a school, but in 1762 refused to make a grant for this purpose, possibly because an earlier grant had not been expended. The grant in 1769 was "thirteen pounds lawful money"; in 1770, twenty pounds; in 1771 and 1773, ten pounds. In 1780 £500 were granted; but this was when the currency had depreciated greatly, so that in some parts of New England ninety pounds of it were worth only one pound in silver. In 1793 fifty pounds were granted, and in 1799 $300. In 1798 the town chose "Eliakim Morrill, Capt. Abel Perry, Timothy Morse, Ethel Jennings and Moses Fisk School Committee, each to act in his own district." From 1800 to 1819 the yearly appropriation was usually $600, but in 1846 it was raised to $900. In 1804, under the article "To see if the town will choose a Committee to examine their School-Masters and Mistresses," and inspect the schools, the town voted in the affirmative, and chose the selectmen a committee to examine and inspect accordingly. In those days, as well as later, the selectmen were often called upon to do what no others were willing to undertake gratuitously. In 1804 the town refused to make an appropriation "to purchase a library," but granted $200 to build a school-house in the North District, fourteen by eighteen feet in size. It was also voted "to set up a Singing-School," and a committee of three was chosen to decide "as to the place or places of the said singing-school."

In 1805 there appears to have been five "squardians," or school districts, laid out or suggested, viz., the South, the Centre, the West, the North and the North-Brick. This old name for school districts—squadrons, squardrions, squardeons or squarn—we frequently find in the ancient records of many of the towns of New England. It was varicusly spelled in the same town, and doubtless as variously pronounced.

March 16, 1807, the town "voted to choose a committee to join with Mr. Sears (the minister) in examining the School Masters and School Mistresses and inspecting the Schools." This committee consisted of Lieut. David Morse, Jonathan Bacon, Capt. David Bacon, Capt. William Stone and Ed. Hammon. This was the first instance of the town's recognizing its minister's duty to take the lead in superintending the schools. In 1812, there being no pastor of the church, the town chose for the School Committee Ezekiel Sawin for No. 1, William Perry, Jr., for No. 2, David Perry for No. 3, Abel Drury for No. 4 and Levi Felch for No. 5, and "John Bacon, Jr., John Atkins, Esq., and Thomas Sawin a committee to examine the Schools and their Instructors."

In 1814 the town appointed a committee of three in each district to examine teachers and set up and visit their respective schools, and made Rev. Martin Moore chairman of each of the five committees.

For a number of years later one person in each district was chosen annually as School Committee, but his duties were not defined by the town. Doubtless these persons gave to the schools nearly all the supervision they had, but in 1822, in addition to the choice of what was later called the Prudential Committee for each district, the town chose Calvin Shepherd, Calvin Leland, William Stone and John Bacon a committee "to visit schools," while in 1830 Rev. Martin Moore, Rev. James W. Thompson, John Travis, Deacon John Angier and Joel Pierce were appointed "to superintend schools."

In 1831 the town defined the duties of Prudential Committees thus: 1. To have their school-houses furnished with good locks and keys and to be carefully closed during vacations. 2. To search out all authors of any damages to the school-houses and to report the same to the selectmen. And then the teachers were enjoined "carefully to note breaks, cuts, scratches or damages whatever," discover, if possible, the author or authors of the same and report to the Prudential Committees.

And the selectmen were authorized to offer a reward of fifty dollars for evidence to convict such culprits when brought to trial—moreover, the teachers were required to read these regulations at the commencement of their respective schools and on the first Monday of each month afterwards.

In 1832 the several school districts, five in number, were established "by bounds and monuments," the town having previously appraised the school-houses and voted to support the same. The Sixth District was established before 1838. At that date Rev. Erasmus D. Moore, Rev. J. H. S. Blanchard and Nathan Rice constituted the Superintending School Committee. April 1, 1839, the School Committee made a detailed report to the town, the first of the kind found upon the records, and in that year they were paid for their services $35.50. The appropriation for schools was, in 1846, increased to $900, and in 1849, to $1500. April

5, 1852, the committee made their report printed in pamphlet form, and the town authorized the committee to establish a High School according to law, and appropriated $1000 for its support. This appears to have been opened without any considerable delay, under the charge of Abner Rice, A.M., the pupils having previously passed a satisfactory examination in reading, writing, spelling, geography, arithmetic through fractions, and in the elements of English grammar. Before this time High Schools had been maintained in town, on personal responsibility, by John Angier, Othniel Dinsmore, Charles Forbush, Daniel Wight, Samuel Damon, Charles Dickson and John W. Bacon.[1]

The appropriations for schools increased so that in 1855 they amounted in all to $4000, and in 1857 to $4500, $1500 being for the High School.

In 1858 the town voted to divide the school money one-half by the number of the schools and the other half by the number of scholars. In 1859 one member of the School Committee was chosen for three years and one for one year. June 11, 1864, the town adopted stringent regulations regarding truant children and absentees from school, and the same were approved by the Supreme Court, at Cambridge, December 12, 1865. Later school appropriations were as follows: In 1865, $1500 for High School, $4500 for district schools; in 1868, $1600 for High School, $6000 for district schools; in 1870, $1900 for High School, $7000 for district schools; in 1872, $12,000 in all; in 1876, $14,000; in 1881, $17,000; in 1882, $20,000; in 1888, $25,000. In 1876 Mrs. Laura S. Fay was chosen as a member of the School Committee and Mrs. Mary C. Reynolds was chosen in 1881. In 1889 the school appropriations amounted to $26,000, and at the same time the committee was increased by the addition of three members, according to the decision of the town in 1888. Misses Mary A. Jennings and Isabel G. Weston were chosen for three years, Mrs. Martha M. Bigelow for two years and James McManus for one year, Messrs. G. D. Tower and H. C. Mulligan holding over. The committee is therefore now composed of three lawyers, two of whom are graduates of Harvard University; Mrs. Bigelow, who has trained children in school and in her family; Miss Weston who is a regularly educated physician, and Miss Jennings, whose ability is well vouched for in this responsible position. Mr. Tower, a graduate of Union College and of Boston University Law School, has been for years chairman of the Superintending Committee.

The last report of the School Committee contains matter of great importance. An evening school was opened in the High School house under the direct charge of Mr. Holt, the master of the High School, and was continued for twenty-eight evenings. Beginning with about one hundred pupils, it soon had two hundred and fifty. The youngest pupil was thirteen years of age and the oldest forty years. The committee speak in very high terms of Miss Sara A. Sawyer, who had been re-appointed teacher of music for all the schools in the town. The High School, under the charge of Mr. Ira W. Holt, was reported as in a very satisfactory condition. The graduating class in 1888 numbered twenty-seven, and in 1889 it numbered fifteen. At the graduating exercises of the class of 1889 John F. Kenealy gave the Salutatory Address, Miss Jennie B. Jones was the Historian of the Class, Harold W. Loker recited the Class Poem, Mary E. Quinlan gave the Class Prophecies, while the Valedictory fell to the lot of Warren D. Valentine. The public has been informed that nearly all the teachers appointed in 1888 will be retained during the year succeeding. Mr. Holt and his assistants it is expected will still carry on the work in the High School, Mr. Nelson Freeman will remain master in the Centre School, with a general supervision of the ten other schools in the same building, while George A. Tyzzer will be the master at South Natick, as heretofore, with the supervision of the six other schools in that school-house. In Natick there are 39 schools, employing 44 regular teachers and two special assistants. The teachers' wages, as reported March 1, 1889, amounted to $19,887.62, while all other expenses involved in conducting the schools (including the cost of a new school-house $4997.86) bring the sum total to $32,295.25 for the school years 1888–89, leaving, of appropriations unexpended, the sum of 68 cents.

MASTERS OF THE HIGH SCHOOL AND ASSISTANT INSTRUCTORS.—The list from the beginning in 1852 is as follows:

1852-60.—Abner Rice. Assistant, Harriet N. Tolman.
1861-63.—J. M. Merrick, Jr. Assistant, Miss Tolman.
1864.—Mr. Merrick, without an assistant.
1865.—No names are found in the school reports.
1866-67.—Homer Rogers. Assistant, Miss I. L. Wight.
1868-72.—Gideon D. Tower. Assistant, 1868, Miss C. C. Godding or Miss Mary C. C. Goddard, or both; 1869-72, Miss Hattie C. Fairbanks, assistant.
1873.—James F. Colby. Miss Fairbanks, assistant.
1874-76.—George M. Smith. Assistant, Miss Fairbanks.
1877-81.—Frederic O. Baston. Miss Fairbanks, assistant; also after 1878, Miss Elizabeth P. Bigelow, assistant; 1881, Miss Katharine Bates also assistant; Mr. Baston was the first master in the new High School house, which was dedicated March, 1878.
1882-85.—E. D. Russell. Assistants, Lilla O. Davidson, Mary C. Eno; 1883, Miss Nellie F. Wilson, also assistant; 1884, the assistants were Nellie F. Wilson, Lula A. Pinkham, Nora L. Baldwin; 1885, assistants, Ada G. Gardner, Lucy S. Pierce, Hattie E. Baldwin.
1886-87.—Elmer A. Wentworth. Assistants, Hattie E. Boardman, Lucy S. Pierce, Fanny P. Owens.
1888-89.—Ira W. Holt. Assistants, Hattie E. Boardman, Mabel S. Clark, Julia A. Ellis.

Of the above-mentioned High School masters, Mr. Tower has long been identified with the interests of Natick, as a lawyer with offices in Boston and Natick, as the chairman of the School Committee for many years, and as an efficient member of the Board of Trustees of the Morse Institute.

Mr. Baston became assistant cashier of the Natick

[1] See Bacon's "History," page 129.

National Bank some seven years since, but is now the trusted treasurer of the Natick Savings Bank.

Mr. Holt, who is able and popular, remains master, with two of his valuable assistants.

The masters of the Grammar Schools, Messrs. Freeman and Tyzzer, are teachers of experience and ability in their several important departments.

"The Home School," of Natick, is an institution of more than ordinary importance. Mrs. Adelaide P. Potter is its proprietor, while Miss Nellie M. Wright, Miss Searle and Miss Gertrude Howe are teachers. The special design of the school is to fit young ladies for Wellesley College. Connected with it is a Primary Department. Music, art and elocution are taught by teachers from Boston. The students number about thirty. Special courses of study are provided for.

LIBRARIES.—These must always be an important factor in the educational institutions of any place, and in this respect few of the towns in the Commonwealth are more highly favored than Natick. Rarely has any town, or city even, two ably conducted and well appointed *Free Public Libraries.*

Earlier Libraries.—A public circulating library was established in 1808, which appears to have contained, at the first, about 100 volumes. By means of a donation by George Homer, of Boston, a library of standard religious works was established in 1817, but what finally became of it is not known.[1]

The Citizens' Library was established February 10, 1847, starting with about 500 volumes. This was given to the town in 1857 and accepted by the same on these conditions:

1. The town was to expend during the first year $300 for its enlargement, and $100 each succeeding year, and

2. Provide a room for it and pay the salary of its librarian. It is said to have contained, at that time, 432 volumes. A room was secured for it in the High School house for a time, when it was removed to Clark's Hall. W. F. Flagg was chosen librarian and his salary was $125 per annum. In 1864 Mr. J. B. Fairbanks was librarian and received as compensation $100 per year.

It appears that the town made an annual appropriation to increase its library, and in 1866 this was $299. As time went on less probably was done for its enlargement because of the prospect that the Morse Institute would soon be established.

The Morse Institute.—Miss Mary Ann Morse was the only daughter of Mr. Reuel Morse and Mary (Parker), his wife, and was born June 16, 1825. She had two brothers, who died before her, and their birth-place was on East Central Street, where the Institute building now stands. The brick house which was her home and constituted a part of her estate was removed and set on Clarendon Street, and is now occupied by Dr. Sylvester. Miss Morse died June 30, 1862, having passed some of the later years of her life in the family of Dr. Ira Russell, then residing in Winchendon, but formerly a physician in Natick. Miss Morse left her entire estate to found a library in Natick for the use of all its inhabitants. Five trustees were to be appointed by the town, if the bequest should be accepted, to serve for five years, and this Board of Trust were to execute the will. When the proposal came before the town at the meeting in March, 1863, a committee was appointed, composed of John W. Bacon, Elijah Perry and John O. Wilson, to take legal advice and recommend to the town a suitable course of action regarding the whole matter. This committee reported April 6, 1863, that the will was in a legal form substantially, that the bequest was valuable and that it should be accepted by the town.

This was done and the Board of Trust was provided for by the appointment of Messrs. Willard Drury, John W. Bacon, Horatio Alger, John O. Wilson and Elisha P. Hollis. March 7, 1864, the trustees reported to the town that they had organized and had requested one of their number, Mr. Willard Drury, to settle the estate as administrator under the will, and further that the condition of the estate was such that it could not at once be applied to the founding of a public library. Four weeks later, viz., April 4, 1864, the town voted not to accept of the bequest of Mary Ann Morse, and appointed, to take such action as might relieve the town of all responsibility in the matter, a committee composed of Messrs. John W. Bacon, Nathaniel Clark and George L. Sawin. The vote upon declining to receive the bequest stood 253 to 152. The records do not state the reasons for this action, but from later reports and proceedings it would appear that many doubted the validity of the will, especially as a suit had been brought against the trustees by George W. Pierce, the guardian of Charles R. Morse, a minor. Later the town voted, 117 to 30, to request the trustees to resign their trust. But instead of doing this they appear to have taken legal measures for ascertaining their rights and the rights of the town in the matter, for March 5, 1866, they reported to the town that the equity suit brought by them for the establishment of the trust in their hands as a public charity had been decided in their favor by the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth, and that all the suits against the estate of Mary Ann Morse had been settled and abandoned—that of George W. Pierce, guardian, because the note on which it was brought was plainly a forgery. This report was accepted, and the trustees had now full liberty to go forward in the execution of their trust. This is said to have been the first decision of the highest court of the State, sustaining the validity of a bequest for establishing a library for all the people of a town as a public charity, that could not be allowed to become null because of any neglect on the part of those

[1] See Bacon's "History," page 163.

charged with the trust. At that time the estate was appraised at not far from $17,000, with considerable debt incumbrance. In 1872 the trustees had about $45,000 at their disposal, besides the valuable lot of land upon which a library building could be erected.

At the annual meeting March 4, 1867, the trustees of the Morse Institute reported that the administrator, with the will (of Mary Ann Morse) annexed, had made a final settlement of his accounts and turned over the estate into the hands of the trustees; that they were holding the same and applying the rents, etc., to the payment of existing debts, which, on the 1st day of April next, they expected to so far liquidate that only an incumbrance of about $750 would remain; that there were two notes, one for one hundred dollars payable to John Kimball, and another for about $200, payable to Mr. Eaton, of Boston, with some interest, which they (the trustees) believed to be justly due, but not legally so because the holders did not commence suits for recovery within the specified time; and they asked the town to authorize them to pay these notes, upon receiving proper indemnity from personal liability. The town voted to accept this report and to authorize the payment of these notes, under the conditions named above.

March 2, 1868, the Morse Institute trustees reported that they had paid all the claims upon the estate, except the two notes mentioned above, and the claim of Stephen Hayes for $20, and that, excluding the lot of land, the estate was then worth $25,000.

March 7, 1870, the trustees reported that the estate of Miss Mary Ann Morse in their hands was worth $36,000, exclusive of the lot for building, and that they expected to remove the brick house and make contracts for the erection of the library building before the close of the year. A year later the trustees reported that they had removed the brick house and were procuring plans, etc., for the library building, that the estate was now worth $38,000, and that as the will of Miss Morse provided that two-thirds of the same might be used in the erection of the building, they should have funds sufficient to provide an elegant and well-furnished structure. Also to have the property relieved from taxation that they had applied to the Legislature for an act of incorporation.

In 1872 the trustees reported that the securities in their possession were worth $40,000, and that they should proceed to erect the Morse Institute building at once.

In 1873 they reported that the Institute building would doubtless be completed by June 1st. They were re-elected as trustees the second time.

At the annual meeting of the town, 1874, the trustees reported that the Institute building had been completed in July, 1873, and that the town library, by a vote of the town, had been transferred to it (3154 volumes), and that they had purchased with the funds of the Institute 2283 volumes. These, with the donations that had been received from Vice-President Henry Wilson, made the whole number of volumes 7311. They reported moreover, that on Christmas day, 1873, the building was dedicated, and thrown open to public inspection, and that on January 1, 1874, it was opened for public use. Also that they had expended upon the building ($27,000), and had in their hands about $11,000, $9000 of which would be devoted to the purchase of books, and $2000 would constitute a reserve fund.

The town accepted the report, with the exception of one recommendation of minor importance, and appropriated for the support of the Institute $300, and what might arise from the taxation of dogs. From time to time the town appropriation has been increased until it has reached the sum of $800, with the annual addition of the amount raised by the taxation of dogs, which, though variable, is always nearly or quite as large as the regular appropriation.

The Morse Institute building, standing on a spacious lot at the corner of East Central and Washington Streets, is a very convenient and imposing structure, being built of pressed brick with trimmings of fine New Hampshire granite. It is two stories high, with a French roof, crowned with turrets. In the basement is the usual steam heating apparatus. On the lower floor there are a large packing-room, the janitor's room and reading-rooms furnished with files of newspapers and periodicals. Upon the second floor the library proper is found, with the reference library in a separate but adjoining room. Connected with these is a large and very pleasant room, upon the tables of which the more valuable monthly and quarterly periodicals of the day constantly attract readers. The library is now open to the public every day of the week except Sunday, from 10 to 12 A.M., from 2 to 5 P.M., and on Monday, Wednesday and Friday evenings, from seven to nine o'clock.

On the same floor is the spacious and very convenient room for delivery. The library is constantly growing through gifts and annual purchases. During the year 1888–89 it increased by 413 bound volumes, and contained at the date of the last report March, 1889, 11,735 volumes in the circulating department and 659 volumes in the reference department. The total number of bound volumes enumerated in the accession catalogue is 12,394. Total number of bound public documents is 2778, making a grand total of 15,172 bound volumes. The total circulation of books for 1888–89 was 26,094, an increase over the same of the preceding year of 5080 volumes.

The trustees, with Deacon John O. Wilson as chairman (who has been a trustee from the beginning), watch constantly over every interest of the Institute. The janitor is Mr. R. T. Nash. The list of the librarians and their assistants is as follows:

1874.—Librarian, Miss K. V. Lovejoy; assistant, Minnie M. Mann.

1875–83.—Librarian, Rev. Daniel Wight; assistant at first, Miss Minnie M. Mann; later assistants, Miss Katharine K. Wood, Miss Mira R. Partridge, Miss Carrie L. Morse, Miss Nellie L. Fox.

1884–85.—Amos P. Cheney, with Misses Wood and Partridge as assistants.

1886–88.—Miss Katharine K. Wood, with Misses Fox and Partridge, assistants.

1888–89.—Miss Nellie L. Fox, librarian, and Miss Mira R. Partridge, assistant.

The library is conducted efficiently.

Bacon Free Library, South Natick.—Oliver Bacon, Esq., of Natick, died April 3, 1868, at the age of eighty-one and a half years. By his will, after giving certain legacies to his family connections, he committed to five persons, in trust, "all the rest and residue" of his estate, both real and personal, for the founding of a library. These trustees were directed to erect in South Natick, upon a lot of land given for the purpose, a fire-proof building, costing not more than $15,000, to be called The Bacon Free Library. The building was to be constructed in such a manner as to accommodate a large library and to furnish suitable rooms for the use of the "Historical, Natural History and Library Society of South Natick," while provision was made for the purchase, increase, maintenance and care of the library. But the will of Mr. Bacon having been made seven years before his death, two only of the trustees named in it were living in 1878; and one of these, being in Europe, declined the trust, so that a full board of trustees could not be organized till 1879. During the eighteen months following the building was erected. The ground plan is in the form of a Greek cross, and it is built of brick and stone, the latter elaborately and tastefully laid, so that the whole structure is highly ornamental. The library proper is entered directly from the main street of the village, while the rooms designed for the collections of the society named above are under and above the library, though all above ground, the building standing upon land sloping backward to the east. The collections alluded to are arranged in glazed hard-wood cabinets. The library contained, in 1879, 925 volumes, with some very ancient and valuable pamphlets. In 1884, when the library had been open nearly four years, it had increased to 3738 volumes, 939 of which belonged to the Historical, Natural History and Library Society named above. During the year 1884 426 volumes were added. A reading-table connected with the library has been generously supplied with newspapers and the most valuable of the periodicals of the day. In 1884 the librarian was H. L. Morse.

This library is constantly receiving accessions. Mrs. Adelaide Williams is librarian, and the library is open Mondays and Thursdays from 2 to 5.30 o'clock P.M. Wednesdays and Saturdays, 2 to 5.30, and from 7 to 8.30 o'clock P.M. Everything about it indicates care and general prosperity.

The Historical Natural History and Library Society of South Natick.—It was both natural and proper that an active interest in historical matters, so far as Natick is concerned, should early be developed and take form in South Natick, for this part of the township is pre-eminently historic ground. Here Rev. John Eliot did what no other man of his age accomplished, in civilizing and Christianizing the Massachusetts Indians; and here are nearly all the localities that Mrs. Stowe has immortalized in her "Oldtown Folks." In 1870, January 26th, a few gentlemen met at the house of Rev. Horatio Alger for consultation, among whom were Messrs. Oliver Bacon, Elijah Perry, Josiah F. Leach, Austin Bacon, William Edwards, Joseph Dowe and Amos P. Cheney. Other meetings followed, and the result was the organization of the "Historical and Natural History Society of South Natick and Vicinity," with Rev. Horatio Alger as president; Rev. Gorham Abbot, LL.D., as vice-president, Joseph Dowe, recording secretary; Rev. Stephen C. Strong, secretary, and Mr. William Edwards as treasurer, with all other necessary officers. The last-mentioned, Mr. Edwards, was made Natural History Curator.

Collections of relics and specimens illustrative of natural history were now made and placed in the chambers over the store of the curator, and a course of nine lectures was given by eminent men upon historical and philosophical subjects. Among the relics collected by the society were the sounding-board of the old church, under which Rev. Oliver Peabody preached for many years to the Indians, the bridal robe and slippers worn by the bride of Rev. Mr. Badger, Mr. Peabody's successor, and some of the pottery work of the Natick Indians. But all these, with valuable collections of birds and insects, representing foreign lands as well as our own, were reduced to ashes in a disastrous fire on the morning of March 2, 1872, when the old tavern, "the Eliot House," and nearly the entire business portion of the village became a total loss. But, nothing daunted, the society kept on its course, made new collections as rapidly as possible, listened to other lectures, and, adopting a new name in part, was incorporated, April 26, 1873, as the "Historical, Natural History and Library Society of South Natick." An appropriate seal was soon procured, which represents Mr. Eliot presenting the Bible to a group of Indians beneath the branches of the ancient Eliot Oak. In the years following the society prospered and increased its collections greatly, while its library became more and more valuable. The society occupied its new rooms in the Bacon Free Library building early in December, 1880, and the work of transferring and arranging its collections occupied the time of the curator for several weeks.

A very interesting and important part of the work of this society has been accomplished through the observance of

Annual Field Days.—1881, May 2d, was such a day, when about fifty persons assembled near the grave of the Indian preacher, Daniel Takawambait, and visited in turn the site of Deacon Badger's (Deacon William Bigelow's) house, and other well known local-

ities. Mr. Elijah Perry prepared a very interesting account of a number of the farms of the region visited on this occasion. May 1, 1882, was another field day. The ancient Indian burying-ground which was first visited was minutely defined by Rev. J. F. Sheafe, Jr. (See "burying-grounds" in this historical sketch.) The same gentleman described "The Old Meeting-houses." A history of "The Old Eliakim Morrill Tavern" was given by S. B. Noyes, of Canton. "Merchants' Block" was described by Mr. William Edwards. Mr. Amos P. Cheney gave a history of "The Ebenezer Newel House." Samuel Lawton's home (the Sam Lawson of "Old Town Folks"), was described by Mr. Elijah Perry, as was "The Carver House and Family," by Mrs. Mary P. Richards. Other individuals described other places of note, among whom was Mr. Horace Mann, of Natick, who has made a study of the ancient history of this town for years, and doubtless is more familiar with it than any other person.

The third field day, May 1, 1883, was, if possible, the most interesting of all. Dr. G. J. Townsend, the president of the society after the death of the venerable Mr. Alger, presided, and a large delegation from the various historical societies of New England was present. Rev. C. A. Staples, of Lexington, and Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., made elaborate addresses. Seth Davis, Esq., of Newton, ninety-six years old, also made appropriate remarks. Places of great historic interest were visited, and papers were read by Edwin C. Morse, Esq., Mr. Horace Mann, Rev. J. P. Sheafe, Jr., Rev. Samuel D. Hosmer, Mr. Herbert L. Morse, Mr. Amos P. Cheney and Mr. Samuel B. Noyes.

"Wellesley, the Country Seat of H. H. Hunnewell, Esq.," is the title of a very interesting paper prepared by the president of the society, Dr. G. J. Townsend. But there is no space for an outline even of these carefully prepared and instructive papers.

In its bearing upon the culture of any people the value of a day spent in this manner can hardly be overestimated.

The museum of this society is constantly receiving valuable accessions, one of the most recent being a set of table-knives and forks in a case, once the property of Thomas Hutchinson, Governor of Massachusetts in 1769, presented by Mrs. W. P. Green, of Sherborn. One of the most active and efficient members of this society is Mr. Amory L. Babcock, of Sherborn, who was appointed curator in 1874. The preparation and arrangement of the numerous articles in the museum are due to the patient and long-continued work of Mr. William Edwards and Mr. A. L. Babcock.

The library of this society has now about 1000 volumes. The librarian is Mr. Eliot Perry.

Probably but few of the people of the town, much less of the adjoining towns, have any correct impressions respecting the variety and value of what may be seen in the museum of this society in South Natick. Mr. William Edwards, Professor of Botany in Wellesley College, a life-long student of nature, has been tireless in adding to the collections. There are birds gathered from South America, stuffed animals of various kinds, minerals, shells, stone implements, and relics taken from Indian graves, as their old burying-yard has been dug over in the progress of modern improvements.

University and College Graduates and Members.—Oliver Peabody (Harvard University 1745), Nathaniel Battelle (H. U. 1765), Ephraim Drury (H. U. 1776), William Biglow (H. U. 1794; see biographical), Robert Peteshal Farris (H. U. 1815), John Angier (H. U. 1821), Calvin E. Stowe (Bowdoin College 1824; see biographical), Charles Angier (H. U. 1827), Joseph Angier (H. U. 1829), Amos Perry (H. U. 1837), Daniel Wight (H. U. 1837; see biographical), Jonathan F. Moore (Amherst College 1840), Alexander W. Thayer (H. U. 1843), John W. Bacon (H. U. 1843; see biographical), Joseph W. Wilson (Yale University 1854), Alfred Stedman Hartwell (H. U. 1858), James McManus (H. U. 1871), Henry Thayer (H. U., Medical Dept., 1846), Louis E. Partridge (H. U., Med. Dept., 1856), Albert H. Bryant (H. U., Med. Dept., 1860), Augustus E. Dyer (H. U., Medical Dept., 1865), Gustavus A. Greenwood (H. U., Med. Dept., 1865), John Burte (H. U., Med. Dept., 1870), George Lane Sawin (H. U., Law Dept., 1860), Albert E. Ware (H. U., Dental Dept.), 1875; Frank E. McCutchins (H. U., Dental Dept., 1876), Lewis M. Norton (Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Assistant in Chemistry there two years; a member of Berlin and Godinger Universities, Germany, two and a half years; received from the latter degree of Doctor of Philosophy on examination; is now Professor of Organic and Industrial Chemistry in Massachusetts Institute of Technology), Horace B. Gale (graduate of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1883; is Professor of Dynamic Engineering, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri).

The following are recent graduates or are now members of Harvard University:

1878, Edwin Wilson Morse; 1879, Charles William Bacon; 1879, Henry Coolidge Mulligan; 1880, Nat. Maynard Brigham; 1881, William Henry Coolidge; 1882, Franklin Arthur Dakin; 1883, Louis Arthur Coolidge; 1884, George William Sawin; 1885, Charles Bertie Gleason; 1886, Irving Wetherbee Fay; 1887, Herman Timothy Coolidge (died September 30, 1889); 1888, Clarence Willard Gleason; 1889, William Reed Bigelow; 1890, Harry Fletcher Brown; 1890, Charles Nutt; 1890, Samuel Foster Swinburne; 1892, George Alexander Easton; 1892, Robert Winch Harwood; Leander Coolidge entered 1889. Arthur H. Wilde graduated from Boston University in 1887. Wilson L. Fairbanks (now of the Springfield *Republican*) graduated at Tufts College 1887. He is assistant local editor of the Springfield *Republican*. George William Sawin, graduating at Harvard in 1884, has been a teacher of mathematics in that institution since 1885. Gayle Forbush entered Institute of Technology 1888.

Graduates from Wellesley College.—1879, Ella M. Drury; 1884, Julia A. Ellis; 1884, Nellie M. Wright; 1884, Florence Bigelow; 1886, Nellie F. Tilton; 1887, Edith A. True.

Present Members.—Katharine F. Gleason, 1891; Ida E. Woods, 1893; Gertrude Bigelow, 1893.

Special Students in Wellesley College.—Mrs. Liverus Dorchester (Miss Nellie Hardy), 1881–82; Mrs. Homer Fiske (Miss Alice Bird), 1881–82; Mrs. Henry C. Mulligan (Miss Minna Rawson), 1881–82; Mrs. David W. Farquhar (Miss Grace T. Peloubet), 1884–86; Mrs. Harry True (Miss Mabel Sweetland); Mrs Lester M. Bartlett (Miss Nettie Spooner); Miss Mary Noyes, 1887–88; Miss Etta Shattuck, 1887–88; Miss Mae E. Felch, 1887–89; Miss Nellie F. Wilson, 1887–89; entered 1889 as a special student, Miss Helen Grace Walcott.

Mary Alice Peloubet (Mrs. Lewis M. Norton) graduated at Smith College 1883. Annie L. Colby, of South Natick, Wellesley College 1880.

CHAPTER XLI.

NATICK—(Continued).

MISCELLANEOUS.

Population—Water Department—Fire Department—Natick Gas-Light Company—Natick Electric Company—Natick National Bank—Natick Five Cents Saving Bank—Henry Wilson Co-operative Bank—Post-Offices—Manufacturers—South Natick Business—Cemeteries—Lawyers—Physicians—Express Companies—Coal, Wood, Etc.—The Press—Biographical.

POPULATION.—That of the Indian plantation of Natick at different periods has already been given. It was probably the largest just before the beginning of King Philip's War, 1675. The first census was ordered by the British Government in 1764. At that time Natick contained 185 Indians, 24 negroes and mulattoes, 450 whites, total 659, of whom three were slaves; 1776, 535; 1800, 694; 1810, 760; 1820, 849; 1830, 890; 1835, about 1000; 1840, 1285; 1850, 2816; 1855, 4138; 1860, 5515; 1865 (after the war), 5220; 1870, 6404; 1875, 7419; 1880, 8565; 1885, 8460. At the present time, January 1, 1890, supposed to be about 10,000.

WATER DEPARTMENT.—In addition to notices of this already given, we add from superintendent's report, March 1, 1889, the following: Number of services in use, 1349; total cost on construction account, $160,042.69; total cost of pumping station and pumps, $45,856.88; cost of reservoir, $17,554.81; service pipe, net, $10,480.22; total cost of water works, $232,934.60; collected 1888–89 for water rates, fines, etc. (12 months), $19,173.40. J. W. Morse is superintendent.

FIRE DEPARTMENT.—Already noticed in part. From report March 1, 1889, it appears that one of the two steamers is considerably worn, and the hose-carriages also. The fire alarm system has been extended four additional miles and six new boxes added, so that now there are nine boxes and eleven miles of wire. During the last twelve months the alarms of fire were twenty-eight. Insurance on buildings and contents injured, $33,200. Amount of insurance paid, $14,757.02. Loss where there was no insurance, $1715. Whole amount expended during the year, $5227.85.

NATICK GAS-LIGHT COMPANY.—Riley Pebbles, president; Edward Clark, treasurer, who, with Harrison Harwood, Leonard Winch and John O. Wilson are directors. Forty stockholders, all in Massachusetts. Stock, $20,000; dividends, eight per cent.; assessors' valuation, $12,200; assets, $41,874.66; liabilities, $29,500. Gas made in 1888, 3,711,900 feet; greatest daily output, 21,900 feet; least, 3000 feet. Coal used annually, 379 tons; candle-power, 17.4. Superintendent, G. F. Macmunn.

NATICK ELECTRIC COMPANY, organized 1886; capital, $14,800; stockholders, seven; system, Thomson-Houston; use 425 tons of coal; length of wires, 113,500 feet; 307 poles; overhead wires, 26,400 feet; thirty-six public lamps (arc), burn till 12½ o'clock, each costing 33⅓ cents per night, or $8 per month; commercial incandescent lights, 450, cost $1 per month. Assets, $35,493.73; liabilities, $34,226.23. President, John O. Wilson; superintendent, Henry True; treasurer, Francis Bigelow.

BANKS.—*Natick National Bank.*—The charter of this bank was granted May 14, 1873, and it commenced business July 31, 1873, in the brick block owned by Nathaniel Clark, with a capital of $100,000. The first directors were Leonard Winch, John B. Walcott, Nathaniel Clark, Harrison Harwood, Jr., Lewis Wight and George Clark. Harrison Harwood, Sr., and Richard Hayes were directors for a number of years. The directors at the present time are Harrison Harwood, Riley Pebbles, Leonard Winch, Edward Clark, O. A. Felch and Frank H. Hayes. Leonard Winch has been president from the beginning, and has been identified with the business interests of Natick as merchant, real estate owner and banker for nearly fifty years. The first cashier was George S. Trowbridge, who held this position till his death, in September, 1886. October 1, 1886, Mr. S. W. Holmes was elected cashier, and is such now, December, 1889. Mr. Holmes had previously been clerk, book-keeper and teller of the National Bank of Orange, Mass., entering it in 1881. When he was twenty-one years old he became cashier of the Natick Bank, being at that time the youngest cashier in Massachusetts. Mr. F. O. Baston was assistant cashier from September, 1886, until May, 1889, when he resigned to become the treasurer of the Natick Five-Cents Savings Bank. Mr. Frank O. Brown and Mr. Fred. B. Washburn, both Natick young men, and educated in Natick High School, are, respectively, teller and clerk, and they, like the senior officers of the bank, have deservedly the confidence of the community.

After the great Natick fire in 1874 the bank had temporary quarters in the Harwood Block, but returned to its pleasant and commodious rooms on the second floor of Clark's new block, corner of Main and Summer Streets, as soon as the present block was completed. Fifty-eight of the ninety-two stockholders reside in Natick and these hold 730 of the 1000 shares. The first dividend was paid October 1, 1874, and ever since the bank has paid eight per cent., free from tax, annually, with the exception of one year, when it paid seven per cent. The total amount paid in dividends has been $114,000. In 1874 the number of open accounts kept with the bank was 110, and the deposits $60,000, while January 1, 1889, the former were 350 and the deposits $240,000. The surplus and undivided profits of the bank amount to $30,000. The policy of the bank, from the beginning has been to do a safe, conservative business, while fostering all the interests and meeting all the wants of the town as far as consistent with safety; and the same principle has been adopted with regard to the public generally.

Natick Five-Cents Savings Bank.—The charter of

this bank was granted in April, 1859. The corporators were Edward Walcott, Nathaniel Clark, Horace B. Morse, Willard C. Childs, Franklin Hanchett, Leonard Winch and William Edwards, with all the powers and privileges and subject to all the duties, liabilities and restrictions common in such cases. Officers of the bank were elected August 23, 1859, as follows: President, John Kimball; Vice-Presidents, Leonard Winch and John J. Perry; Trustees, Willard Drury, John W. Bacon, John O. Wilson, Dexter Washburn, J. B. Walcott, James M. Bent, James Bullard, George Jennings, G. W. Pierce; Investing Committee, B. F. Ham, Henry Coggin, John Travis, William Edwards and Edward Washburn. Nathaniel Clark was chosen treasurer September 2, 1859, and held that office till May, 1872, when his successor, James Whitney, was chosen. Mr. Whitney resigned May 1, 1889, by reason of impaired health, when Mr. Frederick O. Baston, lately assistant cashier of Natick National Bank, became treasurer. This savings bank has steadily increased in financial strength as well as popularity, its total assets amounting to more than a million dollars. The deposits, representing the accumulated savings of a great number of families, attest the general thrift and economic habits of the Natick people.

The present officers are: President, John O. Wilson; Vice-Presidents, Leonard Winch, John L. Woodman; Trustees, John O. Wilson, E. P. Hollis. J. L. Woodman, Leonard Winch, Riley Pebbles, Edward Clark, F. E. Cummings, G. W. Howe, Francis Bigelow, William Nutt, O. A. Felch, James M. Forbush, F. M. Boardman, F. H. Hayes; Investing Committee, Leonard Winch, J. L. Woodman, William Nutt, Francis Bigelow, F. H. Hayes and Frederick O. Baston.

Henry Wilson Co-Operative Bank was established in 1886, with J. R. Adams, president; E. H. Wilson, vice-president; Dr. C. W. Smith, secretary; H. H. Whitney, treasurer, and a full board of directors. M. T. Jones later became secretary. The bank has $53,000 assets and pays six and one-half per cent. interest to about 500 members. The officers now are: President, J. R. Adams; Vice-President, G. H. Ames; Secretary, M. T. Jones; Assistant Secretary, A. P. Cheney; Treasurer, H. H. Whitney, with fifteen directors.

POST-OFFICES.[1]—*Natick office* was established January 27, 1815; Martin Haynes appointed postmaster January 27, 1815; William Farris, January 15, 1818; Isaac D. Morse, January 9, 1840; Nathaniel Clark, June 22, 1841; Isaac D. Morse, June 24, 1845; John M. Seaward, July 25, 1849; Calvin W. Perry, November 7, 1853; George W. Pierce, June 25, 1861; John B. Fairbanks, June 20, 1865; Mrs. Caroline Brigham, April 29, 1870; George L. Sleeper, July 3, 1886.

The South Natick post-office was established May 23, 1828. Postmasters: Lester Whitney, May 23, 1828; Ira Cleveland, June 9, 1832; Charles Adams, May 29, 1833; Moses Eames, January 9, 1840; George B. Curtis, May 25, 1841; John Gilman, Jr., June 8, 1844; Moses Eames, June 24, 1845; John Cleland, Jr., September 8, 1849; John I. Perry, April 18, 1854; William H. Wright, April 3, 1857; Isaac B. Sawyer, August 2, 1861; Gustavus Smith, December 2, 1872; William J. Cronin, April 23, 1886.

MANUFACTURES—*Boots and Shoes.*—The making of these is by no means a new industry in Natick, but the conditions and results of this business have greatly changed within the last half-century. Natick had, like all country towns, its shoemakers from the beginning, but until about the year 1828 these confined themselves to custom-work and repairing, and never attempted to furnish supplies for a general market. In the year just named Edward Walcott, who then resided in the west part of the town, commenced the manufacture of boots and shoes upon a larger scale than the local trade called for or would justify, and a few years later found him established in the centre of the town and employing about one hundred workmen. In 1856 Mr. Walcott is said to have put upon the market three millions of pairs.

John B. Walcott was later in this business by a few years, but, in twenty years, had made 1,099,763 pairs. In 1836 Isaac Felch began the same business, and soon employed seventy or eighty workmen, who made 50,000 or 60,000 pairs annually. Henry Wilson, beginning at the bottom and learning the trade of a shoemaker, became a manufacturer in 1838, and is said to have made—in the eleven years in which he continued this business—664,000 pairs. E. & F. Hanchett or F. Hanchett & Co. were large manufacturers, and in 1853 had one hundred and seventy-four employees, viz., one hundred and twenty males and fifty-four females.[2]

It is to be understood that these statements refer to a period before the introduction of labor-saving machinery, when the cutting of the leather and the finishing and packing of the goods were done in centrally located shops, while the making was all done by hand, and chiefly at the homes of the workmen. A revolution in the whole business has followed the introduction of machinery in nearly every department of the work, and the use of steam-power in driving the various machines.

One of the oldest and the largest of the modern factories is that of *J. O. Wilson & Co.* This is situated on North Avenue, and occupies the whole space between Walnut and Washington Streets. The owners are John O. Wilson and H. G. Wood. Like nearly all who succeed in this business, the senior partner first learned to make boots and shoes by hand, and was employed in this manner about twelve years. In

[1] Obtained from the office of the First Assistant Postmaster-General.

[2] See Bacon's "History," pp. 152 and 153.

1863 this factory was established. Additions from time to time have given it its present large proportions. There are four hundred names on its pay-roll. Brogans and plow-shoes are its chief productions, though of late a finer and better kind of goods is made for the Southern market. One million of pairs are made annually, and the annual sales amount to $1,250,000. C. H. Moulton, of Boston, makes the sales. Power is applied to all the latest improved machinery. The establishment is lighted by electricity. The junior partner, Mr. Wood, now manages the details of this large business. (For additional concerning Mr. Wilson, see Biographical.)

Riley Pebbles & Co. (owner, Riley Pebbles).—Established in 1853. Goods,—brogans, plow-shoes, Imperials, Congress, slippers, etc., and almost all kinds of foot-ware, including hob and Hungarian boots and shoes, especially "Pebbles' Seamless Balmorals;" a much greater variety of production than comes from most factories. Annual production, 290,000 pairs. Amount of annual sales, $325,000.

Mr. Pebbles has ten salesmen almost continually on the road, each with a separate territory, and selling in all parts of the United States. On the pay-roll, 150. Wages paid annually, $83,000. Power is applied in nearly every department, from sole-cutting to finishing. Superintendent, William S. Morey; book-keeper, Mary A. Blaney; assistant book-keeper, William F. Quinlan; clerk, William O. Cutler.

Mr. Pebbles is among the pioneer manufacturers in this part of the State, having been in business thirty-six years; was among the first to test and introduce the best labor-saving machines, quite a number of which are his own invention.

He has also made many improvements upon the inventions of others. He puts upon the market several kinds of his own patent shoes, which are more or less complicated, and the idea of furnishing soles, taps and half-soles to cobblers throughout the country came from Mr. Pebbles. He had built for himself the first "beam sole-cutting machine" that was really successful. The reputation of Mr. Pebbles in the market as the maker of goods that will stand the test of severe use is unrivaled. His Boston office, which he visits daily, is at 59 Lincoln Street.

John B. Walcott (owner)., established in 1834, is by far the oldest manufacturer now doing business in Natick. Productions—brogans, and plow-shoes, and of these about 120,000 pairs annually. Annual amount of sales, $130,000. Mr. Walcott sells the goods which he makes. His pay-roll numbers forty-eight. He paid in wages last year $26,150. At present he does not use steam-power, but his goods are all made by hand. He lost his very valuable factory on Main Street in the great fire of 1874, and has since conducted his business in two or three localities. The site of his former factory is now occupied by one of the best business blocks of Natick, which Mr. Walcott erected in 1888 and owns.

J. W. Walcott & Co. (owners, J. W. Walcott and Francis Bigelow), established May 1, 1882. The firm manufactures men's, boys' and youths' kip, split and grain boots, brogans, ball and plow-shoes. Boston business house, 107 Sumner Street. Number of pairs annually, 250,000. On the pay-roll, 125. Superintendent, W. E. Rollins. This firm occupies the large building of a former hat factory which they have furnished with all modern machinery for making foot-wear, and to which they have recently made very extensive additions.

Felch Brothers.—Proprietors, J. F. Felch, O. A. Felch and Harry Felch. Factory in northern Felchville. Established in 1858. Production, wax and split brogans and plow-shoes, of which 300,000 pairs are made annually. Amount of annual sales, $300,000. Mr. O. A. Felch, of this firm, goes annually or oftener into the South or Southwestern States and sells the goods made by this company. Number on pay-roll, 100. Wages paid annually, $75,000. The owners superintend all departments. Book-keeper, J. Elmer Felch. All the employees are paid in cash every Saturday night.

J. L. Woodman.—Owner and superintendent. Established in 1850. Number on pay-roll, eighty. Goods, boots and shoes; number of pairs made last year, 147,340. Annual sales equal $200,000; steam-power is applied to all machines. Goods consigned to Henry & Daniels. W. H. Nutt is book-keeper.

R. Best & Son.—Manufacture brogans and plow-shoes, 60,000 pairs annually. Established in 1872. On the pay-roll, twenty-five. Wages paid annually, $12,000. Use steam-power.

A. F. Travis & Sons.,—Felchville, have suspended operations in their factory because of the sickness of the senior partner.

Richard Hayes & Sons, Summer Street.—The senior member of this firm established this business nearly fifty years ago, and it has always maintained an honorable position. Their production consists of boots, brogans and plow-shoes. On pay-roll, 125. Daily production, about 1200 pairs. Boston office, 133 Summer Street, in charge of F. H. Hayes, while E. A. Hayes superintends the factory operations.

F. L. Ward & Co.—On the old stand of Dexter Washburn. Established in 1887. Make men's, boys' and youths' shoes, balmorals; annual product from ten to twelve thousand pairs. Sales, $15,000, are made to retailers in New England and Pennsylvania. Mr. Ward superintends and employ ten persons.

A. I. & G. W. Travis & Co.—This firm is the successor of C. B. Travis & Co. This was established in 1852, and the death of the senior partner in 1889 was followed by the organization of the firm as above named; pay-roll, fifty.

The factory has the modern improvements, is heated by steam and lighted by electricity. It is supplied throughout with automatic sprinklers to extinguish fires. The production consists of kip,

split and grain boots, brogans and plow-shoes. Boston office, 120 Summer Street. Ninety thousand pairs are made annually. Sales, $80,000 to $90,000. Pay of employees, $25,000 annually.

H. H. Brown & Co.—Established four years ago. During the warm season this company manufacture boots chiefly, and heavier goods in the winter, as plow-shoes, brogans, Don Pedros, English ties, nailed and stitched downs—the last a specialty. Pay-roll, 175 to 200. Daily product, 1000 pairs. Boston office, 135 Summer Street. The business of this company is having a healthy growth.

C. E. Johnson & Co., 1885.—Factory on Cochituate Street, 160 feet long, four stories high, with ell of forty feet. This firm has a complete establishment, with the latest machinery for the manufacture of brogans, plow-shoes, Creedmores and kip, split, grain and calf seamless "bals." for the extreme Western trade. Pay-roll, 175. Weekly product, 200 cases. Boston office, 116 Summer Street. Superintendant, Frank L. Ferrin; book-keeper, Frank Atkinson.

Sheldon Brothers.—W. R. Sheldon and Alexander Sheldon, established 1882, make men's, boys' and youth's boots and shoes, about 20,000 pairs annually. Sales, $20,000. Pay-roll, 25. Sell chiefly to retailers. Use steam-power in nearly all departments of work.

N. Bartlett & Son.—Nathaniel Bartlett and George N. Bartlett, 1869, make brogans, hob-nail, English ball and button boots, 46,000 pairs annually. Sales, per annum, $52,000. Pay-roll, 40. Yearly wages, $22,250. Taxed $145.

Clark's Brick Block.—This, which is the largest business block in Natick, or in this part of the Commonwealth, stands partly upon the site of a similar but smaller structure, which was erected in 1872, only to be burned in the great fire of 1874. That block was about 100 feet in length and three stories high, while the present structure is of the same height, but 260 feet long. The latter, as was true of its predecessor, was built and is owned by Mr. Nathaniel Clark, who, after a long and useful business life, is passing the time of old age with the respect and affection of the entire community.

The chief frontage of this block is on Main Street. The lower story, which is devoted to stores, is occupied as follows: Edward Clark, grocer; E. M. Marshall, watch-maker and jeweler; W. L. Doane, boots and shoes; Gardella & Cuneo, fruits; barber; W. F. Cleland & Co., dry-goods; C. H. Whitcomb, hats and furnishing goods; Arthur W. Palmer, ready-made clothing and tailor; James H. Frost, apothecary; Charles W. Ambrose, watch-maker and jeweler; W. F. Demeritt, tailor; W. H. Jones, boots and shoes; George L. Bartlett, dry-goods; Miss C. H. Travis, milliner; Daniels & Twitchell, druggists; Harrison L. Whipple, art-store, dealer in pictures and picture-frames—sixteen stores.

In the second story are the rooms of the Natick National Bank and of the Five-Cents Savings Bank (elsewhere described), of O. J. Washburn, dentist, Judge Nutt's law-office and District Court-room; the offices of tax-collector, of the selectmen, of the overseers of the poor, of the assessors, of the town clerk, of the School Committee and of the chief of police; the law-offices of James McManus, I. W. Parker, C. Q. Tirrell, G. D. Tower and L. H. Wakefield; office of Dr. William Richards; rooms of John F. Dowsley, dentist; of Miss L. M. Hart, dress-maker, Palmer's sewing-room and four large rooms occupied by the Natick Citizen Printing and Editing Company. In the third story are four halls, the largest of which —Concert Hall—is more than 100 feet long and well furnished for an audience of 1200 or 1400. This the town uses for all town-hall purposes.

Erwin H. Walcott Brick Block.—Owner, Erwin H. Walcott, at the present time a non-resident. This block fronts on West Central Street. One of the largest stores in it—and the entire second story of the building as well—is occupied by Cleland, Healy & Underwood for the sale of furniture, wall-papers, curtains, and a great variety of small wares. Another store constitutes the grocery establishment of Barnacle & Allen, while the third is the druggist establishment of C. W. Perry, who, in addition to his regular business as an apothecary, is entrusted with the sale of spirituous liquors for medicinal, chemical and mechanical purposes.

The Walcott Building, Mr. J. B. Walcott, owner. This brick and stone block, upon the corner of Main and Summer Streets, was erected in 1888, upon the site of the owner's boot and shoe factory, which was consumed in the great fire of 1874. The new block is by far the most beautiful and elaborately-finished structure in Natick. The lower story on Main Street is constructed of iron and plate-glass, and on Summer street of red sandstone. The upper stories are of brick, with sandstone trimmings. The staircase to the second story is wholly of polished marble, while the flagging-stones of the two fronts are very large and costly stones from the Hudson River Valley, perfectly cut and fitted in the best possible manner. On the lower floor, at the corner, is the spacious, well-lighted and finely-decorated store of Leamy & Tilton, with a large stock of new dry-goods and small wares. On the same floor is the Bay State Clothing Store of Hastings & Lowell.

On the second floor are six rooms for offices, with a large hall. Above are the elegant quarters of the Red Men, comprising a room for the ladies of the order with ante-rooms.; also the large hall for the society's gatherings, and their banqueting-hall, with tables and a kitchen and pantry, furnished with ranges and crockery. The walls throughout have been treated with fresco or beautifully-tinted paints, and the entire establishment would be deemed ornamental in any city of our land.

One of the most imposing public buildings is Odd Fellows' Hall, situated on the corner of Main and Pond Streets, This building was built and is owned by Takawambait Odd Fellows' Building Association. The following-named gentlemen constitute the directors of said association: P. G. Charles Q. Tirrell, President; P. G. Frank E. Cummings, Treasurer; P. G. William L. Doane, Secretary; P. G. William F. Demeritt, P. G. James H. Littlefield and P. G. George E. Dunton. The architect was Ernest N. Boyden, No. 35 Congress Street, Boston, Mass. The land for this building cost $4500. The corner-stone was laid with impressive ceremonies June 17, 1887, and it was dedicated by the Grand Officers of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, May 23, 1888. The building is about sixty feet high and is of four stories. On Main Street it is 56½ feet, on Pond Street, 88½ feet. The first story on Main Street is of iron and plate-glass, while on Pond Street it is of brick and plate-glass. The remaining three stories are constructed of brick with Long Meadow sand-stone trimmings. Underwood Bros., of Natick, had the contract for the brick, stone and iron work, and George Brierly, of Natick, the wood-work. The cost of the building was $28,000. The first story consists of three stores occupied as follows: On Main Street, Milton E. Smith & Co., meat and provisions,—while the corner store is leased to Miss ——— McGrath for millinery. The Pond Street store is used by Noah L. Hardy for the sale of teas and coffees. The second story: O. H. Burleigh, insurance; H. G. Sleeper, lawyer. On this floor is the Banquet Hall of Takawambait Lodge, No. 59, I. O. O. F., and is 36 feet x 44 feet, seating capacity of 300. Third and fourth stories contain Odd Fellows' Hall and ante-rooms. The hall is 42 x 53 feet and 21 feet high, containing a new feature in Odd Fellows' Halls, viz., a gallery on two sides, with chairs for about 100, which is a very convenient arrangement. The hall is frescoed in elegant style at a cost of $600 by Strauss Bros., of Boston. It is furnished to match in solid cherry and plush, at a cost of $3000.

The Hogan Brick Block.—This is on the west side of Main Street. George C. Howe has in it a spacious store for the sale of dry goods and furniture, with storage-room on the second floor. Timothy Burns occupies the central part of the block as a boot, shoe and rubber store, with room for custom-work and repairing in the rear. Also in this block is W. C. Maynard's barber-shop.

John M. Fiske's Brick Block.—This, which fronts on South Avenue, was erected in the winter of 1888–89, and is seventy by fifty feet and three stories in height. Fiske & Co. occupy nearly all of it for the sale of hardware, stoves, building materials, painters' supplies and everything appertaining to water, steam and gas-piping, plumbing, etc. Mr. Fiske was in the same business in Eagle Block, but in his new and commodious building has found room for an increased stock of goods and greater facilities for his business in general. The superintendent of his sales department is Charles H. Turner, while George L. Hill superintends the business of the workshop. A portion of the lower story of this block is occupied by G. W. Howe & Co., as the Natick office of Howe & Co.'s Boston and Natick Express, which will be noticed elsewhere.

Downs' Block.—This is on the west side of South Main Street, and is owned by James Downs, baker. Of the north division, Mr. Downs occupies a considerable part of the lower floor for his bakery and business office, and all of the second story. Kennedy & Buckley (successors of Loker Brothers) have here their grocery store. In the south division Mrs. J. Kenealy has a store stocked with dry goods and fancy articles, and Mr. Soule has a confectionery and ice cream establishment. The entire second story is occupied by Elijah Edwards & Son in the manufacture of shirts of woolen, cotton and silk. Their large business will be noticed elsewhere.

The Childs Brick Block, owned by Willard Curtis Childs. At the time of the great fire in 1874, Mr. Childs was the owner of three buildings, for manufacturing purposes, on or near the site of his block, viz., one twenty-four by sixty feet, two stories high; one thirty by fifty feet, two stories high, and a third forty by sixty feet, three stories high. All of these were destroyed, and the loss equaled $5000 above the insurance. The block now standing was erected in 1876 and 1877, and is forty by eighty feet, and three stories high, fronting on South Avenue and Washington Street. In the basement is Mr. Childs' own workshop, where there is a twenty horse-power boiler and eight horse-power engine. Mr. Childs repairs bicycles and tricycles, turns wood-work and grinds tools.

P. F. Peters has here his factory for spring-lasting hammers and shoe-jacks; and J. A. Reall has his barber-shop and bath-rooms.

In the first story H. H. Berry has his refreshment saloon, J. J. Dolan his tobacco store, Miss M. Dolan her millinery establishment, and Blanchard & Hayward their rooms for shoe-finishing and stitching. The second-story is occupied by Martin Hall's job-printing office, whence issues the *Natick Weekly Review*. C. H. Inman and Dion have their machine-shops here, and make machine pegging-awls and edge-trimmers and Dion's Riveting Machines. In the third story is Washington Opera Hall, with spacious stage, scenery, etc., seating 350, heated by steam and lighted by Lungren lamps; with ante-rooms, fire-escape, etc.

Mr. Childs has built, also, a large number of houses in the village, besides being a partner in many firms for the manufacture of foot-wear and working in the gold mines of California.

Burks' Brick Block, owned by Charles W. Burks, and occupied on the lower floor in part, and on the

second entirely, by the owner as a furniture and carpet store. Mr. Burks is one of the undertakers of Natick and much employed in conducting funerals, and is largely concerned in the care and adornment of Dell Park Cemetery.

Charles S. Oliver, fish-dealer, occupies nearly, or quite, one-half of the lower story.

Woodbury's Brick Block.—Owner, P. F. Woodbury. Erected in 1874, on the site of the block destroyed by fire in same year. Situated corner of Main and Court Streets. Lower story occupied by H. F. Chamberlain, for sale of dry and fancy goods; Marnell Brothers, as a boot and shoe store, and on Court Street by the owner, P. F. Woodbury, for the sale of furniture, carpets, beds, bedding, window-shades, etc. On the second floor are the Young Men's Christian Association rooms, well fitted up and convenient, and the rooms of Dr. Frederick Lewis, dentist. On the third floor is a spacious public hall.

Winch's Brick Block, corner of Main Street and South Avenue. Owner, Leonard Winch. The corner of the first story is occupied by the Natick post-office, George L. Sleeper, Esq., postmaster. On the same floor is located the insurance and real estate firms of J. M. Forbush & Co., an agency for the sale of sewing-machines, and the large grocery store of Gray & Young. On the second floor are found a barber's shop, the rooms of St. Patrick Benevolent Society, and the quarters of the American Brass Band. In this block "The Lasters' Union," "The Trimmers' Union," and the "Natick Cadet Band" have also established quarters; while in the basement, under the post-office, is the fruit store of Gioga Salvatore.

Masonic Brick and Marble Block.—This was erected in 1874, and belongs to the estate of the late Leonard Morse. The front is of marble, the other walls are brick. It is occupied on the lower floor by the Atlantic Tea Stores Company, Messrs. Wilde & Soule, who deal in teas, coffees and crockery; by James F. Gray, manufacturer of confectionery and keeper of fruit for sale; by Leonard P. Stone, dealer in meats and vegetables, and by Beals' Clothing and Furnishing establishment. In the second story are Mulligan's billiard-room, Finn's barber-shop, Dr. Abbott's rooms for dentistry, and Miss Mabel Morse's music-room. The third and fourth stories are wholly occupied for Masonic purposes.

Rice's Brick Block (owners, Phineas G. and Martin Rice).—Adjoining the Masonic Block is the very extensive establishment of William D. Parlin, who occupies the basement and four stories above for his hardware, stove, plumbing, gas-fitting, steam and hot-water heating business, and whose contracts for goods and work extend over all the region and largely over the entire country. Mr. Parlin has two large store-houses for materials outside, and employs thirty-five or forty men. Seven horses are used in his work.

John B. Fairbanks has his large establishment in this block, selling fruits, stationery, newspapers and everything found in a variety store. J. E. Dewitt's art store adjoins, for the sale of pictures, picture frames, stationery and artists' supplies. Here also is the domestic and Vienna bakery of C. M. McKechnia, with sales-room, and the "Blue Store Clothing Company's" establishment, owned by Henry Andrews. In the second story is the printing-office of George C. Fairbanks, proprietor of the *Natick Bulletin,* the shop of J. H. Gilligan, tailor, and the law-offices of Messrs. P. H. Cooney and Henry C. Mulligan. A large part of the third story is used by the Grand Army of the Republic.

Tash's Brick Block, Summer Street, is chiefly occupied by George C. Wight, dealer in salt and fresh provisions, fruits and vegetables.

Wilson House Block, F. A. Stone, owner, hotel kept by L. K. Mitchell.—The stores in it are occupied by M. C. Brigham, druggist; James Sweeney, harness-maker; A. B. Lindsay, laundry; C. H. King, fish-dealer, and Jefferson Holmes, Yankee notions.

R. H. Randall has a store for the sale of dry and fancy goods at No. 9 West Central Street.

Hooker & Hawes are funeral and furnishing undertakers and dealers in carpets and household goods, at Adams Block.

At 29 South Main Street is the well-known establishment of J. H. Washburn, jeweler. Mr. D. W. Wells, in charge, is a regularly educated optician.

Wood's Block, erected by Edward W. Wood, opposite the railroad station.—This is occupied by Mrs. R. S. Bent, milliner; Washburn & Reed, druggists; R. E. Farwell & Son, insurance and real estate business; H. W. Atherton, millinery; E. E. Everett, baker; L. A. Perry, who has a bakery and eating-house, and John B. Moyse, harness-maker.

Eagle Block, owned by R. A. Ballou and occupied by Finn Brothers, tobacco and cigars; Shattuck Brothers, groceries; W. L. Brown, boots and shoes, and T. L. Irwin, for a furniture and kitchen goods store. On the second and third stories John Palmer has a boarding-house. On the first floor William Ballou keeps tonic and temperance drinks.

Edward Walcott Block, owned by the heirs of Edward Walcott, on Main, West Central and Pond Streets.—Hamlein's eating saloon and S. B. Knowles' meat-market are in the basement. The Natick Protective Union store, groceries and meat-market, is on the first floor, as is also the boot and shoe store of Moran & Buckly. William Flynn, tailor, has quarters in this part of the block. In the second and third stories is the hotel of George Rogers, and a portion of the boot and shoe manufactory of J. B. Walcott is in the same.

South Natick, Business, etc.—The postmaster is William J. Cronin, appointed in 1886. He has also a harness establishment. M. B. V. Bartlett keeps fine groceries, flour, provisions, etc. James E. Cooper has succeeded Gustavus Smith as druggist.

Thomas Foy has a boot and shoe store. J. A. Smith sells dry and fancy goods. George H. Jackson has a variety store. J. W. King keeps groceries, crockery, tin goods, grain, flour, etc. George J. Ingalls has sold for seven years foot-wear and furnishing goods. H. P. A. Weigand has a grocery and variety store. Frank F. Schumann keeps vegetables and has a meat-market. Patrick F. Hallinan and Fred. Neauschafer have meat markets. The largest business block is owned by Messrs. Edwards & Clark. The South Natick manufacturers are as follows:

William F. Pfeiffer & Co. (William F. Pfeiffer, William H. Pfeiffer, Charles F. Pfeiffer) began business in 1870. Make boots and shoes—130,000 pairs annually; annual sales, $115,000; wages annually, $25,000; apply power to all machines; are their own superintendents. Cashier, Charles F. Pfeiffer; book-keeper, Mrs. C. F. Pfeiffer; employés, 50 in number.

John Schneider (established 1883) makes brogans, plow-shoes; specialty, Hungarian nail and hob-nailed shoes for miners; from 25,000 to 30,000 pairs annually; has 30 employés; sells all over the United States; works mostly on orders; sales, $36,400.

E. Dowd, Jr., successor of Hopf & Bisch, makes boots and shoes, chiefly nail brogans; employs 8 men, and sells chiefly at the West. E. Dowd commenced manufacturing in 1860.

The Maltha Manufacturing Company have commenced making at South Natick a substitute for India rubber, which, it is claimed, can be produced for two and one-half or three cents per pound. The work is yet largely experimental. This is a joint stock company, Mr. Stephen M. Allen owning one-half.

The water-fall at the village is rated at 150 horse-power, and at the rapids below at 100.

Other Manufactures.—Shirt-making is one of Natick's industries which continues to give employment to many females. This was commenced in 1861 by *W. & E. Edwards* (William and Elijah), and when the partnership was dissolved, the younger brother associated with himself his son, F. E. Edwards, under the firm-name of *E. Edwards & Son*. The production of their factory is very large, and consists of fancy and plain flannel shirts for vacation, bicycling and tennis wear. They also produce the same article in cotton and silk. In the early days of this business the work was chiefly done in the families of the town and region, without steam or gas-power, but now it is done in the factory, and an engine drives all the sewing-machines. The Edwards shirts are well known and rank high in the market.

Newell Cooper is engaged in the same business, and manufactures woolen shirts of all kinds. Production, 35,000 dozen. He uses steam-power, and employs from 30 to 50 females, who run sewing-machines. The machines in this business are all owned and kept in repair by the proprietors. Mr. Cooper has conducted this business twenty years or more.

Base-ball Factory.—Firm of H. Harwood & Sons. Established 1858 by Harrison Harwood; later as above. Different grades are made, the best covered with horse-hide; the cheaper with sheepskin. The balls are wound at the factory, the covers are put on by women at their homes. Great quantities are made, that are shipped to all the cities and larger towns of the United States and Canada. The League ball is the ball of the prominent professional clubs throughout the country. Superintendent, J. Sweetland; book-keeper, F. Wight.

Connection with the World.—A century ago three turnpike roads, from Boston westward, passed through this town in the north, centre and south parts of the same. These were kept in fairly good repair, and stages upon them furnished the means for public conveyance.

In 1834 the Boston and Worcester Railroad (now Boston and Albany) was opened through the centre of the town, and from that time the population and business of the place have been increasing. It is understood that this railroad corporation will soon lay the third and fourth tracks through Natick, and make great and substantial improvements in and around the station. The passenger and freight business of Natick upon this road is very large.

The Saxonville Branch of the Boston and Albany Railroad connects with the main line at Natick. This is about five miles long.

The Natick and Cochituate Street Railway is between three and four miles long, and carries and brings passengers between the two villages as many as twenty times each day, except on the Sabbath, when the trips number five each way. This road, with its good equipments is a great public convenience, as from 100 to 120 of the employees in the factories of Felchville and Cochituate reside in Natick, and daily use the horse-cars. Built in 1885; cost, $32,000; capital, $25,000, held mostly in Natick and Cochituate; 200,000 passengers annually. President, Harrison Harwood; secretary, F. H. Hayes; treasurer, William H. Bent; superintendent, George F. Keep. These, with O. A. Felch, John O. Wilson and Charles Park, are directors.

Cemeteries—*The Ancient Indian Burying-Ground.*—Like the English people of early times, the Indians of the Natick Plantation made a cemetery of the ground immediately adjacent to their first meeting-house. This was in South Natick, and the limits of their burying-ground appear to have been as follows: Beginning at the ancient Eliot Oak and running west, north of the Unitarian Church, to a point near the corner of the school-house yard, thence southeasterly to about the lower end of Merchants' Block, thence across the street in front of Bacon Library building, and over the green in the rear, to the southeast corner of the land enclosed, where once stood the residence of the famous "Deacon Badger," and from that point back to the Eliot Oak, taking in the

grave of the Indian preacher, Daniel Takawambpait, which is the only grave that can be identified.

William Biglow, who wrote his history of Natick in 1830, tells us that within his memory the remains of Indians had been brought to this ground from the surrounding region for burial. In building the walls around the church green, many graves were disturbed, and in laying the water-pipes south of the church towards Bailey's Hotel, a long row of Indian graves was brought to light. Beads, spoons, pipes, an Indian kettle and many other relics were secured for the museum in this way. Generally, the bones were carefully re-interred.[1]

A second Indian burying-ground, of smaller dimensions and plainly opened much later, is on the north side of Pond Street, in the central village. This was probably used after their old cemetery in South Natick had been chiefly given up for other purposes.

This ground on Pond Street, much neglected for many years, is now to be fenced and properly graded. Trees are to be set out, seats provided, etc. This is to be done by the Wamsquam Association, of which Amos P. Cheney is president, with a full list of officers, all of which is as it should be.

The ancient cemetery north of the Unitarian Church in South Natick was granted by the Indian proprietors, June 22, 1731, "to Mr. Peabody and his successors, and for the use of other English inhabitants." In 1830 there were ninety-two grave stones for single persons, and one, that of Rev. Mr. Badger, for seven members of his family, in that cemetery. One tomb contained then five bodies. Eighteen of the ninety-two alluded to above were over sixty years old at death.[2]

Before 1805 the remains of some persons had been buried where the Edward Walcott business block now stands, and possibly in the ground now covered by the "Odd Fellows' Block." But burials there were doubtless discontinued when the Central Cemetery was opened north of the brick church, covering the ground now occupied by the brick blocks on the east side of Main Street. This last-mentioned burying-ground was used nearly or quite as late as 1849, when the town purchased twelve acres of land of Edward Walcott, for the Dell Park Cemetery. This was consecrated in that year, Hon. Henry Wilson having charge of the procession which was formed on the occasion. Rev. Samuel Hunt's address at that time has been preserved in Bacon's "History of Natick." When this new cemetery was opened, the remains of those who had been buried in the ground on Main Street, as well as the tombstones, were removed to it, and for nearly forty years a large part of the interments of the town have taken place there. Farther west, the Catholic cemetery has been laid out and now contains many graves and monuments.

The North Cemetery is supposed by many to be the oldest in Natick, with the exception of that in South Natick, but when it was laid out is uncertain, though it must have been before 1758. In 1830 it contained forty-three grave-stones, ten of which were for persons over sixty years of age, and a later notice refers to one of a person who was ninety-one, and another to an individual who arrived at the age of 103.

The land for the cemetery in the west part of the town was given by William Boden, Esq., and the grant was made in 1815. A monument was erected in it, in 1855, to perpetuate the memory of the donor, who was a man of respectability and great excellence of character.

LAWYERS.—William Biglow wrote in 1830 thus: "But one of this class of citizens has ever attempted to gain a residence in this town; and he remained but a short time."

The historian here had reference to *Ira Cleavland, Esq.*, who, finding but little encouragement to be a lawyer in Natick, soon removed to Dedham. *John W. Bacon*, born in Natick in 1818 and graduating at Harvard College in 1843, commenced the practice of law in this place in 1846, and continued it until he was appointed one of the judges of the Superior Court. He was as a lawyer what he was as a judge, an inflexible supporter of everything that is right and elevating in the community. (See under the head, Biographical.)

Benjamin F. Ham, a native of Farmington, New Hampshire, opened a law-office in Natick about 1853. He studied law with John W. Bacon and was admitted to the bar in 1852. Mr. Ham was chosen town clerk to succeed Chester Adams, Esq., when the latter retired from that position after twenty-seven years of faithful service.

Oliver N. Bacon, the historian, was a teacher for some years, studied law with John W. Bacon and Lyman Mason, of Boston, and opened a law-office in Natick about 1856.

George Lane Sawin, born in Southboro', January 15, 1837, graduated from the Law School in Cambridge in 1860, and received from that institution the degree of LL.B. in 1867. He was a partner of Judge Bacon from 1860 to 1865. Mr. Sawin was an able lawyer and did much business. He died at Washington October 31, 1867. Had been a member of the State Senate one year and of the Lower House three years before his death. Among the Natick lawyers of the present generation Walter N. Mason was very prominent and ranked high in his profession, not only here, but in Boston, where he had an office. Mr. Mason was capable of doing a great amount of business and had a large practice. He was elected Senator from the Fourth Middlesex District for the Legislatures of 1883 and 1884.

Charles Q. Tirrell was born in Sharon, Massachusetts, December 10, 1844. His father was a physician in Weymouth. He entered Dartmouth College in

[1] See Biglow's "History," and the pamphlet of the Historical Soc. 1884, page 29.

[2] Biglow, p. 16.

1862 and graduated in 1866. Taught an Academy and High School for three years. Was a member of the School Committee of Weymouth four years. Was a Republican member of the Legislature from Weymouth in 1872; served on the Probate and Chancery Committee. Removed to Natick in 1873, and in that year married Miss Mary E. Hollis, of this place. Was Senator for the Fourth Middlesex District in the Legislature of 1881, serving on Committee on Public Health, Prisons, etc. A year later he was re-elected to the same office and was a member of the Committee on Judiciary and Public Health and chairman of the Joint Committee on the Liquor Laws. In 1884 he received a large complimentary vote for Congress in the Republican Convention, and in 1888 was the Presidential elector from the Ninth Congressional District, casting his vote for Benjamin Harrison. Mr. Tirrell studied law with Richard H. Dana, Esq., and was admitted to the bar, in 1870, and has offices in Boston and Natick. He has one child, Arthur H. Tirrell, born June 4, 1881.

William Nutt was born August 5, 1836, in Topsham, Vermont, studied law with Walter N. Mason, Esq., in Natick, and was admitted to the bar August, 1868. His office is in Natick. Was Representative from Natick in the General Court in 1871 and 1872. Was chairman of the Natick selectmen in 1874, 1876 and 1881. Served in the war for suppressing the Rebellion; was corporal and sergeant Company I, Second Massachusetts Regiment, lieutenant in Fifty-fourth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, then captain, major and lieutenant-colonel in Fifty-fifth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers and made colonel of volunteers by brevet. Colonel Nutt was appointed Justice of the District Court in May, 1886, and a large business is transacted in his court, particularly in the trial of liquor cases. He is often the moderator of town meetings and the trusted executor or administrator in the settlement of estates. Judge Nutt married Miss Abbie P. Puffer, and their children are William H., Charles, George, Henry, Nellie A., Julia M. and Matilda E.

Patrick Henry Cooney was born in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, December 20, 1845; was educated in New York Schools, Natick High School (graduating in 1866) and in the West Newton English and Classical School (Allen Brothers, proprietors); studied law with Bacon & Sawin and John W. Bacon; was admitted to the Suffolk bar November 1, 1868. Established in Natick January 1, 1869. Has a Boston office at 23 Court Street. Was a member of the Natick School Committee from 1880 for three years. In 1884 was appointed assistant district attorney for the Northern District of Massachusetts—a State office—is now district attorney. Was nominated by the Republicans for Representative in 1881 and defeated by three votes. Is unmarried.

Harrison G. Sleeper was born in New Sharon, Maine, in 1837, and educated in Boston Public Schools, including English High School. Studied law and was admitted to the bar at Lowell in 1862. Practiced law in Frederick, Maryland, from 1865 to 1876, and served on the Public School Board there for eight years. Was a lawyer in Portland, Maine, from 1876 to 1883, when he removed to Natick. Mr. Sleeper married Miss Sarah F. Prescott, of Deerfield, N. H. They have two sons,—Henry G. Sleeper, born July 9, 1865, and Arthur P. Sleeper, born Sept. 21, 1875. Mr. Sleeper's law-office is in Odd Fellows' Block, Natick.

William A. Knowlton was born in Nashville, Tenn., June 24, 1855, and was three months old when brought to Natick, where he has since resided. Was educated in Natick Public Schools, including the High School and Phillips Academy, Andover, from which he graduated. Then went to Amherst College and to Boston University Law School, from the latter of which he graduated in 1881, and was at once admitted to the bar. Immediately Mr. Knowlton began to practice law in Natick and Boston, and is engaged in the same at the present time. In 1888 he was elected by the town as one of the trustees of Morse Institute. The maiden-name of his wife was Elizabeth J. Burks, and they have one child, born Oct. 31, 1888, named Harold W. Knowlton.

Frank M. Forbush, counselor-at-law, Natick and Boston, was born at Natick, Sept. 20, 1858, was educated in the public schools of Natick and the English High School of Boston, and is secretary of his class ('75) of that school. Entered the Law School of Boston University in 1881, taking the studies of three years in one year. Was admitted to the bar of Middlesex County Sept. 13, 1882. Commenced practice at once in Boston and Natick. Nov. 1, 1882, he married Miss Annie Louise Mead. They have one child, Walter Alfred Forbush, born Oct. 11, 1886. In 1886 Mr. Forbush organized in Natick "The Henry Wilson Co-operative Bank," of which he has been from the first the attorney. In "The Royal Arcanum" and "Home Circle" (fraternal benefit societies) he has held office. His Boston office is at No. 5 Tremont Street, Room 63.

Henry Coolidge Mulligan was born in Natick March 6, 1854, and educated at the Adams Academy at Quincy and Harvard University, graduating from the college and the Law School. Was admitted to the bar in Boston, Jan. 14, 1883. Has law offices in Boston and Natick. Has been a member of the Natick School Committee since 1884, and one of the Trustees of Morse Institute since 1885. Mr. Mulligan married, Dec. 22, 1886, Miss Minna Rawson, of Worcester, and has a son, Ralph Coolidge, born March 15, 1888.

James McManus, a lawyer in Natick, was born in Ireland August 20, 1847. Came to the United States when a child. Was educated in the public schools and at Harvard University, graduating in 1871. Admitted to the bar in 1873. Practiced in Natick. Is

town clerk, and has been since 1886. Has served as trustee of Morse Institute, and is a member of the School Committee.

Messrs. G. L. Sleeper, C. B. Felch, G. D. Tower, I. W. Parker and L. H. Wakefield are also Natick lawyers.

PHYSICIANS.—Of the Indian doctors, male and female, the name of Joshua Bran alone survives. Those whose names follow were among the earlier physicians in Natick: Isaac Morrill, came 1771; Asa Adams, 1782; Alexander Thayer, 1813; John Angier, 1817; Stephen H. Spaulding, 1823; John Hoyt, 1840; Adino B. Hall, 1849; Ira Russell, 1853. Dr. Russell, who has recently died at his home in Winchendon, was greatly respected by the present generation.

Dr. George J. Townsend is the oldest of the Natick physicians. He resides at South Natick, but he has patients in all parts of the town. He was born in 1820, and graduated at Harvard University in 1842.[1]

Dr. William Richards has had much experience as a physician. Born in Hillsdale, N. Y., educated at Kinderhook Academy, University of Pennsylvania, Albany Medical College and in Long Island Hospital; he practiced in Cummington fifteen years. He was then nine years in Brockton, and came to Natick in 1879. Has been selectman, overseer of the poor, assessor, and is now a member of the Natick Board of Health. Is a Fellow of the Massachusetts Medical Society. Mrs. Richards was Miss Martha A. Brown, of Berkshire County, Mass.

Dr. Samuel K. Harriman was born in Prospect, Maine, educated under private tutors till fitted for Yale College, took his undergraduate medical course at Bucksport and Winterport, Maine, then was a member of Pennsylvania University, and took degrees in medicine in Philadelphia and Jefferson Medical Colleges. Later pursued special studies at the latter institution 1881–83, after he had practiced three years in Philadelphia, and the same length of time in Natick. Dr. Harriman is at the present time unmarried, having buried all his family.

Dr. Edgar S. Dodge was born in Enfield, N. H., was educated in the public schools, at Union Academy, in Canaan, N. H., and at the Harvard and Dartmouth Medical Colleges, graduating at the latter in 1876. Was resident physician at the hospital on Rainsford Island, Boston Harbor, and then pursued medical studies in Europe. Settled in Natick 1879, and has had here a lucrative practice. In 1885 was on the Board of Health, and in 1887 and 1888 was on the Board of Selectmen. In 1880 Dr. Dodge married Miss Alice Louise Churchill, who was born in Abington, Mass. They have two children—Florence Louise and Raymond Churchill.

A. Francis Story, M.D., was born in Essex, Mass., educated in Salem High School, Brown High School, Newburyport, in the Boston University School of Medicine, St. Bartholomew Hospital, London, England, and the Rotunda Hospital, Dublin, Ireland. Graduated from Boston University in 1882, and from Rotunda Hospital in 1883. Commenced practice in Natick October 1, 1883. Dr. Story's specialty is treating heart and lung diseases, and he has a large practice. Married Elizabeth Flora Howard, and they have no children.

Doctors Sylvester, Wright, Cook, Smith, Manual, Keating, Cochran and Weston are physicians in Natick, but have furnished no items of personal or professional history.

EXPRESS COMPANIES.—*Howe & Co.'s Natick, Cochituate and Boston Express* was established about thirty-five years ago, and performs an important part in the business operations of Natick. The proprietors are G. W. Howe and J. B. Messinger. Their Boston offices are at 91 Kilby Street and 34 Court Square. The Natick office is in Fiske's Brick Block. They employ five or six teams for their Natick work, and about the same number in Boston. On an average this company sends to and brings from Boston a full car-load of goods each day in the week, except the Sabbath.

The Adams Express Company does a large and constantly increasing business in Natick. The local agent is H. G. Wight.

The American Express Company has an important office in this town, reaching all the communities at the North and Northwest, even to the Pacific Ocean. William H. Pond is the Natick agent.

Bailey's Express communicates with Boston daily from South Natick, taking the Boston and Albany Railroad at Wellesley. The proprietor is Almond Bailey, of Bailey's Hotel, South Natick. This express company loads a car each day to and from Boston.

COAL, WOOD, ETC.—*Robinson & Jones* sell annually —Coal, 6190 tons; hay, 450 tons; straw, 75 tons; fertilizers, 40 tons; wood, 600 cords.

Warren A. Bird is a dealer in coal and wood.

The Union Lumber Company deals largely in wood and coal.

NATICK FRATERNITIES.—These are social, educational and benevolent, and most of them secure to the members aid in sickness and a fixed allowance to families at the death of members. The *Natick Citizen* enumerates forty-seven of these societies (without including those connected with the churches), with 4858 members, and concludes that they raise and expend not far from $4000 per month.

On Church Street is the "People's Laundry." Proprietor, Daniel A. Mahoney. Also E. M. Reed's furniture store and W. B. Fletcher's drug store.

The old tavern of South Natick, built during the Revolutionary War by Deacon Eliakim Morrill, the "Uncle Fliakim" of "Old Town Folks," was burned in 1872, and under one of its corner-stones its owner,

[1] See Bacon's "History," page 137.

Mr. Goen Bailey, found seventeen pieces of copper money bearing dates from 1696 to 1775. These are all French or English coins, bearing the names of Louis the XV. of France, and of the first, second and third of the Georges of England. Mr. Almond Bailey, proprietor of Bailey's Hotel, has these coins in charge and will show them.

THE PRESS—*The Natick Bulletin.*—The predecessors of this paper were as follows: In 1856 the *Natick Observer*, E. E. Fisher, proprietor, started with 300 subscribers. Then edited and published by George O. Willard, then by G. W. & D. B. Ryder. No paper during the Civil War. In 1865 came the *Natick Times*, under Washington Clapp, continued till 1869, when, under W.W. Hemenway the name was changed to *Natick Bulletin*. Later Hemenway & Mayhew published it. It was burned out in 1874. Then Cook & Sons, of Milford, took it and conducted it till 1880, when Horace L. Welles became owner. In 1882 it passed into the hands of its present editor and proprietor, Mr. George C. Fairbanks, since which period its subscription list has been greatly enlarged, in eight months from 600 to 1200, and a large job printing establishment built up, printing at one time, besides the *Bulletin*, *The Cochituate Enterprise*, *The Saxonville News* and *Sherborn Mirror*. The form of the *Bulletin* was changed to a quarto in 1885. The aim of this paper is to promote and strengthen every good cause, as the business of Natick and vicinity, education, temperance, general morality and virtue. In politics the *Bulletin* is independent, with Republican proclivities. Mr. Horace Mann has contributed to it, from time to time, many valuable articles upon the early history of this town.

Natick Citizen.—In the autumn of 1878 a number of the leading men in Natick, not feeling satisfied with the newspaper purporting to be published in this town, but really owned and printed by parties in Milford, called a meeting and decided that the interests of Natick demanded a new paper, which should represent more largely and vigorously the business and general welfare of the town. They also became responsible to the amount of $500, should such a paper fail to be a paying investment during its first year. With this guarantee Messrs. Ryder & Morse commenced the publication of the *Natick Citizen* in December, 1878. From the beginning the enterprise was a success, and at the end of the year no part of the $500 was called for. In June, 1882, the firm of Ryder & Morse was dissolved, Mr. Ryder removing to California and Mr. Edwin C. Morse becoming judge of the District Court. A stock company was then formed to continue the publication of the paper, with a capital of $5000, and Mr. Erwin H. Walcott as its editor. After three years' service family afflictions led Mr. Walcott to retire from this position, and the office was leased for a term of years by Mr. Charles D. Howard, who had enjoyed twenty years' experience in journalism as the publisher of the *Peabody Press* and the *Salem Evening Post*. With Mr. Howard, his son, Mr. William T. Howard, is connected, and the *Citizen* is published by Messrs. Charles D. Howard & Son, the former of whom is editor. During the past four years this office has done a large book, job and newspaper business, at one time printing every week no less than five distinct newspapers. It occupies four rooms in the second story of Clark's Block and its employees number ten to twelve. Its equipment is excellent, and it bids fair to become the largest printing establishment between Boston and Worcester. The *Natick Citizen* may be called *independent* with Republican proclivities, and is a strong advocate of temperance, education, morality and all that can advance the public welfare. It is issued every Wednesday.

Natick Weekly Review, proprietor and editor, Mr. Martin Hall. *Independent with Democratic proclivities.* First issue, January 1, 1887. Mr. Hall removed his office to Childs' Block, May 1, 1889. The paper, which has been printed at the office of the *Natick Citizen*, will be issued from the proprietor's new office in future in connection with a job printing business. Mr. Hall prints by steam on a Campbell oscillating press.

MEAT MARKETS.—The meat-markets of Natick and of many of the adjacent towns are supplied by *The Natick Beef Company*, who are receivers of *Swift's Chicago Dressed Beef, etc.*, which comes in the refrigerator cars of the company direct from Chicago. The refrigerator here takes in at once fifty tons of ice.

BIOGRAPHICAL.—*William Biglow* (Bigelow) graduated from Harvard College, 1794. Was a teacher in Salem, and master of the Boston Public Latin School; was a writer of books and pamphlets; was a poet of no mean abilities, and published brief but reliable histories of Sherborn and Natick, the latter in 1830. He died suddenly in Boston, January 12, 1844.

Calvin E. Stowe.—Born in Natick, April 26, 1802, graduate of Bowdoin College and Andover Theological Seminary, was a Professor of Ancient Languages in Dartmouth College, of Sacred Literature in Lane Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio, and held the same place in Andover Theological Seminary. He traveled extensively in Europe, was a voluminous writer and translator, a ripe scholar, and a man of note because of his own abilities and aquirements, but known all over the world as the husband of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "Old Town Folks," and other popular books.

Judge John W. Bacon.—Born in Natick, 1818, graduating at Harvard University in 1843; was long a conspicuous figure in this community, as a teacher, lawyer and especially as judge of the Superior Court. At different times he held some of the most important town offices, and was one of the citizens who did a most important work in establishing the Morse Institute, of the trustees of which he was a prominent member for fifteen years. Judge Bacon died very suddenly while holding court at Taunton,

March 21, 1888. The members of the bar in Natick presented, through their chairman, Hon. C. Q. Tirrell, to the town, in town-meeting assembled, a series of resolutions, setting forth the character and noble work of Mr. Bacon as an estimable citizen, able lawyer and just and enlightened judge, which the town ordered to be placed in full upon their records.

Henry Wilson.—A native of Farmington, N. H., came to Natick, December, 1833. He learned the shoemaker's trade, and was soon a manufacturer of boots and shoes, employing more than 100 men. He continued this business about eleven and a half years, but during all this period was laying up a store of practical knowledge. In 1840 he was a politician engaged in the Presidential campaign; in 1841 a Representative in the General Court; in 1844 a State Senator; in 1855 a Senator in Congress; in 1861 a colonel in the United States service, and the Vice-President of the United States upon the second election of General U. S. Grant to the Presidency. Mr. Wilson was deeply interested in the moral and religious prosperity of Natick, as well as in crushing the slave power that had long ruled our country. He died suddenly at Washington, November 22, 1875. President Grant at once announced his death to the country, setting forth his high character and eminent services, and giving the usual directions to the several departments of government for honoring his memory. His funeral took place in Natick (where his remains rest), December 1, 1875, in the presence of a great assembly.

John O. Wilson—Senior partner in the firm of J. O. Wilson & Co., has long taken a prominent part in the industrial, educational, moral and religious as well as financial affairs of Natick. Mr. Wilson is a native of Hopkinton, came to Natick in 1839, learned the trade of a shoemaker and followed it twelve years. Then he commenced as a manufacturer and is now at the head of the largest boot and shoe factory in Natick, employing 400 persons and selling goods amounting to $1,250,000 annually. For thirty-eight years he has been one of the deacons of the Congregational Church, is the only one of the original trustees of Morse Institute now in office, and is president of the board; is the president of the Natick Savings Bank and of the Natick Electric Company, and one of the directors of the Natick Gas Company.

Daniel Wight—Born in Natick, has been an octogenarian since September 18, 1888. Early a teacher, he fitted for college in Phillips Academy, and graduated from Harvard University in 1837, and from Andover Theological Seminary in 1840; was ordained pastor in Scituate, Mass., September 28, 1842, where he remained for sixteen years. Later he was pastor at Boylston three years, missionary to the Seneca Indians, N. Y., one year, pastor of Second Church, Ashburnham, 1863–71, after which he returned to his native town, where he now resides, engaged in literary and other helpful work of various kinds. Was librarian of Morse Institute, 1875–83. Mr. Wight is the author of the impressive picture, "Progress of Bunyan's Pilgrim from the City of Destruction to the Heavenly City." The London *Morning Advertiser* speaks of this as "a remarkable work of art," and gives an outline of the entire composition, embracing at least one hundred subjects. The picture has been admired by thousands on both sides of the Atlantic. There were 6000 copies and 800 proofs printed, after which Mr. Wight presented the plates (considerably worn) to "the Congregational Publication Society," with 100 of the proofs. The plates were afterwards sold (with the full consent of Mr. Wight) for the sum of $450, to be removed to one of the Western States.

Harrison Harwood.—Was born in North Brookfield Oct. 18, 1814, and was the son of George W. and Annie Biscoe Harwood, of Spencer, Mass. His grandfather was a major in the Revolutionary War.

The pecuniary circumstances of the family prevented young Harwood from obtaining a collegiate education, but in Westminster Academy, which deservedly held a high rank among the institutions of learning in Worcester County, he made great proficency in his studies.

At the age of nineteen he was a popular and successful teacher, and three years later was engaged in business in Adrian, Michigan. At the age of twenty-five he returned to New England, and after having lived for a short time in Oakham, and for a longer period in Fitchburg, he finally settled in Winchendon and soon became one of her most enterprising citizens. In that place he built a fine Town Hall, a large business block, his own pleasant home and a number of other private residences, besides originating and establishing the business of manufacturing rattan baskets. Later, he re-engaged in business in Adrian, but in 1858 settled permanently in Natick.

Here he erected a factory for the manufacture of base-balls, which soon became the foremost of its kind in the country. His three sons were admitted as partners in this enterprise, and the firm "Harwood & Sons" built up a large and lucrative business that continues to give employment to many of the people of Natick.

Ten years after he came to this place Mr. Harwood erected his elegant residence on Walnut Hill, and to his taste and liberality in making improvements is due, in no small degree, the great beauty of that part of the town. His good judgment and large business experience fitted him for faithful and efficient service as one of the selectmen of Natick in 1871, '72 and '73. In the first of these years he was chosen one of the county commissioners of Middlesex County by a large majority, receiving for this office 910 of the 919 votes cast in Natick. Re-elected in 1874, 1877 and 1880, he had, at the time of his death, entered upon the twelfth year of his service in this capacity, and for about seven years had been the chairman of the board.

Mr. Harwood was also one of the projectors of the Natick National Bank and, for a number of years, one of its directors.

In an enterprising and growing town like Natick the calls upon the public spirit and liberality of its leading citizens will always be numerous, and these were met most cheerfully by Mr. Harwood.

But while his industry, ability, gentlemanly bearing and rare judgment eminently fitted him to be a useful and trusted public servant, the same and other qualities of mind and heart made him especially respected and beloved in the domestic circle. His home was his delight. His wife was Miss Adeline Greenwood, of Winchendon. As a husband and a father Mr. Harwood seemed to live largely to promote the comfort and welfare of his family, but for this reason he never overlooked the claims of his neighbors and acquaintances upon his hospitality, and this he dispensed generously. He delighted in the culture of fruit and the adornment of his grounds and those connected with the elegant residences of his sons, all of which are in close proximity.

For two years Mr. Harwood was feeble and, at times, a great but uncomplaining sufferer. He died Aug. 27, 1882, leaving a widow, three sons and one daughter.

Though for a considerable part of his business life a servant of the public, and as such unsparing in his efforts to faithfully and promptly discharge all the duties of the offices to which he was elected, Mr. Harwood was, more than most husbands and fathers, a domestic man, and for this reason his death, at the age of sixty-eight years, was a heavy blow to his family. His married life had covered forty-two years, and his home, as we have seen, was his delight. He was a confiding and loving husband and a trusted father.

To distinguish, in his case, between inherited characteristics and those acquired by a long and diversified business experience, might be difficult, but it is not too much to say that his parents were persons of strong practical common sense and their son was like them. He encountered at times great difficulties and experienced great disappointments in his business career, but these seemed only to make him more persevering and to bring out new and more effective resources for the work before him. Whatever seemed to him the right and best thing to do, he generally found the means of accomplishing.

Mrs. Harwood (formerly Miss Adeline Greenwood), is the daughter of Henry and Sally Woodbury Greenwood, of Winchendon.

They were married May 21, 1840. Her father was a farmer. She and her daughter have for their home the beautiful dwelling-house, with pleasant surroundings, that was erected by the deceased husband and father.

The three sons have families as follows:

Henry G. married, December 24, 1865, Miss Isabella Simonds Bryant, of Templeton, Massachusetts. They have one son, born January 22, 1870, Augustus Bryant Harwood. Harrison married, May, 1868, Miss Sarah Jane Winch, of Natick. Their children are Robert W. and Blanche G. Frank W. married, October 3, 1876, Miss Jennie M. Wheaton, who was born in Boston, but resided at Wellesley Hills. Their children are Albert W., born July 25, 1880, and Lelia W., born August 30, 1884.

It should be added that the business inaugurated in Natick by Mr. Harwood (now, June, 1890, controlled entirely by Mr. Harrison Harwood) has given to the family, if not great wealth as this phrase is now generally understood, at least a competence, while the factory has furnished profitable employment to very many in the town of limited means. A very large part of the hard work involved in the manufacture of base-balls can be conveniently done at the homes of the employés, and as leisure can be secured from domestic employments.

The covering of the regulation base-ball (and this is a very important item in its manufacture) must be sewed on by hand. As the best leather only will suffice for this covering, this firm built, some years since, in Natick, a tannery for the production of the best material for ball-covers.

An electric motor has recently been introduced into this factory.

The subject of this sketch was of medium height, compactly and symmetrically built, with dark and penetrating eyes and an attractive countenance.

Edward Walcott was born in Danvers, Mass., May 3, 1810, and was the son of John and Rebecca Newell Walcott, and the eldest of thirteen children, of whom two died in infancy. It was an industrious, laborious, pious family. John Walcott was a farmer and could give to most of his children only such educational advantages as were afforded seventy-five years ago by the public schools. The youngest daughter, however, would have graduated at Mt. Holyoke Seminary had she lived five weeks longer.

The subject of this sketch inherited from his father what may be termed an easy temper coupled with good judgment, and from his mother ambition, hopefulness, foresight and perseverance.

Probably without any definite and settled plan for his life's work he came to Natick when a youth of seventeen or eighteen years, and found a home in the family of Captain William Stone, who lived in the west part of Natick, and whose daughter Elizabeth he married about six years later, or December 25, 1834. Having gained some knowledge respecting the making of shoes, he invested the little money he had been able to save in the stock and implements necessary for this work. This was in 1828, which, as nearly as can be ascertained, was the date of the founding of Natick's great industry—the manufacture of foot-wear.

Lacking a more convenient stand for cutting his leather, young Walcott placed two barrels under some

shade-trees, and upon a wide board laid upon them commenced his work. When the stock first purchased had been used he took his goods to Boston and received for them additional stock and a little money. Though gradually enlarging his business, it was conducted for a number of years in this manner, when Mr. Walcott found himself able to remove to larger and more convenient quarters. Having purchased of Rev. Martin Moore his estate which covered the chief part of what is now West Central Street, with much of the land on both sides of it, and extending from Main Street west to the extreme boundary of Dell Park Cemetery, he moved the parsonage (built by Rev. Freeman Sears) from the corner where the Edward Walcott business block now stands west, and, turning it so as to have it face the north, made it into a comfortable home for himself. This is the house next west of the Edward Walcott block, on the south side of West Central Street. The house next west of this, and fronting north on the same street, was Mr. Walcott's Shoe Factory, in which for many years the cutting and packing was done. At that time no machinery was employed in the manufacture of boots and shoes, and the making of them was chiefly done at the homes of the workmen in this and the neighboring towns, even twenty or thirty miles distant. In 1856 the historian of Natick, Oliver N. Bacon, reported Mr. Walcott as employing about 100 men, and as having manufactured not far from three million pairs of shoes. But this business did not engross all the attention of Mr. Walcott, for, anticipating the wants of the growing village, he was instrumental in the laying out of new streets, and in reclaiming the swampy lands between the Boston and Albany Railroad and the Saxonville Branch, and converting them into good building lots. Spring Street was laid out and built up by Mr. Walcott.

Later he built the Edward Walcott Block, which is still owned by his surviving family, and also erected for himself the spacious and costly residence on West Central Street, now owned and occupied by Mr. Charles W. Gleason. It may safely be asserted that no other man ever built so many houses in Natick as Mr. Walcott, while to his forethought and taste the town is indebted for the long rows of noble shade-trees that add so much to the beauty and comfort of the homes on West Central Street, and awaken at once the admiration of strangers. With an unusual share of public spirit he was a leader in making improvements, and for a number of years was the largest tax-payer in Natick. He was not ambitious for office, but the town found in him a capable and faithful servant, while for a considerable period he was one of the directors of Newton and Framingham Banks. Happy in his domestic life, his home was his delightful retreat, while his numerous cares were perplexing and the gravest responsibilities pressed heavily upon him. Among Mr. Walcott's early associates in Natick were Captain George Herring, [illegible] B. Mann and Henry Wilson. With the latter he was especially intimate, as both were early anti-slavery men from the depths of their souls. "The Underground Railroad," which carried so many bondmen from hard servitude to freedom, had an opening into Mr. Walcott's house, and many an escaping slave found help and protection there and was sent on his way rejoicing.

During the war for the suppression of the Rebellion he was for two years a paymaster in the service of the Government, and stationed mostly at Washington.

By his marriage to Elizabeth Stone, Mr. Walcott had five children, one of whom died in infancy; three sons and a daughter survive him. The eldest of these, Albert, resides in Washington, and is employed in one of the Government departments. The second son resides in Oakland, Cal., and does business in San Francisco. The third son is John W. Walcott, who is, as his father was, a manufacturer of foot-wear in Natick.

The daughter is Mrs. Nichols, a widow, whose home is with her stepmother in the pleasant dwelling where Mr. Walcott spent his last years and died.

His second wife was Mrs. Hannah P. Henry, and they were married December 19, 1850.

When a young man Mr. Walcott was rather slightly built, but as years increased he became a stout man, weighing 180 pounds. His habits were those of the courteous and refined gentleman.

In 1832 he became a member of the Congregational Church, which he always supported with his money and influence.

In politics he was a consistent Republican, though not an ardent partisan.

His last sickness was of about three weeks' duration. It was a case of apoplexy, and he died April 7, 1876.

The interment was in Dell Park Cemetery, which, twenty-seven years before, he had conveyed to the town for burial purposes.

Willard Drury.—The most remote ancestor of Captain Drury, of whom the family in America has any reliable information, was Hugh Drury, whose name appears upon the records of Sudbury in 1641. The year following this date he purchased an estate in that town, but, selling the same four years later, he removed to Boston. There he became a member of the First Church, in 1654, and owned one-half of the Castle Tavern estate, besides lands near the Mill Bridge. He was a house carpenter by trade. Mr. Drury died in July, 1689, and was buried with his wife, Lydia, in the Chapel burying-ground.

The subject of this sketch was of the eighth generation from Hugh, as follows: Hugh[1]; as above John[2]; born in Sudbury May 2, 1646; Thomas[3], born August 10, 1668; Caleb[4], born October 5, 1688; Caleb[5], born May 22, 1713; Caleb[6] (time of birth unknown); Abel[7], married, December 1, 1803, Nabby Broad, of Natick. Willard was a son of Abel, and was born April 18,



Willard Drug



Leonard Irvine

1806, in the house now belonging to the estate of Edmund W. Wood, a little west of the Waban Rose green-houses, for that was the home of Abel Drury, his father.

Willard Drury was the younger of two children, both sons, his brother Otis having been born November 26, 1804. Mr. Otis Drury lived in Boston, and was in business there. He died October 2, 1883. Captain Willard Drury lived in the house in which he was born forty-seven years. In childhood and youth he attended the public schools of the town, and for a time was a student in Leicester Academy. Arriving at manhood, he became a teacher, though devoting himself chiefly to farming.

In early, as well as in mature life, he was distinguished for his industry, earnestness, perseverance and fidelity to trusts. Whatever he was expected to do he found means of accomplishing, provided it was right. Difficulties that would dishearten most men only served to make him more resolute, and to call into requisition new and more effective resources for overcoming them. No other man ever detested shams more heartily than did Mr. Drury, while he had what amounted to a genuine reverence for what was real, true, just and right. These characteristics he retained to the last, and never did they serve him and his fellow-townsmen better than during the last twenty-five years of his life. His mother was a very capable and strong-minded woman, in the best sense of this much-abused term, and her son Willard inherited most of her best qualities of mind and of heart.

Mr. Drury cared little for official distinction, but when called to office he was faithful in meeting all its responsibilities. It is doubtless within the bounds of truth to say that more than to any other person or persons the town of Natick owes to Mr. Drury one of its most beneficent and valuable institutions. Reference is here made to The Morse Institute, the general history of which will be found in its place in this sketch of Natick. It may properly be stated here, however, that, after the town had voted to accept the gift of Miss Mary Ann Morse for the founding of a library, Mr. Drury was the first named of the five trustees appointed by the town to take charge of the property and to carry into execution the will of Miss Morse respecting the same. After the trustees had been legally organized, and had entered upon their work, such difficulties and complications appeared that a vote was carried in a town-meeting to refuse the offer of Miss Morse, and to annul the act appointing a Board of Trust. It is understood that a part of the trustees favored this last-mentioned proceeding, and were indisposed to make any additional efforts to save the property for the town, but the majority persevered and brought about the appointment of Mr. Drury as administrator of the estate of Miss Morse with the will annexed. At once he entered upon the difficult work before him with great earnestness, and for some years managed the whole matter with so much care and skill that, while the claims against the estate were satisfied, the property increased rapidly and largely in value; so that before 1872 the trustees could report to the town that the estate was substantially settled, and a large fund was ready for building purposes and the purchase of a library.

With less resolution, courage and skill in management on the part of Mr. Drury and his associates (of whom in this matter he was the acknowledged leader) the Morse Institute, with its large and valuable free library, reading-rooms, etc., would never have been established. Probably few, if any, of the multitudes who enjoy from week to week the benefits of this institution have any adequate idea of the narrowness of the margin between success and failure in this case, or of the amount of life-consuming anxiety and labor that was involved in saving this treasure for the town of Natick.

Mr. Drury's first wife was Miss Louisa Haynes, who was born April 22, 1805, and died August 26, 1849. Their only child, Abigail, became the wife of Mr. Isaac M. Fellows September 5, 1854. Mr. and Mrs. Fellows have a pleasant home on West Central Street.

June 1, 1853, Mr. Drury married Miss Roxa Broad, of Natick. She was born February 13, 1823, and died October 5, 1875. Their only child, Ella M., was born August 16, 1856. She was a member of the first class that graduated at Wellesley College. As an instructor in microscopy she spends a portion of each year in Boston, and devoted to the same specialty she is a member of the faculty of instruction of Martha's Vineyard Summer Institute, the sessions of which open each year in the month of July and continue a number of weeks.

In 1853 Mr. Drury sold the house in which he was born and had hitherto lived, with all the land connected with it on the north side of the street (now "the Waban Rose" property), to Mr. William Henry Howard, and built for himself a new house on the south side of the street. This, standing upon eighteen acres of reserved land, was ever afterwards his home. It is the well-known place now occupied by Mr. Browning.

In stature Mr. Drury was tall and large, and till he was injured by lifting a burden too heavy, in the later years of his life, he was strong and had great powers of endurance. His parents became members of the Congregational Church in 1808, and he united with the same Nov., 1866.

Mr. Drury's last sickness, of a few weeks' duration, brought with it much suffering, and he died of cystitis (inflammation about the bladder) July 13, 1882. By will he left funds to the town of Natick to secure care for his burial lot in Dell Park Cemetery.

Leonard Morse,[1] belonged to one of the ancient

[1] This family name was, and is, variously spelled, in different, and

families, certainly of America, if not of England, and one of the most numerous. Reliable records trace his descent from Samuel Morse, who was born in England in 1585, and came to America with his wife, Elizabeth, and, at least, three sons, and settled in Dedham, Mass., in 1637.

Samuel Morse was not one of the "Pilgrim Fathers," but a stanch Puritan.

The subject of this sketch was of the ninth generation from Samuel the immigrant. The names of these ancestors, with those of their wives, are here given.

Samuel[1], wife Elizabeth; Daniel[2], wife Lydia; Daniel[3], wife Elizabeth Barbour; Daniel[4], wife Susannah Holbrook; Obadiah[5], wife Mary Walker; Daniel[6], wife Hannah Eames; Henry[7], wife Eunice Dowse; George[8], wife Abigail Underwood. LEONARD[9] was born at Sherborn, Mass., Jan. 27, 1817. He had two brothers, George, born Oct. 13, 1821, and John U., born Jan. 21, 1829, and a sister, Eleanor C., who was born Oct. 17, 1819.

The father of this family was a farmer, and removed from Sherborn to Little South, now Southville Natick. Mr. Leonard Morse, like many other Natick men when laying the foundations of their prosperity, learned in youth the trade of a shoemaker, and not content to be simply a workman in that business, he established a shoe factory upon the east side of South Main Street, nearly opposite the dwelling-house of Mr. Dexter Washburn. This was before the introduction of machinery in the manufacture of footwear. All the work was done by hand, and it was a slow way to make a fortune. It is certain Mr. Morse did not acquire any considerable portion of his wealth in this manner, but he gained what was then more valuable,—a knowledge of men and skill and shrewdness in business.

The exact date of his withdrawing from this, which is the chief industry of Natick, is uncertain, but the time came when he turned his attention to investments in real estate and the loaning of money, and this was his business during all of the latter part of his life. For many years he always had funds to loan in almost any amount on good security, and doubtless did vastly more in this branch of business than any other capitalist in Natick. Rarely did his good judgment fail him in making his numerous investments.

Among his valuable possessions in real estate was the lot upon the east side of Main Street, next south of the block which contains the post-office. After the great fire, Jan. 13, 1874, had swept off all the cheaper buildings which had previously covered both sides of Main Street in that part of the village, Mr. Morse erected upon the lot just named the Masonic Block. This is built of brick, with a marble front, and is three stories in height, with stores upon the lower floor, business offices and rooms upon the second floor, while above are the spacious and convenient quarters occupied by the Masonic Fraternity. This is one of two or three ornamental blocks in Natick, and no other is more conveniently located for business purposes.

May 1, 1842, Mr. Morse married Miss Mary Ann Stone, daughter of Mr. Gilbert and Mrs. Eunice Underwood Stone, of Hopkinton, Mass. They had no children. Mrs. Morse survives her husband and retains their pleasant home on North Main Street, corner of Mechanic Street.

For two years before his death the health of Mr. Morse had been gradually failing, but he was confined to his house three weeks only. His death occurred April 27, 1888, and the immediate cause of it was apoplexy. His age was seventy-one years and three months, and he was buried in his lot in Dell Park Cemetery. Mr. Morse always took a deep interest in whatever affected the growth or prosperity of Natick.

Captain Daniel Morse, of the fourth generation from Samuel, of Dedham, was a man of note in the early history of this town. Born in 1694, he married, in 1719, Hannah Dyer, a daughter of his step-mother, and died January 7, 1773. He was the captain of the first military company raised in Natick, and when the plantation was to be erected into a parish, in 1746, he was authorized by the General Court to call the first meeting. His intellectual ability and undaunted courage fitted him to be a successful leader among the white settlers and the resident Indians.

Samuel O. Daniels was born in Framingham November 10, 1844. He came to Natick when a young man, and after having rendered himself familiar with the business of a druggist, opened, on Main Street, a druggist's store, on his own account. In the great fire in 1874, which consumed nearly the entire central portion of the village, Mr. Daniels was one of the sufferers; but when Clark's Block was rebuilt he opened a new and very attractive druggist establishment in that block, at the corner of Main and Summer Streets, and directly under the Natick National Bank. In this business he continued till the time of his death.

From his interest in scientific pursuits, especially in chemistry, it was natural that he should be among the first of the citizens of Natick to consider the advisability of introducing electric lights as one of the

often in the same localities. Morse, Moss, Morrs, Morrse and Mors comprise the chief variations, and to these possibly Mazz may be added. It is supposed, with good reason, that the name was spelled at an early period *Mors* (the Latin for death), as it was spelled by the Faculty of Harvard College in granting early degrees to members of this family, and that to obscure the original meaning of the word some branches of the family added an *e*, others an *s* or a double *s*, while some omitted the *r*. The motto upon the coat of arms of the Morse family for more than 500 years, or from the time of Edward III. has been, "In Deo non armis fido,"—"I trust in God, not in arms." Of the numbers of the family it may be said that the Morse Register, published forty years ago, and containing a record of seven divisions of the family has, according to its compiler, 20,000 entries of births, marriages and deaths. It is nearly certain that the seven heads of these divisions had a common ancestor.



institutions of the town. As the result of inquiries and deliberations upon this matter, in which Mr. Daniels took a leading part, six gentlemen of Natick formed a syndicate for the purpose of establishing here an electric plant and lighting the streets and business establishments of the town by electricity. Of this syndicate Mr. Daniels was president and general manager, and Hon. Francis Bigelow was treasurer. A large building was erected on Summer Street and furnished with the appliances for generating electricity, and the business thus projected was prosecuted with good success. But not many months elapsed before it was deemed best to dissolve the syndicate and to organize and carry on the work as a regular corporation. For this purpose a charter was obtained from Maine, and the Natick Electric Company was organized, with Deacon J. B. Wilson as president, Hon. Francis Bigelow as treasurer, and Mr. Daniels as Manager. This was in 1886, and seventeen stockholders constituted the company, with a capital stock of $14,800. The system adopted was the Thomson-Houston, and, in 1889, there were thirty-six public and four hundred and fifty commercial lamps in use. Since the date just mentioned the number of both kinds has considerably increased, the town appropriating each year a larger sum for arc lights, and maintaining them in all the larger centres of business, while the incandescent are found year by year in a greater number of factories, stores and offices. Business has been greatly facilitated by these movements, and the same may be said of the comfort of the people and the security of their property.

Recently, the company, of which Mr. Daniels was, for a time, general manager, has sold its entire effects to a new electric corporation, which is building, in the northwest part of the village, new and greatly enlarged works for the generating machinery. As the result of these changes, and the founding of a new and costly electrical plant, the running of electric cars through the village of Natick, and a new and easy connection with Boston, are among the anticipations of the near future. Of this entire electric enterprise Mr. Daniels should have the credit of being one of the foremost and persevering originators. In the midst of his work he died very suddenly of apoplexy, March 28, 1888, at the age of forty-three years.

CHAPTER XLII.

TOWNSEND.

BY HAMAR B. SAWTELLE.

DESCRIPTIVE.

THE town of Townsend is situated in the northwest angle of the county, in latitude 42° 38′ north, and longitude 4° 19′ very nearly east from Washington, on the northern margin of the State, adjoining New Hampshire. It is forty miles northwesterly from Boston, thirty-two miles northerly from Worcester, and fifty-six miles southerly from Concord, New Hampshire. In 1792 the selectmen of Townsend, in company with the selectmen of the seven adjoining towns, each in their turn, caused an accurate survey of the town and a plan thereof to be made. The several boundaries of the town since that date have remained unaltered in the least particular. According to that survey it is bounded as follows:

"Beginning at the northeast corner and running south 4° west on Pepperell line 300 rods to Groton old corner; thence south 14° west on Pepperell line 880 rods to the northwest corner of Groton; thence south 14° west on Groton line, 270 rods to the northwest corner of Shirley; thence south 14° west on Shirley line, 500 rods to the northwest corner of Lunenburg; thence south 62½° west, 1880 rods to the northeast corner of Lunenburg, in the east line of Ashby; thence north 9° east by Ashby line, 1360 rods to the northeast corner of Ashby; thence south 82½° east by the State line and Mason south line, 1106 rods to the southeast corner of Mason; thence by the State line and the south line of Brookline, 760 rods to the point of beginning; and contains by estimation 19,271 acres."

The town contains a trifle more than five and one-half miles square, or thirty and one-ninth square miles. The surface of the town, except that portion near the river, is greatly diversified with hills and valleys. On the banks of the Squanicook, through the entire length of the town, there are areas of level sandy plains. Some of these, that are only slightly elevated above the natural surface of the river, are fertile and afford good remuneration to the husbandman for his labor. The rocks are ferruginous gneiss, Merrimac schist, sienite and St. John's group. There are ledges which afford large quantities of stone for building purposes; some of them can be split and worked to good advantage, and only a small portion of iron, which is one of their constituent parts, prevents a much more extensive use of them. On the east side of the Nissequassick Hill a vein of plumbago crops out, which has never been investigated, and nothing is known in regard to its quality or value. The borders of the town, except at the southeastern part, are hilly. The principal hills are Nissequassick Hill, West Hill, Barker Hill, Battery Hill and Bayberry Hill.

NISSEQUASSICK HILL embraces the northeastern part of the town, from the Harbor to the State line, the northern slope extending into New Hampshire. Since the settlement of the town this hill has been more densely populated than any other portion thereof, except the villages. It contains some rough ledges and broken crags on its eastern brow, except which, it has few ravines or abrupt elevations; and its soil, although somewhat rocky, is both arable and productive. It is a graceful elevation, and has many standpoints of scenic beauty. Many charming prospects, worthy of an ascent to behold, may be seen from its summit. The Monadnock, the Watatic, the Wachusett and the bold elevations at the north, including Jo English Hill, together with the mountains of New Ipswich, Peterborough and Lyndeborough, in New

Hampshire, are distinctly visible and stand out in bold relief, resembling turrets in the sky belonging to the walls of some ethereal world. The farm-buildings situated on the summit of this hill are in plain sight of portions of several towns situated at the west and northwest.

West Hill, situated west and nearly opposite the hill just described, and of about the same elevation, lies also in the northern part of the town, extending farther into New Hampshire. It, however, does not, take up so much of the territory of the town as Nissequassick Hill. It contains, ledgy, waste lands, in which are wild ravines and swamps, caused by rocky barriers, which impede the natural course of the rivulets. Two or three farms on its summit constitute all the soil on this hill suitable for cultivation; and it is generally covered with a growth of young forest trees of different sizes and ages, for which purpose it is best adapted. Closing up to this hill on the west, comes

Barker Hill is sometimes called "Walker Hill," it being the place of residence at one time of Deacon Samuel Walker. The eastern brow of this hill contains some good soil, on which are two or three well-cultivated farms. The balance of its territory is quite rough and ledgy and is the largest tract of uninhabited land in Townsend. Some parts of this hill are covered by a nice growth of chestnut timber.

Battery Hill is a name applied to a part of an unbroken spur of the Turkey Hills which extend from Pearl Hill, in Fitchburg, north to New Ipswich, New Hampshire, bordering the whole western line of the town. The name was applied to that part of this range over which passes the old county road from West Townsend to Ashby, extending, perhaps, a mile both north and south of this thoroughfare. It was so called from a garrison-house which stood on its eastern slope in the town of Ashby, on which a cannon was placed by the settlers to give an alarm in case of the incursions of Indians. A few farms on this hill, at the west and northwest of Ash Swamp, are of excellent quality, the soil containing just enough argillaceous matter to prevent the cultivated fields from being washed by heavy rains, and to hold moisture during the drouths of summer. Some heavy crops of grass have been taken off from these farms.

Bayberry Hill, in the southwest part of the town, has nearly half of its territory in Lunenburg. On the north and west sides of this hill its ascent is quite steep, and the approaches to it are somewhat difficult. Two or three hundred acres on its top are comparatively level. The land here is rocky, cold and backward in the spring. Formerly there were several farmers who produced large and valuable crops of peaches on this hill, but for the last few years there has been a small amount of this fruit sent to market from this town. There is a standpoint on the summit of this hill from which a prospect of panoramic beauty may be seen, having the three villages of Townsend in the foreground situated about equidistant in an elongated basin, widening from the northwest to the southeast and shut in by these hills, dotted with white dwellings, pastures, fields and forests. Five brooks which drain parts of Mason, Ashby, New Ipswich, Fitchburg and Lunenburg converge into Ash Swamp, situated in the west part of the town.

Squanicook River is the product of these streams, and it takes its course through Townsend from northwest to southeast, turning to the right on leaving the town and in its onward course forms the boundary line between Groton and Shirley till it empties into the Nashua. It is the largest tributary to that river, and has furnished motive-power which has been utilized, since 1734, at several places in this town.

Worden Pond, a small sheet of clear water, situated in the southwest part of the town, near Ashby line, is the only natural pond worthy of notice. It has no visible outlet, and the probability is that it has some subterranean connection with Pearl Hill Brook, whereby it becomes replenished, while other streams, during a drouth, afford a small flow of water. It is considerably frequented in early winter for fishing through the ice.

As a farming town, Townsend is inferior to Lunenburg and some other towns in Worcester County, but compared with the other joining towns, it is naturally as good and better than some of them. The farms have been neglected, so that agriculture is not a branch of industry of which the people are particularly proud. Too much attention has been given to the coopering business, to the detriment of good cows, cleanly cultivated fields and well-filled barns; yet its inhabitants regard their lines as having "fallen in pleasant places, and that they have a goodly heritage." The situation of the town is comparatively favorable for genial climatic influences. The first precursor of winter, in earnest, is seen in the powdered crests of the hills at the west and northwest, on the mornings which follow the cold Thanksgiving rain-storms. Snow appears in that direction, occasionally, two or three weeks before it is seen on Townsend soil. Certain changes in the air are noticeable in traveling to the northwest from Boston. In spring, vegetation at Concord, a little outside of the ocean air, is different from that at the tide-water. Commencing at the hills bordering on Townsend on the west, another atmospheric change is noticeable; while at the distance of twenty-five miles farther at the northwest there is considerable difference in the climate. At the same time the extremes of heat and cold are greater on the plains here than either on our own hills or those at the northwest. The cold waves of air, following up the Nashua and Squanicook to the Harbor Pond, cause that locality and its surroundings to be the coldest of any part of Townsend.

The provincial Governor assumed the responsibility of giving names to towns and counties, which were generally called for one of his intimate friends or

some person of rank or of the nobility. The Governor named this town in honor of Viscount Charles Townshend, His Majesty's Secretary of War, and his contemporary. About 1780 the town clerk and others began to spell Townshend by omitting the *h* and giving it its present orthography. Thence till about 1800 the custom was to spell the word both ways, since which time the correct method of spelling has been abandoned, perhaps contrary to the principles of good taste or justice. The town has three postal centres, known as Townsend Harbor, Townsend and West Townsend, each situated about two miles from the other and clustering on both banks of the Squanicook. The Peterborough and Shirley Railroad, a branch of the Fitchburg Railroad (completed in 1849), passes through the town, touching the three villages daily with three regular passenger trains each way.

The first paper title to any land in Townsend was made on the 6th day of September, 1676, which conveyed to William Hathorn a mile square, of which the following is a copy :

"Layd out to the Worspfⁿ" William Hanthorn, Esq., six hundred and forty acres of land, more or less, lying in the Wilderness on the north of Groaton river, at a place called by the Indians, Wistequassuck, on the west side of sayd hill. It begins at a great Hemlock tree standing on the west side of the sayd hill marked with H, and runns north and by east three hundred and twenty pole, to a maple tree marked wth H ; from thence it runns West and by north three hundred and twenty pole to a stake and stoues ; from thence it runns south & by west three hundred and twenty pole to a great pⁱne in a little swamp, marked wth H ; from thence it runns east & by south to the first hemlock. All the lynes are rvnne & the trees are well marked. It contaynes a mile square and is layed exactly square, as may be easily demonstrated by ye platform inserted vnderneath & is on file.

"Jonathan Danforth, Survejor.

"The court allows & approves of this returne, so it interferes not wth former grants."

William Hathorn was a magistrate in Salem when the Quakers commenced their eccentric and indecent proceedings "against the peace and dignity" of the Colony ; and a captain of the Salem militia during the Indian war, afterwards promoted to the rank of major. He was a deputy to the General Court two or three times, Speaker in 1661, and a man of prominence. "Hathorn's farm," so-called, was situated on the western slope of what was formerly known as Wallace Hill, including the meadows at its base, and was undoubtedly selected from the unbroken wilderness on account of the spontaneous growth of grass which this meadow produced. The Indian name in this grant has been found spelled quite differently in different records. In both the town and the proprietors' records the word is almost invariably Nissequassick. This word translated signifies the two pine place (*nissi*, two ; *coos*, pines ; and *ick*, a locative particle). This word has never been applied to any other locality. There is no evidence showing that the Indians ever made Townsend a permanent place of abode. There might have been two large or peculiarly situated pines on this hill which served them as a guide in their journeys from Lancaster to Dunstable, where the Nashua River joins the Merrimac, which was one of their favorite fishing-grounds.

In 1702 the Colony of Massachusetts Bay commenced issuing paper money to pay debts which accumulated from the expense of the Indian wars and other causes. The inflation of the currency, together with a strong passion and greed for landed estates, brought to the surface a class of speculators who were anxious to have new towns granted and surveyed.

In 1719 a certain number of men, the most prominent of whom belonged to Concord, petitioned the General Court for the grant of two towns at the "Westerly side of Groton." This was soon after Groton had been re-surveyed by Samuel Danforth, who established the northwest corner of Groton on the easterly side of "Wistequaset Hill," thereby giving to Groton the gore of land between the north line of that town and the south line of old Dunstable, having the east lines of Lunenburg and Townsend as they now are for its western boundary. By this survey Groton obtained large portions of land which are now included within the limits of the townships of Pepperell and Shirley. On the 7th of December, 1719, the General Court made the following grant which is of great importance, for it is not only the foundation of the municipal rights of the town, but it is the base upon which rest the titles to all the real estate in Townsend except Hathorn's mile square. It is here given entire from an exact copy of the colonial records :

"*Anno Regni Regis Georgii Magnæ Britanniæ Sexto.* At a great and General Court or Assembly for his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, begun and held at Boston, upon Wednesday, the twenty-seventh of May, 1719, and continued by Prorogation to Wednesday, the fourth of November, 1719, and then met, being their second session."

"Monday, December 7, 1719.

"In the house of Representatives, the vote for granting two new towns was brought down from the board with Amendments, which were read and agreed to. And the said vote is as follows, viz.: *Voted*, That two new towns, each containing a Quantity of land not exceeding six miles square, be laid out in as regular Forms as Land will allow ; to be settled in a defensible manner on the Westerly side of Groton West line, and that William Tailor, Samuel Thaxter, Francis Fullam, Esqrs., Capt. John Shipley and Mr. Benjamin Whittemore be a committee fully empowered to allot and grant out the land contained in each of the said towns (a lot not to exceed Two hundred and fifty acres), to such persons, and only such as will effectually settle the same within the space of three years next ensuing the laying out and granting such by the Committee, who are instructed to admit eighty families or persons in each town at least who shall pay to the said Committee for the use of the Province, the sum of five pounds for each allotment, which shall be granted and allotted as aforesaid ; and that each person to whom such lot or lots shall be granted or laid out, shall be obliged to build a good Dwelling House thereon, and inhabit it ; and also to break up and fence in three acres of land at the least, within the term of three years ; and that there be laid out and reserved for the first settled minister a good, convenient Lot ; also a Lot for the school, and a ministerial lot and a Lot for Harvard College, of two hundred and fifty acres each ; and the Settlers be obliged to build a good, convenient House for the worship of God, in each of the said Towns, within the term of four years ; and to pay the charges of the necessary surveys, and the Committee for their service in and about the premises ; and that the Committee give public notice of the time and place when and where they will meet to grant allottments.

"Consented to Saml. Shute."

The townships of Lunenburg and Townsend, by this order or grant of the General Court, were called into existence from the "countrie land" of the Province and from a territory previously called Turkey Hills. From the date of the grant till each of these towns was surveyed and received its respective charter, Lunenburg was called Turkey Hills, and Townsend was called The North Town, sometimes Turkey Hills North Town. The committee named in the grant called their first meeting at the inn of Jonathan Hobart, of Concord, on the 11th of May, 1720, when seventy-two of the eighty shares in North Town were taken up, some subscribers paying the five pounds, others paying only a part, and others nothing at that time. Twenty-four of these seventy-two shareholders belonged to Concord. At a subsequent meeting the other eight shares were taken, but the names of those who took them do not appear on the manuscript record of Francis Fullam, the clerk of the committee. This manuscript is preserved in Harvard College Library. It was impossible for the original proprietors of the town to conform to the strict letter of the grant. The Indian war of those days delayed the settlement of the town for some time and men hesitated to leave the older settlements for fear of Indian incursions. The "convenient house for the worship of God" was not built (in part) till 1730. It was a rude, cheap house and the only one in town that was built of sawed lumber. Only a few of the men who met at Concord with the committee to subscribe for an eightieth part of the town in 1719 ever saw the town, the settlement was so long delayed. The first birth in Townsend was in 1728, during which year a few families came here from Chelmsford, Groton and Woburn. Some men from Groton, who had land here, came up and cleared the land in the fall of the year for two or three years previous and returned home and spent the winter. The petitioners of the North Town for a charter, in 1732, signed by the settlers of the North Town, represented "that the town was completely filled with inhabitants," when probably there were less than two hundred people in town. One of the conditions in all land grants was, "Provided it doth not interfere with any former grant." Dunstable received its charter in 1673, or about fifty years before any man except Major Hatborn owned any Townsend soil. The North Town men found their east line, bounded on Groton, running north 17½° east from Lunenburg corner, was less than six miles long; so they interfered with a former grant by pushing their northeast corner up into Dunstable, fearing that they would not get their six miles square, as was promised by the act of 1719. They desired and expected their east line, running northerly from Lunenburg northeast corner, to continue "north seventeen and one-half degrees east," after reaching Groton northwest corner, and penetrate the town of Dunstable in that direction. This created a bitter controversy between the two towns, the settlement of which has never been explained and no one knows much about it from the fact that the Dunstable records of that period are lost. In 1732 the General Court settled the matter *partly* in the charter for Townsend by dividing the territory claimed by Townsend between the two towns; but until the Province line was established, in 1741, as will be seen by the charter, Townsend had no northeast corner.

CHARTER OF TOWNSEND.

"Whereas the northerly part of Turkey Hills, so-called, is completely filled with inhabitants, and who are now about settling a learned and orthodox minister among them, and have addressed this court that they may be set off a district and sep(a)rate town, and be vested with all the powers and privileges of a town; Be it therefore enacted by his excellency the governor, council and representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same,—

"That the northerly part of Turkey Hills, as hereafter bounded and described, be and hereby is set off and and constituted a sep(a)rate township by the name of Townshend, the bounds of said township to be as followeth, vict.: Beginning at a heap of stones at the northwest corner of Lunenburg; so running east thirty-two degrees and one-half south, three thousand and fifty rods, to a heap of stones in Groton line; then bounded on Groton line, north seventeen degrees and an half east one thousand four hundred and forty rods to a heap of stones at Groton northwest corner; from thence running due north, leaving eighty acres out of the plan to the town of Dunstable; then running from Dunstable west line on province land, west thirty-one degrees and an half north two thousand two hundred and forty rods, to a tree marked; then running south, thirty-six degrees west to the northwest corner of Lunenburg, where the bounds first began, one thousand nine hundred and twenty rods. Provided, That nothing herein contained be construed to effect the rights of the proprietors of the land called Hathorn's farm, and the inhabitants of the said lands, as before described and bounded; be and hereby are vested with the powers, privileges and immunities that the inhabitants of any of the towns of this province are or ought to be vested with. Provided, That the said town of Townshend do, within the space of two years from the publication of this act, procure and settle a learned orthodox minister of good conversation, and make provision for his comfortable and honorable support. In the House of Representatives, June 29, 1732, ordered that Mr. Joseph Stevens, one of the principal inhabitants of the town of Townshend, be and hereby is fully impowered to assemble and convene the inhabitants of said town to chose town officers to stand until the anniversary meeting in March next, any law, usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

"Sent up for concurrence,

"J. QUINCY, *Speaker.*

"In council June 30, 1732, Received and concured,

"J. WILLARD, *Secretary.*

"June 30, 1732, consented to J. BELCHER."

From the grant it appears that Townsend acquired, in 1732, about forty-two square miles of land instead of thirty-six, as contemplated by the act of 1719. Perhaps this liberality is traceable to the fact that some of the members of the General Court were part owners of the North Town and assisted in making the survey of the town. Its northeast and southwest lines were parallel, the northeast line being somewhat shorter than the southwest line. The southwest corner of Dunstable was about two miles farther west than a line drawn due north from Groton northwest corner, so that the northeast line of Townsend must have been more than nine miles long, and the southwest line more than nine miles and one-half. Probably it was the intention of the General Court that the proprietors of Townsend and Dunstable should agree upon a point for a northeast corner of Townsend which was to be legalized at a future period.

The running of the Province line, in 1741, settled

many disputes about land titles, and certainly was a great benefit to New Hampshire, which received a fresh impetus in civilization by acquiring from Massachusetts twenty-eight townships which were chartered by that Province, besides large tract of land never incorporated into towns. Dunstable (then in Middlesex County) was severed in twain, the larger and more eligible part being left in New Hampshire. Townsend lost about one-third of its territory by this line but found a northeast corner of the town located considerably south of the point for which it contended. Parts of Brookline, Mason and New Ipswich, in New Hampshire, were then taken from Townsend. The proprietors of Townsend felt much uneasiness, on account of their loss of land caused by this new line. Jasher Wyman, who was clerk of the proprietors, not only lost his land, a part of which was under cultivation, but his improvements, including a mill which stood near the spot where the mill situated nearest to the State line in Brookline now stands. Colonel William Lawrence, of Groton, lost about four hundred acres of non-resident land, and John Farrar was forced away from his home by a writ of ejectment.

Jonas Clark and John Stevens were also losers. These lands are now in Brookline. These losers of land petitioned the General Court at different times for grants of land to make themselves whole, and the court responded favorably, and granted tracts of land at three different times, none of which were ever any benefit to the proprietors. The fourth grant was made in 1785, when a township marked No. III, on Rufus Putnam's plan of a set of towns in the extreme east part of Lincoln County (now Washington), in the district of Maine, was granted to the proprietors. The Townsend people never received any profit from this grant, and the township itself (which is now Charlotte) was not settled till 1810, or about sixty years after the lands in Townsend were lost.

The town of Ashby was chartered in 1767. It was taken from Fitchburg, Ashburnham and Townsend, the last-named town contributing more than one-half of the territory to make the new town. The only alterations in the boundary-lines of Townsend since it was chartered were caused by the establishing of the Province line in 1741, and the creating of the town of Ashby in 1767.

There were, at first, two divisions of land out, running northerly from the river, by the line of Groton, across the east end of the town. In 1733 a third division was made which extended nearly two miles west from Groton line. The east end of the "House Lots" abutted on a "six rod way, running nearly north and south," which is now the road leading over Nissequassick Hill. The west end of the second division also abutted on this road, which was the longest and widest highway laid out by the proprietors, now in use. The proprietors made ample reservations for roads. Almost every deed closed with these words: "There is also an allowance for a way whenever the town shall think it necessary." No matter how rugged and precipitous, marshy or ledgy, whether the land was on Rattlesnake Hill or the rough peaks which are now in Northern Ashby, that ubiquitous "allowance for a way" was sure to be present. The road entering the northeast corner of the town, running nearly south for a short distance, then turning easterly and running about half-way from the State line to the harbor, to the point where one road turns toward Pepperell and another westerly, was *the road* between the first and second divisions then laid out. No original proprietor, according to the terms of the court's committee, could hold more than 200 acres in one body, although he had a right to one-eightieth of all the land in the town. Lots in these divisions contained about fifty acres, and are designated in the proprietors' records as "original house lots." There were more than 100 lots in these three divisions, and was it determined by lot or chance where each man's lot should be located, nothing could be more fair than this method. After this drawing, when the fourth and fifth divisions were laid out, the second fifty acres or more would be exchanged by these men with each other, so that their lands would become more in one body. Sometimes, if a proprietor were not present at a drawing, a committee, composed of men of their number and choice, and sometimes a committee appointed by the General Court, would designate the lot. At this distance from that period, not much being a matter of record, it cannot be expected that the precise location of the lands and houses of many of the first settlers can be designated; and if it were practicable, from the necessity of the case, any description that would be quite intelligible to people now living would perhaps be obscure and without meaning to the future men and women of Townsend. Some of the first settlers are worthy of particular notice.

JASHER WYMAN, the first clerk of the proprietors, and who filled that office for more than twenty years, was a man of more than ordinary ability. His spelling and language in the records are excellent, and his penmanship good. He came from Woburn. When he lost his property and land in New Hampshire he moved back to one of his lots in Townsend, where he died September 19, 1757.

Captain John Stevens came from Groton, and was an innholder. Some of the regularly called meetings of the proprietors were held at his public-house. He was a justice of the peace, a land surveyor and the owner of more acres of land than any other person in this vicinity.

EPHRAIM SAWTELL came from Groton, and his house and land were on the north side of the Harbor Pond, his house-lot extending northerly to land of Jeremiah Ball. He was strictly puritanical in his

views and acts. He was moderator of several of the proprietors' meetings, and lost considerable by the Province line of 1741.

Timothy Heald lived in the south part of the town, on the road leading from the first bridge above the Harbor Pond, near the top of the hill, where a traveler first begins to lose sight of the Harbor, going towards "South Row." Tradition informs us that he was a disciple of Nimrod, and that he was noted for his destruction of wild beasts. He lived in a garrison-house, the cellar of which can be seen at the present time.

Joseph Stevens, who was empowered by the act of incorporation to call the first meeting of the proprietors, was a man of considerable wealth and of strict integrity. He lived on the second lot on the road leading from Jeremiah Ball's house, northeasterly, at the base of the hill, near Pepperell line.

John Wallace, his brothers and nephews were of Scotch-Irish descent. They settled on Nissequassick Hill, which was for a long time known as Wallace Hill. At one time there were five or six families by this name in Townsend, but at present there is not a voter in town descended from the original settler by the name of Wallace. John Wallace bought his farm from Thomas Phillips in 1734, which was situated on the east end of Hathorn's farm, abutting on "the six-rod way." They were coopers, and introduced this branch of industry into this town. This business has, from that time to the present, brought more money into Townsend than all other industries added together. For some reason unknown to the writer, Joseph Stevens waived his right of calling the first meeting of the proprietors after the incorporation of the town, and this duty devolved on Benjamin Precott, Esq., of Groton, who, in His Majesty's name, required and commanded John Stevens to "notify the proprietors of Townshend to meet at the Publick Meeting-House on the last Monday in July," for the choice of town officers and other purposes, which was accordingly done.

Daniel Taylor lived in the south part of the town. He owned a large quantity of land and was a slave-owner, and besides he had much personal property.

Isaac Spaulding came from Chelmsford at an early date and lived on the south side of the Harbor Pond. He was a man of influence and the first deacon of the church in Townsend and one of the selectmen several times. Our limits forbid anything further concerning the settlers and founders of this town, quite a number of whom were military men, some holding commissions under the King, and again under the Commonwealth after independence was obtained.

Something of an incomprehensible character comes down to us from these bold and intrepid men. They appear almost within the environment of romance, rather than human beings struggling for homes where they could enjoy "freedom to worship God." Some barrier, always overcome, generally interposed between them and success. A wilderness was displaced, and in its stead Ceres and Pomona smiled in the sunlight. A savage foe lurked around their cabins and garrisons, but "the anointed children of education were too powerful for the tribes of the ignorant;" and when, after a long time, they began to enjoy the fruits of their labors, and hymns of gratitude ascended from their altars, their King taxed them beyond their endurance and compelled them to draw the sword. Then came "the tug of war," in which they were *again* victorious. Would that the photographer's art could reach back and give us the forms and features of these brave men. But, like the knights of olden times,

> "Their swords are rust,
> Their bones are dust,
> Their souls, we trust,
> Are with the just."

Ecclesiastical Affairs.—Agreeably to the conditions of the charter of the town, the settlers, soon as possible, placed themselves within the sound of the gospel and ordained a "learned orthodox minister of good conversation." Their house of worship had been built three or four years before they were able to settle a minister. Before they had a minister they were accustomed to go to Groton, on the Sabbath, to hear Rev. Mr. Trowbridge, traveling through the woods on horseback, by couples (man and wife), and crossing the Nashua River at "stony fording-place," where the bridge now is on the main road between Pepperell and Groton. Frequently men went on foot the same route and for the same purpose.

At a town-meeting in March, 1734, "voted to choose a committee of three to purchiss a lot for the minister." Presumably this minister was the Rev. Phinehas Hemenway, who was preaching as a candidate, for he was ordained on the third Wednesday of the following October. His house stood on the east side of the road, nearly a quarter of a mile northerly from where the meeting-house stood on the hill.

Rev. Phinehas Hemenway was born in Framingham, April 26, 1706. His father, Joshua Hemenway, came from Roxbury, where he received a superior education for the time. He was town school-master the same year that his son Phinehas was born, and a man of decided convictions and an earnest worker in the church. Phinehas, the son, grew up under the influence of such a home, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1730. No traditions as to his person or character are preserved in the family. He was the first native born son of Framingham to graduate at college, and was elected master of the grammar school in that town at the close of his senior year, for which he received the annual salary of £50. He married Mrs. Sarah Stevens, of Marlborough, May 8, 1739, who survived him, and, in October, 1761, she married Daniel Taylor, of Concord. He died May 20, 1760. The church book of records kept by him is consider-

ably mutilated, but it contains everything from his pen that has been preserved. It contains the church covenant, which is the only piece of literature whereby we can judge of his scholarship. The church was organized with sixteen male members, whose names were as follows: Phinehas Hemenway, Joseph Stevens, William Clark, Nathaniel Tailor, Daniel Tailor, Joseph Baldwin, John Stevens, James McDonald, John Wallis, Samuel Manning, Jacob Baldwin, Samuel Clark, John Slowen, Benjamin Tailor, Isaac Spalding, Jeremiah Ball.

Soon after the organization of the church, some of the wives of these men, and others of the same sex, were received into the church. Of this number we find "On March 11, 1739, Sarah Hemenway, ye wife of ye Rev. Phinehas Hemenway, having received a letter of dismission from ye church of Southboro', was received into our church fellowship and communion."

During Mr. Hemenway's pastorate, which covered a period of more than twenty-six years, the church increased in numbers from sixteen to seventy-nine. The church book of records contains (or rather contained, for some part of it is gone) a full account of the names of the church members, the baptisms administered and the marriages performed by the pastors, together with some examples of church discipline. The book gives an idea of the state of society as well as the fidelity with which our fathers adhered to their church covenant. Then the black and white races were amicably associated together.

"On December 14, 1735, was baptized Andrew Notgrass, a servant child of William and Eunice Clark."

"On May 19, 1745, Ama, a negro servant of Mr. Benjamin Brooks, was received into full communion with the church of Christ in Townshend."

The second minister was Rev. Samuel Dix, a native of Reading, born March 23, 1736; was graduated at Harvard College in 1758; ordained March 4, 1761, died November 12, 1797, in the thirty-sixth year of his pastorate. Mr. Dix was admirably adapted to the sacred calling which he espoused. He was dignified without coldness or arrogance, cheerful without levity, and strictly courteous and condescending in his deportment. He gave his undivided attention to his pastoral duties and, with the exception of one or two patriotic sermons delivered during the early part of the Revolutionary War, he labored faithfully for "a crown incorruptable," both for himself and the people committed to his charge. He was an excellent classical scholar, and as a writer he would lose nothing by comparison with his contemporaries in the ministry or those who succeeded him in the church in Townsend.

Rev. David Palmer, the third pastor, was born June 26, 1768, at Windham, Connecticut; graduated at Dartmouth College, 1799; was preceptor of New Ipswich Academy, 1798; ordained third pastor in Townsend, January 1, 1800; married Chloe Kinsley, of his native town, 1794, and died at Townsend, February 15, 1849, aged eighty-one years. This New Year's day, when Mr. Palmer was ordained, was a complete holiday for Townsend. A great company assembled from this and the adjoining towns to witness the ceremonies, and after the exercises closed the citizens generally opened their houses to their friends and visitors and welcomed them to tables well filled with substantial edibles "for the stomach's sake," when the coveted grog and tempting toddy were passed around. This was the last festival of the kind in which *all* our people participated, for long before Mr. Palmer left the church militant, and before his successor was ordained it was *my church, my minister, my mode of baptism,* and sectarianism began to unfurl the banner of discord. The town and church made a judicious choice for their third spiritual adviser. Mr. Palmer was decidedly a popular man in all social relations, and his influence as a townsman was felt particularly by the children and youth of the town. During most of his pastorate it was the custom, among their other duties, for the ministers to examine the teachers, and, in part, to superintend the schools. The teachers and scholars were always glad to receive a visit from him. Besides, he was a practical educator outside of the pulpit. About twenty young men fitted for college with him, some of whom will be noticed further along in this work. He was a successful pastor. During his ministry two hundred and fifty members were added to the church, sixty-two of that number having joined in 1826. He was dismissed in July, 1830, after a pastorate of thirty and one-half years. As a compliment to his integrity and from motives of benevolence and respect, he was elected by the town a representative to the General Court in 1833 and 1834. Mr. Palmer lost his position as minister through the influence of two or three men of wealth, who wanted a pastor that *would* or *could* better combat the Unitarians and their doctrines.

In 1829 there was a disagreement between the Orthodox and the Unitarians in regard to the use of the meeting-house, both parties wanting it at the same time. A majority of the town, in sympathy with the Unitarians, gave the use of it to them more Sabbaths during the year than was agreeable to the Orthodox. This was resented to such an extent by the Orthodox that, on one Sabbath morning when a man of the Unitarian faith came to preach after the congregation had assembled, they left the house in a body and never used it afterward. After the Orthodox seceded from the town's meeting-house the Unitarians had occasional preaching in it for a year or more.

Rev. Warren Burton supplied the pulpit part of the year 1831. He was the author of "The District School as it was," one of the most graphic and faithful pictures of that institution. He was learned, eloquent and witty, and "truths divine came mended from his tongue." For the next three years the services at this meeting-house alternated between the Unitarians and the Universalists.

In 1836 Rev. Ezekiel L. Bascom preached here and gathered a church consisting of twenty-five members. Mr. Bascom was a man of attractive personality and a fluent speaker. He was formerly settled in Ashby. For six years he held the office of Grand Chaplain of the Grand Lodge of Masons in Massachusetts. Soon after the organization of the Unitarian Church the Rev. Linus H. Shaw received a call to settle, which he accepted, and he was ordained December 21, 1836. There was a drenching rain during all that day, and for this reason there was not a large audience in attendance. The exercises were very interesting, as some of the best talent in the denomination took a part. Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, of Portsmouth, delivered the sermon, and the charge to the pastor was given by Rev. Charles Belbidge, D.D., of Pepperell, who is still among the living.

Mr. Shaw was a good scholar, and his sermons were well written, but as an extemporaneous speaker he failed. This was the cause of his short pastorate of about two years.

From this time till 1852, when the First Parish sold their meeting-house to the Methodist society, the Unitarians had no settled minister. Occasionally the Universalists, as well as the Unitarians, occupied the house, and once in a while the Restorationists, and then the Methodists, would have preaching in it. In 1853 the Unitarians built the house of worship which now stands at the Harbor, and the Rev. Stillman Barber preached for them about two years, after which time no money was collected for the support of preaching by the Unitarians. Mr. Barber left, and all interest in the denomination melted away like an April snow-wreath.

In 1852 the Rev. Samuel Tupper and his associates founded the Methodist Episcopal society here, in conformity to the provisions of the statute of the Commonwealth. This church and society has had a large number of pastors, of different grades of ability, who have, most of them, passed their biennial term of service here, and are now either located in other fields of labor or have joined "the silent majority." In 1876 this church received sixty-eight new members, the result of a revival conducted by I. D. Johnson, the evangelist.

The Universalist Restorationists formed a society, in 1848, at West Townsend, and Rev. John Pierce, a young man of good abilities, was employed as their minister. He was a native of Lunenburg, and he began preaching when he was quite young. This young man was a good speaker, but he died soon after the Universalists became attached to him, and was much lamented. With much promptness the brick church building now at West Townsend was built in 1848. Some of the Ashby people belonged to this denomination and attended meeting here regularly. The building was dedicated Jan. 25, 1849. Rev. Stillman Clark, of East Jaffrey, N. H., preached the sermon, which was well received by a large audience. There never was a Universalist Church here, which worshiped in this building, but, in its stead, the Universalist Restoration Society. Rev. Stillman Clark was the first minister, and he was succeeded by Rev. Varnum Lincoln for about two years, when Mr. Clark returned and preached for about a year. They were both much respected, and both were members of the School Committee. Mr. Clark was a member, for Townsend, of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention in 1853.

In 1853 this society employed a man by the name of R. J. Chapman, who remained here for nearly two years before the wolf in sheep's clothing was discovered.

In June, 1855, Rev. C. C. Clark was settled as pastor over this Restorationist society, and this engagement continued for four years, when he went to Pennsylvania, and remained there till 1863, when he returned, and was again employed as preacher till about the last of 1865. Since the close of Mr. Clark's connection with this society the Universalists have had no preaching, but at present (and for a few years past) Rev. George S. Shaw (Unitarian), of Ashby, preaches here every Sabbath afternoon.

The Baptists commenced here in 1827, with Rev. Benjamin Dean as minister, although they had a society here as early as 1818. Members of the churches in New Ipswich and Mason, N. H., and Harvard met and formed themselves into a society, which was afterward formed into a church, consisting of Asa Baldwin, Joseph Walker, Solomon Stevens, Joseph Simonds, Levi Ball, Susanna Holt, Chloe Ball, Elizabeth Stevens, Unity Manning, Lucy Ball, Chloe Stevens and Almira Stevens. At the commencement of the present century there were two or three families in Townsend of the Baptist faith. These people were obliged, by law, to pay a tax annually for the support of the town's minister, besides being under a moral obligation to contribute towards Baptist preaching in the towns from whence they came. At the annual town-meeting, in March, 1805, the following article was put in the warrant: "To see if the town will consider the Baptists, in regard to their paying taxes towards the meeting-house and leveling the Common." The tax for moving and finishing the meeting-house on the Common was assessed this year. On this article the town voted to abate the tax set against Joseph Walker to a certain extent. The town also considered the Baptists inasmuch as to grant them the use of the meeting-house a certain number of Sabbaths during quite a number of years. Usually their meetings were (previous to 1834) held in what was known as the Battery School-house, where they had services part of the time, but not constant preaching.

The church record for May 20, 1833, shows the following: "Chose Rev. Caleb Brown our pastor." This gentleman was here until the summer of 1835. The Baptist meeting-house having been dedicated during

the early part of the previous winter, and the church being increased some in numbers, so that the surroundings and circumstances began to be more favorable to this denomination, an effort was made to secure the services of some one distinguished in the Baptist denomination for a pastor.

In June of this year the church gave Rev. James Barnaby, pastor of the Second Baptist Church in Lowell, an invitation to settle with them at the annual salary of five hundred dollars. There is nothing in the church records concerning his installation here, but the time of his coming is recorded—"Sept. 28, 1835, Mr. Barnaby removed among us and entered on his labors." A large number, comparatively, attended the meetings during Mr. Barnaby's pastorate, but there was no special revival. In 1836 the church contained thirty-seven members.

After the short pastorate of about two years, for certain reasons, he asked his dismission, which was rather reluctantly granted, both pastor and church being much attached to each other. He was dismissed October 8, 1837, when he moved to Harwich, where he was installed over the oldest Baptist Church in that part of the State, and where he remained till his death.

Rev. Oren Tracy was the next minister. He came from Newport, New Hampshire, and commenced his labors February 3, 1838. There was a very pleasant intercourse between Mr. Tracy and this church and people. A Baptist Church in Fitchburg, being favorably impressed by Mr. Tracy, gave him a call with an offer of a larger salary, when, "his duty" pointing in that direction, he asked his dismission in January, 1841, and soon departed for that place.

In the spring of 1841 the church gave a call to Rev. Charles W. Redding, who was regularly installed soon after. He remained till July, 1844, when the society "voted that the pastoral connection between Rev. Mr. Redding and the church and society be dissolved." The cause of this act is unknown to the writer. He was a good writer and well polished in his manners.

Rev. William C. Richards was his successor for two or three years, when the services of Rev. Caleb Blood were secured for about two years. He was grand-son of his name-sake, who was a distinguished man in the Baptist denomination.

Rev. F. G. Brown, Rev. Lester Williams and Rev. E. A. Battell supplied the pulpit, each one about the same length of time, from 1850 to 1860.

Rev. George W. Ryan entered upon the labors of pastor of this church in 1860. Mr. Ryan took considerable interest in education, and served on the School Committee, in which office he was well received. The Baptist pulpit has been supplied at different times by the theological students at Newton for months at a time.

Rev. Willard P. Upham was pastor from 1867 to 1872. He was for a long time associated with the Cherokee Indians as missionary and teacher, and afterwards as pastor of the church connected with that intelligent tribe. He had considerable experience also at other places at the west. His pastorate here was the longest of any person in the ministry who labored with the Baptists. He was an exceptionable preacher, a diligent student and a social gentleman. He was an invalid for some time before his death, which occurred in 1877.

Rev. Oren K. Hunt, a graduate of Newton Theological Seminary, was installed pastor of this church in June, 1874, and he remained until the spring of 1877, when he was followed by Rev. William R. Thompson, who preached very acceptably for this church and congregation for three or four years.

Rev. Benoni F. Kellogg, following Mr. Thompson, was the next pastor, and he remained about three years, and was succeeded by Rev. Charles W. Williams, the present pastor.

The early records of the Baptist Church are so meagre and incomplete that it is impossible to give as many facts and dates as are desirable. From its beginning to the present time this church has been the recipient of pecuniary aid from "The Domestic Baptist Missionary Society of Masssachusetts." No difficulties have ever disturbed this church, and there has invariably been extreme unanimity among the church members, its friends and its patrons.

On the 8th of February, 1830, the church, which left the town's meeting-house with Mr. Palmer, assumed the name of "The Orthodox Congregational Church of Christ in Townsend."

The first pastor of this church was Rev. William M. Rogers, who was ordained February 16, 1831. This young man was an Englishman by birth, and his father fell at the battle of Waterloo. His name was Kettell, which was changed by an act of the Legislature to Rogers, the name of one of his uncles, who gave him quite a sum of money. He was a man of much discretion—had a winning address—knew just when he had said enough and was a popular preacher. He was dismissed in July, 1835, at his own request, and afterward he settled with a church in Boston, where he died in 1851.

Rev. Columbus Shumway was the second pastor. He was installed January 6, 1836, and in every particular he was an honorable man and a respectable preacher. Mr. Shumway must have been placed in a delicate position, and experienced all the embarrassments of being the successor of a first-class man. Undoubtedly too much was expected of him. The notice of his dismission, tendered to him March 28, 1837, was a surprise to him, from the fact that up to that moment everything on the surface indicated unanimity and satisfaction.

Rev. David Stowell, who was installed June 28, 1837, as the third pastor, was a man of good intellectual abilities, on account of which he was selected to fill this position. There were some irregularities in his conduct during the latter part of his pastorate,

which caused both him and the church considerable excitement and trouble. He was dismissed by order of an ecclesiastical council, August 15, 1843.

Rev. Luther H. Shelden, the fourth pastor of this church, was a very active man, prompt to an appointment, and always prepared for any pastoral work to which duty called him. He took an interest in the cause of education, in temperance reform, and in the abolition of slavery, and "he spoke right out in meeting" on each of these subjects. He was ordained here August 15, 1844, and continued a successful pastorate until March 7, 1856. In proof that he has taken good care of himself, it may be noticed that he is now (1890) alive at the age of seventy-five, and preaches a part of the time with the same force of his early years.

Several candidates then entered the field for promotion to the pastorate, and April 28, 1858, Rev. Elisha W. Cook was installed. This Cook did not "dispense the bread of life" or flavor his morals with an "extract" that pleased this church, and he was dismissed October 12, 1859.

Rev. Moses Patten was ordained June 7, 1860. He was not a fluent speaker or a man calculated to give a first-class sermon, but he was of amiable and exemplary character and much respected by his people. Dismissed April 27, 1863.

On the 27th of August, 1863, the church instructed its committee to employ Rev. John C. Hutchinson as their acting pastor. He was an interesting speaker, quite original, and sometimes eloquent. He was interested in his calling and gave his whole attention to it. He was dismissed July 22, 1866.

Rev. George Williams was installed pastor of this church May 1, 1867; dismissed February 1, 1869.

Rev. George H. Morss succeeded Mr. Williams June 17, 1869. He remained till April 10, 1873, when he was dismissed.

September 29, 1873, the church invited Rev. Henry C. Fay to become their acting pastor. He was a live preacher, a close student, and had much force of character. He was dismissed September 12, 1876.

Rev. Albert F. Newton was ordained as pastor of this church September 5, 1877. Mr. Newton's pastorate of about four years was passed very pleasantly and profitably with this church, till he was "called" to a church in Marlborough, with which he is now in service.

Meeting-Houses.—The first frame building made in Townsend was the meeting-house, which was built about 1729, or nearly at the same time that the house of worship was built in Lunenburg, which was in 1728. There is no record of this building in regard to the time when it was built. Lunenburg raised £200 ($88.88) for building and finishing its first meeting-house. From records concerning the cost of the house in Townsend, it appears that the first meeting-house in this town cost much less. It stood on the hill nearly a mile from the Common at the centre of the town on the west side of the road leading over the hill. It was a very ordinary building, and it was continually altered and repaired as long as it was used as a place of worship. But the settlers, owing to their poverty, made it answer their purpose for forty yeers.

In 1770 the town commenced to build the second meeting-house, concerning the location of which there was a long wrangle, which was finally settled by a reference to three men, each coming from three joining towns. This house was located within a few feet of where the first meeting-house stood. There is no doubt but that these referees selected this spot on account of the beautiful and picturesque prospect from this standpoint. Large portions of the towns of Lunenburg and Groton, at the south and southeast, with the towers, landscapes and white farm-houses of these old towns, together with the hills and mountain slopes, at the west and northwest, dotted over with fields and forests, all presenting a charming panorama, caused this location to have peculiar attractions for our ancestors. This hill, in a deed written one hundred years ago, conveying some land on its eastern slope, is called "Mount Grace." This meeting-house was finished so much that it was occupied during the latter part of 1771. Among the list of baptisms by Rev. Mr. Dix, this is recorded, October 27, 1771: "Baptized Gaus, son of Eleazor Spaulding, in y^{e} new meeting-house." This edifice was a great improvement on the house for which it was substituted. Although it was never finished where it was first built, it was clapboarded, and the windows, door frames and the doors were painted on the outside the same year that it was built. This edifice was the town's meeting-house. Within its consecrated walls the followers of the Master worshiped, the citizens devised plans to meet all the wants of the town, in its corporate capacity, the training-band assembled to listen to the reading of the militia law; here the "Committee of Safety" held consultations, the selectmen discussed their duties, and the smouldering patriotism of an oppressed people burst into a flame. After this house had stood about twenty-five years, there began to be considerable dissatisfaction concerning its location so far from the centre of the town; besides, the building needed some repairs. The expense of maintaining a road over the ledges and steep grades of Meeting-house Hill was an objection which had an influence with many; besides, in dry seasons there was no water to be had at or near the summit of this hill.

In March, 1799, the town chose a committee "to find the centre of the town and say where this meeting-house ought to stand." This committee of sixteen citizens soon after reported, recommending the spot where this same house now stands for the location of their meeting-house. There was for a long time much disagreement about what should be done, some wanting a new house, others wanting this house removed and enlarged when put up; but finally it

was agreed to remove it, set up and renovate it without any addition except a belfry. Two brothers, Moses and Aaron Warren, took the contract to move and set up this house, where it now stands, which was done in 1804. Zaccheus, Hezekiah and Levi Richardson were the carpenters and stone-masons employed by these Warrens in finishing this edifice. After this house was finished there was great satisfaction in regard to its location and the manner in which it was done, and desiring to make it more easy of access, August 28, 1804, the town raised $300 to be expended in leveling the Common.

In May, 1852, after sectarianism had done its work, Charles Powers and others, in the interest of the Methodists, bought this house from the Unitarians, turned the west end of the same to the south and fitted it up into two flats, in its present style. Since that time the Methodists have rented the lower part of it to the town for a town hall, and occupied the upper part as an auditorium, in which they have enjoyed an uninterrupted preaching of the Gospel to the present time. It has been judged that the tower on this edifice has good architectural proportions, and is as well adapted to the main building as anything of the kind in this vicinity.

The Orthodox Congregational meeting-house was completed and dedicated in June, 1830. Some of the men who seceded from the town's meeting-house, just previous to that time, possessing a good amount of wealth, and not lacking either in enterprise or will, were determined to have a first-class church edifice. With much unanimity this society agreed, both on the location of this house and the manner in which it was to be built. This fourth meeting-house in Townsend is made of brick, and in every particular is much superior to any church building ever erected in town, and it reflects credit upon the taste and good judgment of the men who designed the same and furnished the money with which it was erected. The clock in the tower of this church was presented by Deacon Joel Adams and Samuel Adams, his son. This edifice was subjected to a thorough renovation in 1884, at an expense of about $5000. An entire set of stained glass windows was substituted, the seating arrangement was altered, a place for the organ and choir was located on the ground floor, at the south side of the pulpit, the auditorium was elegantly frescoed and the building was nicely painted both inside and outside.

During the summer of 1879 the iron fence around a part of the Common was put up, the ground plowed and enriched, shrubbery was set out, flowers were cultivated and the park at the central village was brought into existence. About $1500 were raised by subscription to pay for the fence and the labor in setting it in position. Alfred M. Adams and William P. Taylor, living directly opposite this park, contributed the most liberally towards defraying the expense of this improvement.

The fifth meeting-house was erected at West Townsend, by the Baptists, in 1834. It is a commodious structure, sixty-four feet long, forty-five feet wide, with posts twenty-four feet in height. This house is a *fac-simile* of a church building that was in Fitchburg, which so favorably impressed the building committee in regard to its proportions and convenience, that it became the model for their meeting-house. In 1873 it was thoroughly repaired, painted and frescoed, and a new pulpit, new chandelier and side-lights on the walls were put in. The Warren family has done much for the Baptists. Levi Warren gave the land on which the meeting-house stands and about one-third of the money required to build this house; Moses gave the bell which was hung in the tower when the edifice was completed; Charles gave the clock on the tower and the one inside hanging in front of the gallery; and others, including Ralph, Aaron and Dorman, have contributed liberally to assist this denomination.

War of the Revolution.—In September, 1768, the selectmen of Townsend received a letter from the selectmen of Boston requesting them to call a town-meeting, and then to take into consideration the critical condition of government affairs, and to choose an agent to come to Boston, to express there the views, wishes and determination of the people of Townsend on this important subject. A town-meeting was accordingly called expressly for this purpose; when "Put to vote to see if the town would comply with the town of Boston in sending a man to join with them in the convention proposed to be held in Faneuil Hall, and it was unanimously complied with. Unanimously voted and chose Lieut. Amos Whitney as a committeeman to join with the convention as aforesaid."

It will be recollected that the five years which preceded the time of this action of the town of Boston, were exciting times for the Colony. Commerce had come to a stand-still by the operation of the "Stamp Act" and the "Sugar Act." The operation of both of these obnoxious measures was defeated by non-importation and smuggling. In 1766 the Stamp Act was repealed, to the great joy of the people, and importation of goods was greater than before. Everything was prosperous for a short time, but in 1768 the obnoxious "Revenue Act" was passed, which threw a cloud over the enterprise and chilled the prosperity of the whole people. It was at this juncture that the town of Boston consulted the other towns in this Province in regard to asserting their rights and maintaining their liberties.

The firm resistance with which the projects of the British Government were received, served to strengthen the ministry to carry their points at all hazards. Troops were stationed in Boston to intimidate and overawe the inhabitants and acts more severe were passed by Parliament, The colonists saw that they must either yield with abject submission or

gain their rights by a resort to arms, and they did not hesitate between the alternatives. Thus their decision was arrived at with the greatest deliberation and a count of the cost. The people of Boston were foremost in resisting the unjust measures of the mother country, and they were nobly seconded by the inhabitants of other towns. Every man in the Province was consulted upon this all-absorbing subject, that they might know what they could rely upon in case of open rebellion against the government of Great Britain.

In January, 1773, another letter and a printed pamphlet was received from the town of Boston, requesting the inhabitants of the town of Townsend to pass such resolves concerning their rights and privileges as free members of society, as they *were willing to die in maintaining*. These resolves the Bostonians requested might be sent in the form of a report, to their Committee of Correspondence. The town responded to this suggestion in an appropriate manner, as will be seen in the following extract from the record:

"At a town-meeting of the inhabitants of Townshend, legally assembled at the Public Meeting-house in said town on Tuesday, January 5, 1773, at Eleven O'clock in the forenoon, James Hasley was chosen Moderator.

"*Voted*, to choose a committee of five men to consider the letter of Correspondence from the town of Boston, concerning the rights and privileges of this Province, and report such Resolves and measures as may be proper for the town to come into, respecting the same. Chosen for said committee, Capt. Daniel Adams, Deacon Jonathan Stow, Capt. Daniel Taylor, James Hosley and Jonathan Wallace.

"*Voted*, to adjourn this meeting till to-morrow at twelve of the clock to this place.

"Met at the adjournment on Wednesday, Jan. 6, 1773. The committee chosen by the town at a meeting on the 5th of said month to consider the present state of our public affairs, particularly as pointed out to us by the metropolis of this Province, reported as follows:

"1. That it is the opinion of this town that the Rights of the Colonists of this Province in particular, as men, as christians and as subjects, are justly stated in the pamphlet sent us from the town of Boston.

"2. It is our opinion that our rights and liberties do labor under divers infringements, particularly in respect to the way in which our money is taken from us, by which our governor is supported, and in the extensive power vested in the commissioners of the customs, and by a military power being employed to keep us in awe and so forth.

"3. *Resolved*, that if the prevailing report concerning the Judges of our Superior Court being supported any other way than by the free grants of the People be true, it is a very threatening and dangerous innovation, directly tending to corrupt the Streams of Justice.

"4. *Resolved*, that our natural and constitutional Rights, our civil and Religious liberties, were confirmed to us by our charter, purchased by our ancestors at the expense of much fatigue and blood, which renders the possession of them more dear to us, and the parting with them more grievous, and lays us under stronger obligations to defend them in all constitutional and scriptural ways.

"5. *Resolved*, that the following instructions be and are hereby given to our Representative (viz.): that he use his utmost influence to obtain a removal of our present burdens, and to defend our liberties from all further encroachments, and to enquire into the report concerning our Superior Judges being independent of the people; to have our unhappy circumstances represented in a true light to our Rightful Sovereign, and that the General Assembly recommend to the people of this Province to set apart a day, they, the Assembly, shall think fit to name, for Humiliation and Prayer, that we may in a united Public manner spread our grievances before the King of Kings.

"6. *Resolved*, that the town of Boston have shown a true spirit of patriotism and a tender concern for the welfare of the Province, and that our sincere thanks are due to them for their spirited endeavors to discover the danger of our situation, and to lead us in the way of seeking redress.

"7. *Resolved*, that a committee of five suitable men be chosen to correspond from time to time, as occasion may require, with the town of Boston and any other towns that have or shall, from a sense of our difficulties, come into such a method of correspondence and communication.

"The above Report being read several times and debated upon, and put to vote to see if the town would accept of the same, passed in the affirmative.

"The committee, chosen to correspond from time to time with the town of Boston and other towns, is as follows (viz.): Daniel Adams, Deacon Jonathan Stow, Capt. Daniel Adams, James Hosley and Samuel Manning,

"*Voted*, that the town clerk transmit an authentic copy of the foregoing proceedings of this town-meeting to the committee of correspondence of the town of Boston. DANIEL ADAMS, *Town Clerk.*"

From the foregoing extract from the town records may be learned what the sentiments of the people of this town were in regard to the attitude of Great Britain towards her Colonies. They considered that the course of the mother country was oppressive and unjust and that their rights had been violated.

In 1774, after having received another letter from Boston, and having also heard from other towns, by letters, concerning the tax on tea, a town-meeting was called January 11, 1775, when the following was recorded:

"The town, taking into consideration certain intelligence received from the committee of correspondence in Boston, together with their request for intelligence and advice from the several towns in this Province, passed the following resolves (viz.):

"Being informed of the late proceedings of our fellow-countrymen in Philadelphia, relative to the East India Company being allowed to send large quantities of tea into these Colonies, subject to the payment of a duty upon its being landed, we do agree with them and readily adopt their sentiments upon this affair.

"*Resolved*, that we have always been uneasy with the plan laid down by the British Ministry for raising revenue in America, and that the present situation of our public affairs, particularly in respect to a late act of Parliament in favor of the East India Company, requires our attention, and therefore further

"*Resolved*, that we stand forth in the cause of liberty in union with other towns, and in gratitude to the spirited, patriotic town of Boston in particular.

"*Resolved*, that we earnestly advise that no tea be imported into this or any other American Colony so long as it is subject to a duty, payable upon its being landed here.

"*Resolved*, that we are sorry for the unhappy disagreement between this and the mother country, and we earnestly wish to see harmony restored.

"*Voted*, that the preceding resolves be recorded, and a copy of the same attested by the town clerk be transmitted to the committee of correspondence of the town of Boston. DANIEL ADAMS, *Town Clerk.*"

It thus appears that His Majesty's subjects in the Province of Massachusetts, while deliberating on the injustice and wrongs which had been inflicted on them, were not entirely without hope that their rights might be respected and "harmony restored." An armed resistance as yet had not been agreed upon by the Colonies.

The first public meeting of the people in Massachusetts, except in Faneuil Hall, was a Provincial Congress, holden at Concord, October 11, 1774, which adjourned to Cambridge, and of which John Hancock was president. At a town-meeting, "Oct. 3, 1774, Jonathan Stow was chosen to appear in behalf of the town of Townshend to join the provincial con-

gress to be holden at Concord on the 11th of Oct. Inst."

In 1775 Captain Daniel Taylor was chosen to attend a Provincial Congress at Cambridge, and soon after Israel Hobart was chosen to succeed him. This congress enacted that at least one-fourth of all the militia should be enrolled as minute-men, who should be prepared to march at a minute's warning, on any emergency. This was a decisive step, which shows the grit of the Revolutionary fathers. Some of the members of this congress, from different towns, gave their time and expenses; others were paid wholly or in part by *subscription*.

The town voted to indemnify the constables for refusing to pay over the money which had been assessed by the Province, into the hands of Harrison Gray. The people were exceedingly aroused at this time. These were the defiant measures that brought on the war and started the King's troops *en route* for Concord, on the memorable 19th day of April, 1775.

Boston at that time was suffering under the vengeance of Parliament, for throwing over the tea and for being the head and front of disloyalty. There were many poor in that town out of employment, who had a scanty allowance of supply for their tables. To them the inland towns extended the hand of charity and relief. At a town-meeting, January 2, 1775, "Voted and chose a committee of five men to forward the donations for Boston and Charlestown. Chose for said committee, Mr. Israel Hobart, Capt. Benjamin Brooks, Lieut. Zachariah Emery and Mr. John Conant." Probably each man of this committee took a well-packed sled-load of provisions to their suffering friends at the tide-water. There is no other record concerning this transaction, as the warrants for calling town-meetings were not always recorded at that time.

At a town-meeting, June 19, 1775, "Voted to purchase 50 Hogsheads of salt for a town stock. Deacon Richard Wyer chosen to go to Salem to purchase said salt, and ordered him to take his directions from the Select Men, who are to give security in the name of the town for the same."

It thus appears that the town was preparing for the fight which was about to commence—the opening scene of the Revolution. So far as the actual means of gaining a living were concerned, the people of that time were comparatively independent. They took the wool from the sheep, cleansed, spun and wove it, ready to be made into clothing, which they wove in their hand-looms. Lighter fabrics were made from their flax, spun by a foot-wheel, the thread being graded by running between the thumb and forefinger of the operative. They ground their own grain into flour for their bread, produced vegetables and meat plentifully for their tables, and laid the rock maple under contribution for their sugar supply. The virgin soil yielded abundantly in payment of the toil of the husbandman. Luxury was a word not to be found in their vocabulary; and *tea* they would not use after it was subject to a duty. Salt they could not produce, but they exercised great prudence in sending to the coast in season for an abundant supply. For the expense of getting it, a separate tax was assessed on all the polls and estates in town.

The alarm to the minute-men was given on the 19th of April, 1775, by the firing of a cannon on the hill where the meeting-house stood, about noon. Without doubt, quite a number of Paul Reveres tested their horsemanship in warning the patriots of the approach of the "ministerial troops." Ephraim Warren was plowing on his farm, a little to the southeast of Townsend Harbor, when the alarm was given. He immediately detached his team from the plow, and running to his house, called, "Mollie" (he married Mary Parker, of Chelmsford); "the regulars are coming and I am going; give me my gun." And he quickly mounted his horse and started towards the coast. He arrived at Concord early in the evening, only in season to see some dead bodies and a few wounded British soldiers, who had been left by their comrades in their hasty flight. The resistance to the British troops at Concord, and the manner in which the yeomanry of the Province hurried them back to their ships, makes a thrilling episode in American history.

"Muster Roll of Capt. James Hosley's company of minute-men, belonging to Col. William Prescott's regiment, who marched from Townshend April last to Cambridge in defence of the colony against the ministerial troops:

"James Hosley, Capt.; Richard Wyer, 1st Lieut.; James Locke, 2d Lieut.; Peter Butterfield, Sergt.; Benjamin Ball, Sergt.; Lemuel Maynard, Corpl.; Ephraim Brown, Corpl.; Nath'l. Bagley, Drummer; Ebenezer Ball, Daniel Holt, James Sloan, William Kendall, Daniel Conant, Asa Heald, Joseph Rumrill, Oliver Proctor, Daniel Clark, Richard Warren, Israel Richardson, Robert Waugh, Elijah Wyman, Eleazer Butterfield, Benjamin Hobart, John Brown, Daniel Emery, Ephraim Shedd, Zachariah Emery, Joseph Baldwin, William Clark, David Graham, Thomas Eaton, Ebenezer Ball, Jr., Joseph Shattuck, Thomas Webster, Jr., Levi Whitney, Noah Farrar, Josiah Richardson, Jonathan Patt, Isaac Kidder, James Rumrill, Jr., Jonas Farmer, Daniel Sherwin, Eleazer Butterfield, Jr., Isaac Boynton, Ephraim Brown, John Clark, Jedediah Jewett, Dudley Kemp, Abel Richardson, John Manning, John Emery, Thomas Wyman, Henry Dunster."

These men were paid for their services by order of the General Court in December, 1775, and they were in the field most of them twenty-one days. The action of the Townsend militia was nearly as prompt as that of the minute-men.

"A Roll of the travel and service of Capt. Samuel Douglas, of Townshend in the county of Middlesex, and belonging to Colº. James Prescott's Regiment, and also of the men under his command, who, in consequence of the alarm made on the 19th of April, 1775, marched from home for yᵉ defence of this Colony against the ministerial troops, and continued in the service till called back to take care of the Tories in sd Townshend.

"Samuel Douglas, Captain; James Hildreth, Drummer; Oliver Hildreth, Jona. Hildreth, Ephm. Adams, Abijah Hildreth, Joel Davis, Isaac Holden, Abner Adams, Abner Brooks, Benjamin Wilson, Benjamin Brooks, Abel Porter, Daniel Campbell, Samuel Scripture, Robert Campbell, Benjamin Adams, Joseph Giles, Andrew Searles, Jonathan Goss."

These men were in the service five days, and on the 22d of March, 1776, the General Court ordered them to be paid. Captain Douglas received £1 7*s*. 1*d*. and the men 12*s*. 9*d*. 2*qr*. each.

These two rolls were copied from the "Lexington Alarm Rolls," vol. xii. pp. 115, 42, in the State archives. The captains of these companies made oath before Israel Hobart, Esq., that they were correct in regard to travel, term of service and the days of the month on which the service was rendered, from which it appears that Townsend had seventy-three men who quickly responded to the "alarm" on that memorable 19th of April.

The title of the roll of Captain Douglas' company is instructive in regard to the feeling here among the people at the commencement of the Revolution; for it appears that this company "was called back to take care of the tories in sd Townshend." Most of the Townsend men who did not favor the cause of independence were near neighbors of Douglas and his soldiers. It appears from the records that Townsend had quite a number of men who were loyal to the King, some of whom left the Province. Both of these rolls designate the British soldiers as "ministerial troops" instead of His Majesty's troops, which rather indicates that the colonists considered that the King had bad advisers, and that the British ministry might perhaps be induced, in using deliberation and reason, and guided by wisdom, to consider and *reconsider* some of the acts that bore so heavily upon them.

The assembling of the soldiers around Boston in 1775 was a great advantage to the colonists, as it showed them the need of arms, blankets and other munitions of war. The acquaintance there formed, the discussions of future operations against their enemies and the necessity of well-concerted action, all strengthened their determination to be free. A large portion of the soldiers from all parts of the State who responded to the alarm re-enlisted and served more or less during the war with different captains and in companies from different towns.

The summer of 1775 was extremely hot and dry, much more so than any since the settlement of the town; there were small crops of corn and potatoes, and on dry land failed entirely; of hay not over half a crop was raised. There was also much sickness in town; many families suffering from the diseases of dysentery and fevers, which in many cases were long and severe. The number of deaths in town was unusually large. Add to this the absence of so many heads of families in the army, and the keen anxiety concerning the affairs of the Province, and we can have some idea of the depressed condition, the trials and struggles of this first year of the war.

The exact number of men from Townsend in the battle of Bunker Hill is not known; thirty-five of them were in Captain Henry Farwell's company, made up principally from Groton and Townsend soldiers. Oliver Stevens, in Captain Wyman's company, was wounded and died in prison. Archibald McIntosh, of Townsend, was killed in this action.

As near as can be ascertained, there were between thirty and thirty-five men constantly in the army from this town until the British evacuated Boston in March, 1776. One great mistake in the war was the short term of enlistments, just as it was in the War of the Rebellion. About as soon as some of the recruits began to be worth anything to the government their term of service expired and they were mustered out.

In 1776 Oliver Prescott, of Groton, was appointed brigadier-general, and in that capacity he organized the militia of Middlesex County into eight companies constituting a regiment of drafted soldiers under fifty years of age.

Company No. 8, in this regiment, was commanded by Captain Thomas Warren, of Townsend. There were sixty men in this company, thirteen of whom belonged to Townsend, and their names are as follows:

Thomas Warren, captain; Samuel Maynard, corporal; Robert Waugh, corporal; William Manning, Joel Davis, Samuel Wyman, Jonathan Bowers, David Holt, William Clark, Asa Merrell, Hinchman Warren, Ephraim Warren, Timothy Warren.

It will be easily understood that, under the severe pressure of a harassing war, when all resources were heavily drawn upon to furnish arms, ammunition, clothes and provisions for the army, to supply funds for the payment of the soldiers and to meet other expenses incident to the state of public affairs, money among the people was not only exceedingly scarce, but that, in consequence of the successive drafts for soldiers, laborers were in great demand, and their services commanded exorbitant prices. The result of this was that prices of all commodities, and articles of consumption, rose in proportion. This was a peculiar state of affairs. Every kind of goods was held at a high price, although no one had money to buy with. The General Court passed an act dividing the State into districts, and ordered that a committee should be chosen in each district to fix upon the prices of labor and provisions. This plan operated unequally, and was given up, as the people would not submit to it.

At this time the people began to feel the heavily-pressing burdens of the war, and began to devise means to equalize the same among themselves. At the March meeting, 1777, the town "voted to choose a committee of five men to estimate all the past services done in the war by men of this town; Thomas Warren, James Hosley, Daniel Adams, Richard Wyer and Levi Whitney were chosen for said committee." The report of this committee is spread on the town records, and the sums awarded to the soldiers are certainly small. The expense was made into a tax "on the several inhabitants of this town, and that the polls pay one-half of said rait."

In addition to all other embarrassments under which the patriotic citizens were laboring, was the discouraging influence of about a dozen men in this town who were Tories. These men, for more than two years, had clandestinely opposed all measures which tended to resist the authority of Great Britain.

They were intelligent, most of them, and lived on Nissequassick Hill, and during the time that the soldiers were absent—after the alarm of the 19th of April—they were offensively outspoken and disagreeable. It was during this year that it became necessary for every man to show his colors, as public opinion demanded every able-bodied citizen to give his individual support to the American cause, or be exposed to public indignation, to prosecutions before a special court of the Sessions of the Peace, to imprisonment, or to a coat of tar and feathers. Occasionally they were obliged to uncover their heads, and, in presence of the assembled majesty of the town, to promise greater love for the American cause and a strict conformity to the popular will.

The selectmen reported the names of persons who were suspected of unfriendly feelings towards the patriots, and who were considered dangerous. There were eight of them, viz.: Isaac Wallace, William Wallace, David Holden, Jonathan Wallace, Ebenezer Giles, Joshua Smith, Reuben Tucker and Seth Johnson. Jonathan Wallace and Ebenezer Giles were excused after a rigid examination. There were others besides these men, some of whom, when the excitement was at its height, precipitantly left the town. The most prominent Townsend man who was loyal to the Crown and British ministry was Joseph Adams, a physician. He came to this town from Lincoln, married Miss Lovy Lawrence, of Lincoln, December 19, 1774. He owned a farm in Townsend and one in Pepperell, both of which, after the close of the war, were sold under the confiscation act by James Locke, who was appointed agent by the Judge of Probate. A committee was appointed to settle with his creditors, consisting of Rev. Samuel Dix, Captain Joseph Adams and others. He left early in the struggle and went to England, and died at Liscard, Cornwall, February 3, 1803.

At the close of the war there was considerable pressure on the part of the absentees, or runaway tories, from all parts of the country, for the privilege of returning to the places that were once their homes. To this the patriots never consented. On the 17th of April, 1783, the town of Boston sent a letter concerning these absentees, and a copy of the proceedings of a meeting at Faneuil Hall, directed,—"To the committee of Correspondence. &c., the Selectmen of the Town or Plantation of Townsend, to be communicated to the Town or Plantation." The tone of this meeting had the regular Faneuil Hall ring to it. The preamble to their action set forth the case of the absentees in their true light at considerable length, stating the duty of each town to practice their rights. One resolution only was passed which covered the whole subject:

"Resolved, That this Town will at all times (as they have done), to the utmost of their Power, Oppose every Enemy to the just Rights and Liberties of Mankind: And that after so wicked a conspiracy against those Rights and Liberties, by certain Ingrates, most of them Natives of these States, and who have been Refugees and declared Traitors to their Country, it is the opinion of this Town, that they ought never to be suffered to return, but be excluded from having Lot or Portion among us."

Townsend, at a town-meeting on the 12th of May following, voted not to allow the return of the absentees, and that the selectmen communicate the vote of the town to the town of Boston. All the towns on the coast, as well as Boston, had more interest in the return of these Tories than the inland towns, for more of them belonged in these towns.

On the 30th of April, 1775, General Gage made a proposal "that those persons in the country who inclined to move into Boston with their effects might have liberty to do so without molestation." To this the Provincial Congress assented, and officers were appointed to grant permits, and a large number of Loyalists availed themselves to seek the shelter of the British guns. There are good reasons for supposing that two or more of the Townsend Tories took advantage of this chance of escape, for their names, as far as is known, never appeared afterward on any records of the town.

All along through the war there were repeated calls upon the town for soldiers. Sometimes a few left at a time and joined companies in other towns. William Kendall, third sergeant, Joseph Putney and Jedediah Jewett, of Townsend, were in Captain Jonathan Davis' company, of Harvard. Perhaps the most critical period in the war was the state of affairs on the Hudson River, when Burgoyne was marching for Albany with his army. The General Court ordered thither a portion of the troops from several counties, June 27, 1777. In some parts of the State volunteers enlisted, and marched to the assistance of General Gates and General Arnold, who at that time was the bravest of the brave. The following is a roll of one of these volunteer companies:

"State of Massachusetts. Capt. James Hosley's Muster Roll of Volunteers, who turned out of the towns of Townshend, Pepperell and Ashby, and marched with him to the assistance of Major-General Gates, agreeable to a Resolve of the General Court of said State, upon September 22d, 1777, in the Regiment whereof Jonathan Reed is Colonel. James Hosley, Capt.; Asa Kendall, Lieut.; Nath^{l}. Sartell, Lieut.; Daniel Adams, Clerk; Lemuel Patts, Sergt.; Thomas Shattuck, Sergt.; Asa Shedd, Sergt.; Benjamin Whitney, Sergt.; Abram Clark, Lieut.; Abner Adams, Sergt.; Nath^{l}. Bailey, Sergt.; David Heyward, Sergt.; Elijah Wyman, Sergt.; Benj^{a}. Adams, Corpl.; Jedidiah Jewett, Corpl.; Joseph Lawrence, Corpl.; John Boynton; William Stevens, Corpl.; Thomas Fisk, Corpl.; Samuel Stone, Corpl.; Abel Richardson, Corpl.; William Prescott, Esq., formerly Colonel; Henry Wood, Esq., formerly Major; Samuel Stone, Major in the Militia. Privates: James Campbell, John Emery, John Eaton, Isaac Farrar, James Giles, Jonas Farmer, James Green, James Hildreth, Benjamin Ball, Joshua Hosley, Samuel Henshaw, Abel Hildreth, Benj^{a}. Hudson, Daniel Jewell, Asa Kendall, Jr., David Locke, Thomas Lawrence, Joseph Baldwin, Abner Brooks, Abraham Boynton, Sampson Bowers, Jonas Baldwin, Daniel Butterfield, Isaac Blood, Daniel Clark, John Locke, John Manning, John Stevens, Richard Stevens, Samuel Seward, Nath^{l}. Sartell, Jr., Daniel Sherwin, Jr., William Tarbell, Samuel Wright, Jr., Joseph Walker, Jacob Wright, Timothy Warren, Pomp Phillis, John Emerson, Nathan Lovejoy, Timothy Hodgman."

These volunteers were in the service one month and fifteen days, and the pay of the privates was £3

15*s.*, that of the officers being about sixty per cent. more than that of the men. This was one of the most efficient military companies that went to the war from this part of Middlesex County. Colonel Prescott, the hero of Bunker Hill, and two of his subordinate officers carried their guns and served in the ranks of this corps, which, on the 17th of October, 1777, assisted in the surrender of the haughty Burgoyne at Saratoga.

During the year 1778 town-meetings followed in rapid succession; the fourth one, on May 11th, was called "to see if the town will come into some method that will be effectual to raise the men called for of said town, for the public service, by the resolves of the General Court, April 20, 1778." At this meeting voted to give £130 to each of the Continental men and £80 to each of the militiamen. It must be kept in remembrance that when the war commenced, the enthusiasm of the people was at its height, and the pay was comparatively good; after this period it became necessary to resort to some regular system for keeping our quota full. Besides this, the seat of war was so much farther from home than at first that there was more dread to enlist. Townsend had two militia companies, organized about 1774, known as the "North Company" and the "South Company." These companies are called the "training-bands" in the records. The men of the town were enrolled from sixteen to sixty-five years of age, in these two companies, the dividing line between the two being the old county road. Whenever a call was made for troops from this town, these soldiers would meet and equalize the number of men each company was obliged to furnish. Generally the soldiers from this town, in the first part of the war, received bounties, but some went for less bounty than was offered by the town at that time. In some instances members of these two companies cast lots among themselves to see who should go. The man upon whom the lot fell had to shoulder his musket and march, or hire a substitute. The number of men who could afford to hire a substitute was limited. One fact is worthy of record: Townsend sent no man to the war except its own sons and citizens.

The following list of names is the only roll to be found in the records of the town of Townsend. Names of the six months' men in the continental service for 1780—travel, 220 miles:

"Eleazer Butterfield, William Stacey, Isaac Spalding, John Sherwin, Peter Adams, Jonathan Wheelock, Benjamin Hill, Timothy Shattuck, Benja. Wetherbee."

In June, 1779, a town-meeting was called, with this article in the warrant: "To see what the town will give to the men for the nine months' continental service, rather than proceed to a draught." On this article "voted to offer each soldier of our quota of nine months' men, 1000 dollars, or ninety bushels of rye."

During the last years of the war the depreciation of the currency deranged all business transactions and caused much excitement. The mother country had flooded the States with counterfeit scrip, so that eventually paper money became entirely valueless. One dollar in specie varied in value from $4.50, in 1778, to $166, in 1781, compared with Continental scrip. In July, 1781, the town voted to raise £40,000 to defray the charges of the war, and £6000 to make up the salary of Rev. Samuel Dix.

The writer is aware that this dim abstract of the part which Townsend took in this great struggle for constitutional freedom does not do justice either to the subject or to the men who engaged in it. They were poor, they had "foes within" in the heartless gang of Tories with whom they had to contend, they fought against great odds, and nothing but a consciousness of the rectitude of their course gave them success. Looking back over these scenes, they rise up before the mind like things coming from dreamland.

"'Tis like a dream when one awakes,
This vision of the scenes of old;
'Tis like the moon when morning breaks,
'Tis like a tale round watch-fires told."

THE SHAYS REBELLION.—At the close of the Revolution the country was in a demoralized condition. Nearly all the available wealth of the people, at the commencement of the war, had been expended to feed, clothe and pay the soldiers. There was much dissatisfaction among those who had served in the army at being paid off in worthless currency. The increase of the indebtedness of the towns and individuals, the scarcity of money of any value, the decay of business, numerous law-suits, and a want of confidence in the government, particularly in regard to financial matters, generated a depressed state of feeling, which caused great anxiety among the people. This state of feeling, in some degree, was co-extensive with the Commonwealth. People began to express great disapprobation of the manner in which the government was administered, and a revolt, in the western part of the State, was freely discussed, as early as 1782. In the town of Northampton the insurgents were rather numerous, having a disappointed and disaffected clergyman by the name of Ely for a leader, who understood all the arts of a demagogue. In 1783 a mob assembled in Springfield, resolving itself into a general convention. Proceeding to the court-house, on the appearance of the judges and sheriff, they opposed their entrance into the building. A riot was prevented by the timely intervention of the most influential citizens there present.

For the next three years "the distressed state of affairs" as expressed in Townsend records, continued. In 1786 a convention of insurgents, according to Holland's "Western Massachusetts," assembled at Leicester, when thirty-seven towns were represented, which, without any interruption, freely discussed the propriety of obstructing the sitting of the General Court at Boston, the closing of the County Courts by force, law abuses and other subjects.

In the counties of Middlesex, Bristol and Berkshire similar conventions were held, and votes and resolves passed. On September 5, 1786, a mob prevented the session of the court at Worcester. The voters in the towns of Pepperell, Shirley, Groton and Townsend were about equally divided on this subject. The town of Concord, where the court was then in session, was much excited, dreading the arrival of the rebels against the State authorities. A majority of that town was in sympathy with the insurgents. A committee chosen by the town of Concord addressed the following letter to most of the towns in this county, and Townsend among the number:

"*To the Town of Townsend:*

"GENTLEMEN: Alarmed at the threatening aspect of our public affairs, this town has this day held a meeting and declared unanimously their utter disapprobation of the disorderly proceedings of a number of persons in the Counties of Hampshire and Worcester, in preventing the action of the courts. And apprehending the like may be attempted in this County, and probably be attended with very dangerous consequences, we have thought it advisable to endeavor, in conjunction with as many of the neighboring towns as we can give seasonable information to, by lenient measures to dissuade from such rash conduct as may involve the state in anarchy and confusion, and the deprecated horrors of civil war. We conceive the present uneasiness of the people to be not altogether groundless; and although many designing men, enemies of the present government, may wish and actually are fomenting uneasiness among the people, yet we are fully persuaded that the views of by far the greater part are to obtain redress of what they conceive to be real grievances. And since the method they have taken cannot fail of meeting the hearty disapprobation of every friend of peace and good order, we cannot but hope, from what we know of the strenuous exertions which have been made by the towns around us, and in which those disorders above mentioned now exist, to purchase at the expense of blood our independence, and the great unanimity with which they have established our present government; and from what we know of the real grounds of their complaints; were lenient measures used, and a number of towns united to endeavor, by every rational argument, to dissuade those who may seem refractory from measures which tend immediately to destroy the fair fabric of our government, and to join in legal and constitutional measures to obtain redress of what may be found real grievances, they would be attended with happy effects.

"We have therefore chosen a committee to act in concert with the neighboring towns, for the purpose of mediating between opposing parties, should they meet. And we cannot but hope our united endeavors to support the dignity of government and prevent the effusion of blood will meet with general approbation, and be attended with happy results.

"If the above should meet with your approbation, we request you to choose some person to meet a committee of this town, chosen for that purpose, at the house of Captain Oliver Brown, innholder in Concord, on Monday evening or Tuesday morning next, that we may confer together, and adopt measures which may be thought best calculated for the attainment of the end above proposed.

"We are, gentlemen, with great esteem and friendship, your humble servants.

"JOSEPH HOSMER,
"in behalf of the town's committee.

"Concord, Sept. 9, 1786."

Townsend during this period was in a state of great perplexity, judging from the records of many town-meetings. In May, 1786, a warrant was posted calling a town-meeting on the 5th of June following, when a committee of five men was chosen "to draft public grievances," consisting of David Spafford, Jonathan Wallace, Daniel Adams, Benjamin Ball and Thomas Seaver. The first and last-named man on this committee were disaffected men; the other three were opposed to the insurrection. At the same meeting chose the same men as a committee to confer with other towns, and then adjourned to the 26th of the same month. Met at the adjournment and adjourned for two weeks. At this adjourned meeting the town "chose two men to attend a convention (of insurgents) to be holden in Concord on the twenty-third of August."

There is no record of anything like a response to the letter sent to Townsend by the committee of the town of Concord. It seemed to be the first purpose of the insurgents to suppress the Courts of Sessions until some action should be taken to stay the flood of executions which wasted their property and made their homes desolate. On the 12th of September, 1786, three days after the date of the letter from Concord, three companies of insurgents marched into Concord, and forcibly stopped the court then in session The "head-centre" of the insurrection in Middlesex County was Job Shattuck, of Groton, assisted by Sylvanus and Nathan Smith, of Shirley, and Peter Butterfield, of Townsend, all of whom had been officers in the War for American Independence. Shattuck served in the French War, and all of these men were well qualified to be conspicuous in such a cause.

Meeting with no resistance in stopping the court at Concord, their deportment was insolent and offensive in the extreme towards the judges, the members of the bar and every one not diposed to be in sympathy with them. The court being about to be holden at Cambridge, the Governor ordered the militia to be in readiness to march to that place, and at this juncture, when an effort to stop the court so near the capital of the State had succeeded, without any further delay or chance for the insurgents to rally their forces, "warrants were issued for apprehending the head men of the insurgents of Middlesex, and for imprisoning them without bail or mainprise." A company of horse was ordered from Boston to assist the sheriff in the capture of Shattuck and his officers, which, on its arrival at Concord, was reinforced by a party of mounted men from Groton, under Colonel Henry Woods. This force succeeded in capturing two prisoners—Oliver Parker and Benjamin Page, but failed to find Shattuck during the day, as he had taken alarm and escaped. "Under this disappointment, at midnight, in the midst of a violent snow-storm, the whole party were ordered on to Shattuck's house, in Groton, where they did not arrive till late in the morning. A search was immediately commenced, and judicious pursuit discovered him to a party of a few persons led by Colonel Woods himself. Shattuck obstinately resisted, and was not taken till he had received several wounds, which he returned without much injury."

The following list of the Townsend insurgents has been preserved among the papers on file with the town records. It is worthy of notice that about one-fourth of the persons whose names are in this list were young men in their minority. Fourteen of them

had the suffix of Jr. to their names. Abraham Butterfield, the son of Peter, was less than seventeen years old, and some of them were under sixteen years of age. Four of these men held commissions during the Revolution, and most of them were respectable and useful citizens, misguided though they were:

"Peter Butterfield, Asa Heald, Samuel Stevens, Jonas Warren, Jacob Bachelder, Benja. Spaulding, Jr., Andrew Searle, Jr., Daniel Clark, Simeon Richardson, John Emery, Ephraim Lambson, Jonathan Pierce, Asa Stevens, Isaac Lewis, Andrew Searles, Jedediah Jewett, Elijah Dodge, Jesse Baldwin, Nathaniel Bailey, Jr., Zachery Hildreth, Aaron Proctor, Phillip Warren, Isaac Green, Isaac Giles, Solomon Sherwin, Azariah P. Sherwin, Peter Adams, Joseph Rumrill, Jonathan Sanderson, Thomas Seaver, Josiah Burge, Jr., Moses Burge, Abijah Monroe, Abel Keys, Elnathan Spalding, Josiah Richardson, Levi Whitney, Benj. Wallace, Moses Warren, Isaac Farrar, Jr., Stephen Warren, Jonas Ball, Nathan Conant, Jr., Isaac Wallis, Jr., Reuben Gaschett, Benjamin Dix, William Stevens, Jr., David Wallace, James Ball, Asa Whitney, Isaac Wallis, Joseph Baldwin, Jr., Phinehas Baldwin, David Spafford (3d), Solomon Peirce, John Conant, Benja. Wood, Nathan Carlton, Samuel Searles, David Spafford, Ebenezer Ball, Jr., Abraham Ball, James Sloan, Richard Warner, John Waugh, Jr., Joel Davis, Jeremiah Ball, Charles Richards, Jesse Maynard, Nath^{l}. Bowers, Josiah Rice, Abraham Butterfield, John Campbell, Jr, Jonas Campbell, John Colburn, John Graham, Benja. Brooks, Jr., Thad^{s}. Spaulding, Abijah Hildreth, Abel Green, Isaac Spalding, William Wallace, John Giles, Aaron Scott.

About thirty of the young men, whose names appear in the foregoing list, marched to Concord under Lieutenant Peter Butterfield and were present at the time the court was stopped.

A strict search, in and around Townsend, was made for Butterfield by the *posse comitatus* under Colonel Woods, when Shattuck was taken, but he eluded his pursuers. There was after that time quite an effort made to capture him. During a part of the following winter he secreted himself in a cabin masked with evergreens, on the hill northwesterly from his house, in plain sight of the same, where he was apprised of approaching danger by his wife. His house stood about three-fourths of a mile northerly from the harbor, on the west side of the road leading to Brookline, along the easterly base of Nissequassick Hill. At length his retreat was discovered, and his pursuers followed his track on the snow until nearly night, when, getting into a secluded place in a thicket, in the dusk of the evening, they lost sight of his track and abandoned further pursuit. After he was satisfied that his enemies had departed, he took a direct course for the house of one of his friends, who immediately took him over the line into New Hampshire. His exertions to escape flooded him with perspiration, so that waiting in a frosty atmosphere to be sure that the officers had gone, he took a violent cold, which induced rheumatism, from which he suffered during the remainder of his life. He never was arrested by the officers, and there has been found no certificate from any magistrate, showing that he took the oath of allegiance, although the same file of papers in which, these names were found, contains the certificates of different magistrates, before whom sixty of these men took that oath. He was a man of excellent moral character, very industrious and had many friends.

Daniel Shays, from whom the outbreak takes its name, was born in Hopkinton, 1747. After the rebellion was crushed he fled to Vermont, and afterwards removed to Sparta, New York, where he died Sept. 29, 1825. He was a pensioner of the United States, having been a captain in the Revolutionary War.

Perhaps there never was so much smoke and so little fire, or so small a show of talent or brains in any insurrection as in the Shays' Rebellion. The insurgents appeared to dread a collision with the troops during the whole time they were in arms against the government. All the loses in the rebellion were three killed and one hundred and fifty taken prisoners—all Shays' men. In 1787 certain laws were altered, which made every thing satisfactory to the entire voting population of the Commonwealth.

EDUCATIONAL HISTORY.—The settlers of Townsend, in common with the citizens of all the towns in this Commonwealth, displayed much sagacity in matters concerning their future welfare. As early as 1734 the proprietors' records contained the following:

"*Voted*, that Jasher Wyman, Lieut. Daniel Taylor and Nathaniel Richardson be a com^{tee} to take effectual care that there be no Strip or Waste made of Timber, or Timber cutt, or Pines boxed, or Candlewood picked up for tarr upon y^{e} undivided Land, and to sue and Prosecute any persons whom they shall find Guilty of said offences. Also to prosecute any persons who have been Guilty thereof, or take satisfaction therefor for y^{e} use of y^{e} proprietors."

In connection with these precautionary measures, one interesting fact may be learned from this extract, and that is, the importance that was attached to the value of the "candlewood," or resinous pitch pine, scattered on the undivided land. Families, at that time, were generally large and almost every one of them constituted a school by itself. Around the capacious fire-places, common in those days, sat the sons and daughters, in order according to their age and advancement, while the father or mother acted as teacher. The Bible, and particularly the New Testament, was one of the principal books used. Their cabin walls and the shining faces of youth and beauty within were illumined through the long winter evenings by the pine-knot light; and no one can say that this training of the mind, in their rude domiciles, was not sufficient to furnish the town with amiable women and honorable and capable men. Every opportunity for intellectual improvement, within their limited means, was then turned to their advantage, and a complete exemplification of the maxim "where there is a will there is a way," has come down to us in their example.

The first record of any effort for a public school was in 1744, when the town "voted to raise twenty pounds, old tenor, for the support of a school, and chose two men as a committee to provide a schoolmaster: John Conant chosen first, Josiah Robbins second." The record further states where the school should be kept at different dwelling-houses, in different parts of the town—the north school at the house of Benjamin Brooks, the school at the middle of the

town at Joseph Baldwin's, and the south school at Daniel Taylor's. One man, without doubt, taught the school at these three places. There is no record to show the name of the first teacher in Townsend. From 1745 to 1750 the town raised twenty pounds, old tenor, for the support of schools, which were kept at several different places. In 1749 the town "voted to raise £10 lawful money to support a school," and designated three places at which it should be kept, one of which was "at the new school-house in the middle of the town." The foundation of this house may still be seen, on the east side of the old discontinued road, nearly opposite to the spot where the first meeting-house stood. There is no record of the time when this house was built, but probably it was during 1747.

From 1754 to 1766 the town, each year, appropriated £8, lawful money, for the support of a school and decided where it should be kept. In 1753 the records show that there was a "school on the south side of the river," but when it was built, or its size, is not known; neither can the precise spot where it stood be pointed out. At that time the largest part of the inhabitants of Townsend lived in the east part of the town, within three miles of the east line thereof, so that a school on Nissequassick Hill, one at the middle of the town, and one just south of the harbor would accommodate the people in the best possible manner.

In 1783, beginning to realize that they had thrown off the British yoke, and feeling the spirit of independence stirring within them, the people, at a town-meeting in May, chose a committee of nine "to divide the town into squadrons for convenience for schooling." This committee divided the town into seven parts, for school purposes, and designated the location of the several houses. Not many of the places where these school-houses stood have houses on them at present. There is nothing of importance on record in regard to educational affairs from the time these squadrons were made until the population of the town had increased so that larger houses were required. In 1796 voted to choose a man in each school squadron for a School Committee. Chose Samuel Stone, Jonathan Wallace, Life Baldwin, Jacob Blodgett, Ephraim Lampson, John Sherwin and Daniel Adams, Esq., for said committee." This first School Committee chosen in Townsend was made up of men of prominence in the districts to which they belonged. What they lacked in the higher branches of mathematics, as taught in our high school, and on which much time is lost by pupils who never expect to be teachers or professors, they made up in square common-sense general information and integrity of character.

Soon after the Baptist meeting-house at West Townsend was erected, the subject of establishing a seminary for young ladies at that village began to be discussed. The idea was suggested by Mr. Levi Warren, who, at that time, was the most influential man in that section of the town. In 1835 between thirty and forty gentlemen of the Baptist faith, a part of whom did not belong to Townsend, contributed towards purchasing the land and erecting the building known as "the seminary." No sum was subscribed less than twenty-five dollars, which was called a share, and most of the subscribers took one share, while others gave according to their interest in education and the prosperity of the village. The largest contributor was Mr. Levi Warren, who subscribed for nineteen shares. The building was finished in April, 1836, and the institution was inaugurated under highly favorable circumstances, which more than met the expectations of its patrons and founders. March 13, 1839, the owners received an act of incorporation from the General Court under the name of the "Townsend West Village Female Seminary." The lady who was principal when the seminary commenced, remained in office only about a year, when she married and left town. Another principal succeeded her until the fall term, 1839, when the trustees engaged the services of Miss Ruth Robinson, a person of excellent judgment and ample scholastic attainments. Associated with the principal were six teachers of experience in the natural sciences, mathematics, intellectual and moral philosophy, the ornamental branches and music. This board of instruction was selected with much care by a board of trustees from different New England States. It was a Baptist institution, but enjoyed the confidence of all denominations. The Baptists of the Eastern States and some from New York sent their daughters to West Townsend for an education at this seminary, which for more than twenty years was very popular. In almost every State in the Union may be found one or more who have been teachers, principals of high schools and seminaries, besides wives of professional men, who remembered with pleasure the pleasant days of their youth passed at this, their *Alma Mater*. In 1844 a more lucrative position was offered Miss Robinson, when she resigned her office. Miss Hannah P. Dodge, a native of Littleton and a graduate of this seminary in 1843, succeeded as principal. She remained in office until November, 1853, when, at her own solicitation, she was dismissed, partly on account of ill health. The building was commodious, well arranged and its recitation rooms richly carpeted. The Lesbian Society, a literary association of the pupils, was a success, belonging to which was a judiciously selected library, a large part of which was presented by Messrs. Levi and Charles Warren and their Baptist friends in Boston.

In every particular it had no peer in America except, perhaps, in Miss Willard's Female Seminary, at Troy, New York. But after a successful existence of about twenty-five years—after it had shone brilliantly among the constellations of the literary galaxy of its time—in an evil hour, it finally sunk, never to rise again from beneath the horizon of financial mismanagement which enshrouded its exit. Thus the civilizing influence, which to a great extent built up

West Townsend, which gave a fresh impetus to our public schools and made Townsend an objective-point as a seat of learning and refinement, was irretrievably lost. The building passed into the hands of the mortgagee and it is now used for the graded schools at West Townsend.

After the seminary had been in operation for four or five years the Congregationalists and others at the centre of the town, observing the good influence emanating from that institution, and that the Baptist Church was much better filled than at previous times, took the idea of an academy at Townsend Centre. First and foremost in this enterprise was the Rev. Mr. Stowell, the orthodox minister. Accordingly, from the people of the town, and from the members of the Congregational society in particular, a sufficient sum of money, in addition to the quantity of lumber and building materials given by others interested, was subscribed to erect a suitable building. Capt. Elnathan Davis gave the timber for the frame, delivered on the ground where the building was to stand. The traders at the Centre gave the nails, lime and hardware, and the academy was built by a mutual effort by which no one felt the least impoverished. It was finished in the summer of 1841, and opened the following September with a respectable number of students. It stood on the north side of Main Street, nearly opposite to where the bank now stands, in what is now the stable-yard of Walter Fessenden & Son. It was not so expensive a structure as the seminary, but it was a substantial, well-arranged, two-story building, with a tower and bell surmounting it. For five or six years consecutively this academy received a good share of patronage, and during the autumn months a large number of scholars gathered within its walls.

Mr. Noahdiah Dickinson was the first preceptor, a graduate of Amherst College, a good scholar, and of very gentlemanly deportment. While Mr. Stowell remained in town he took much interest in this school, and he assisted Mr. Dickinson, when the services of an additional teacher were needed, in a manner very acceptable to the students.

Jonathan C. Shattuck, a graduate from Dartmouth in 1842, had charge of this academy for some time. The difficulty of supporting two institutions of similar character in so small a town soon became apparent; besides, three of the towns joining Townsend had each an academy, in addition to New Ipswich Academy—all seeking patronage. After Mr. Stowell and Mr. Dickinson left this town, the interest in the Academy began to decrease, until finally, in 1851, the old district school-house, situated at the northeast corner of the Common, was much too small to accommodate the scholars, and what was District No. 1 bought this academy-building and moved it on the ground nearly north of the Methodist meeting-house, and fitted it up for the accommodation of two schools. It was used for a public school-house until January 5, 1870, when it was burned, as was supposed, by an incendiary. There have been four other school-houses burned in this town—two in what was called Potunck District (No. 8), and two in the Harbor District. About 1830 a school-house was burned which stood about one-fourth of a mile southerly from the bridge over the river at Townsend Harbor, in the angle of land made by the divergence of the Shirley and South Row roads; and in 1872 another school-house, situated on the west side of said Shirley road, nearer the Harbor, was destroyed by fire by the careless deposit of ashes.

The school laws of the Commonwealth are altered so often, and there is such an effort made to hurry along the scholars from one grade of school to the next higher, and everything about the schools is so much run in grooves, that it is doubtful if our scholars leave the schools now with any better mental or moral equipment to enter the battle of life than those did, long ago, when Miss Rebecca Warren, Seth Davis, Miss Mary Palmer, John K. Palmer, Samuel Adams and Miss Polly Giles were the teachers.

CEMETERIES.—Generally, the cemetery of the New England Puritans was situated next to their house of worship, so that the shadow of their sacred temples might fall upon the graves, which, being in plain view, on each returning Sabbath might forcibly remind them of their mortality. The situation of the first meeting-house in Townsend, on "Mount Grace," as it is called in some of the old deeds, made it impracticable to conform to this custom, on account of the rocky and ledgy nature of the land. It is not known where the people of this town buried their dead for the first fifteen years after there was a settlement here.

In 1742 the town "voted to accept of an acre of land from Mr. William Clark, for a burial place." It is probable that this "God's acre" was given to the town a considerable length of time before this vote was passed. There must have been some burials in Townsend before this time, and considering the nearness of this spot to their meeting-house, this was undoubtedly the first place selected for the interment of the dead. The graves first made here are marked by rough slabs of slate, minus any inscriptions, and the first stones on which are any records date back no further than 1745.

In 1744, "Voted to choose a committee of three men to clear up the burying-place, and dispose of the timber for the best advantage of the town. Chose for this committee, Nathaniel Richardson, Joseph Baldwin and Josiah Robbins." In 1747 the town evinced a deeeper interest in this cemetery, and "Voted to fence the burying-ground with a stone wall four feet and four inches high." Mr. William Clark, the giver, was the owner of a large amount of land in this town. His name appears on the list of the seventy-two persons who were present at Concord on May 19, 1720, when he subscribed for a "Lott in

y^e North Town," but did not pay for it at that time. He was a shoemaker, owned slaves, came from Concord to this town, and settled on the south side of the river, at the base of the hill, on the South Row road, leading from the first meeting-house, where one Isaac Spaulding afterward lived. A slate gravestone, now in a good state of preservation, was erected to his memory, situated near the centre of this burial-place, from which it appears that he died in 1756, aged seventy-seven years.

About 1816 the people began to talk about a new cemetery, the acre given by Mr. Clark being nearly full; besides there are no avenues in this acre, and the graves are so close together and the headstones so numerous that the small part of it farthest from the road, which is not used for burials, is not easily approached by a funeral *cortege*. In 1818 the town voted to buy the land now used for a cemetery at the centre of the town, then owned by Rev. David Palmer, Deacon Daniel Adams and Richard Warner, Esq., each of whom had an angle of land needed to make the ground eligible, both in distance from the meeting-house and quadrangular in form, and this cemetery was inaugurated this year.

In 1854 the town chose a committee, consisting of the selectmen, to buy land at the east of their new burial-place, in order to enlarge the same. The east line of the land, bought in 1818, commenced near the site of the receiving-tomb; thence southerly in a line nearly parallel with the west line of the cemetery. This committee bought about six acres of land of Richard Warner, at the east of this line, enclosed it with a picket fence, and took up the east line fence of the original plot. This burial-place has broad avenues, the natural surface of the ground has been properly graded, the lots are kept clear from grass or weeds, and it contains many substantial specimens of monumental art.

In 1836 Mr. Levi Warren set apart a tract of land for a cemetery, on the south side of the road from West Townsend to Ashby. Two or three bodies were buried here; but, for good reasons, he altered his mind about the location, and had the bodies moved, in 1838, at his own expense, to the village cemetery, now at the north of the river, and then gave the town a deed of the land. For the few years past this cemetery has been kept in a neat and orderly manner, and there are some expensive monuments here.

Mechanical Industries. — The first mill in Townsend was built at the Harbor by John Stevens and John Patt, by mutual agreement in writing, each binding himself, his heirs and executors, to the other, his heirs and executors, "to furnish one-half of the labor, timber, stone and iron necessary for the erection of said mill for sawing boards; and to keep the same in repair for twenty years." This agreement, drawn in a neat, bold hand, worded in a scholarly manner, and legally binding on both parties, is now in possession of the Ball family, which was connected by marriage with the Stevens family. The signatures of these men and that of the two witnesses to the instrument would be particularly noticeable for good penmanship in a collection of autographs. John Patt owned the land on the north side of the river, and John Stevens on the south side, where the mill was built, which stood about twenty rods easterly of the location of the bridge at the Harbor. This was executed in January, 1733, and the mill was built before the 30th of the following November. A dam, suitable in height, was thrown across the river at or near where the stone dam now stands, which stopped the water much farther up the river than was agreeable to the engineering of these two men. A meeting of the proprietors was called in August of that year, when it was voted to allow Ephraim Sawtell "an equivalent for such land as may be flowed by the raising of the dam." A grist-mill was soon put in this building. This mill was sold by the builders a few years after it was built, including the privilege and a certain amount of land, to John Conant, who was the owner and occupant for a long time.

About 1768 a mill stood on the south side of the river at West Townsend, near the west side of the stone bridge at that village, which was known, in its day, as "the Hubbard mill," but whether William Hobart or Israel Hobart built it is unknown, as it was burned about 1790. In 1790 Hezekiah Richardson made the canal leading easterly from this stone bridge to the spot where the leather-board mill now stands, and made a mill for sawing and grinding at that locality. Here has been a saw and grist-mill, a wool carding and clothier's mill, a stocking factory, a machine shop and a leather-board mill, the last being the present business. James Giles had a saw-mill where the A. M. Adams kit-mill was burned as early as 1780, and before that time Major Samuel Stone, of Ashby, built a mill on Willard's Stream, in the fork of the two roads leading to Ashby. Afterwards this mill was owned by Eben Butler, from whom, in 1819, Benjamin Barrett and son bought this property. They demolished the old mill, made a stone dam and the second mill at this place. Quite recently a mill three stories in height, and rather capacious, was built here; and in 1871 another stone dam, farther up the stream, was made for reservoir purposes, by which the privilege was much enhanced in value, and within a year an engine was put in this mill to secure power any day in the year. All kinds of lumber and coopering stock are made here and the property is owned and occupied by Clarence Stickney.

In 1817 Daniel Giles erected a mill on the spot where the grain elevator now is at Townsend Centre. This mill has not passed through many hands, but it has been enlarged and improved at different times. Adams & Powers were the next owners, and now the property belongs to Union S. Adams. For the last half-century this saw and grist-mill, in connection with the coopering business, and on account of

its central location in relation to a market for flour, grain and meal, has done the most business of any mill in town. Soon after Daniel Giles sold this property he built a steam mill on the west side of the Brookline road, about half a mile northerly from the Common, where the furniture factory now stands. This mill was not long in operation before it was burned, and he lost heavily by the fire. The citizens of the town and his friends, with much sympathy for the loser, contributed liberally to his relief, so that he rebuilt on the same spot and continued his business, using steam-power, in company with a partner until his death, in 1858, when Mr. Edwin A. Larkin went on with the mill in making coopering stock. In 1874 the furniture factory, now owned and operated by William P. Taylor and others, was put up here where the Giles and Larkin mill stood, that mill having been taken down. This establishment is operated by steam-power, employing ten or fifteen workmen and turns out about thirty thousand dollars' worth of goods annually.

In 1867 a large two-story and basement factory for the manufacture of coopering stock of all kinds, operated by steam, was built at the centre of the town by Walter Fessenden & Son. This mill gave employment to about thirty workmen. The building, motive-power, machinery and every facility for the manufacture of this stock was first-class. Except the usual summer vacation of four or five weeks, it was kept running during the year. In August, 1874, this mill was burned, the fire being undoubtedly the work of an incendiary. This large structure was, at that time, full of combustible goods made from seasoned pine lumber. There was no wind; the evening was dark, during which the fire which raged furiously when the roof fell in, sent a gleaming and hissing sheet of flame upward into the sky which was visible for a long distance around. Had the fire happened when the wind blew, or any time except when the mill-yard and surrounding roofs were wet, the central village would have been reduced to ashes. The owners soon cleared away the *débris* and commenced re-building, and on the 4th of the following February another building, similar in every particular, and equally expensive, commenced running on the same location. This second mill of the Fessendens was also burned June 22, 1884.

In 1800 Benjamin Pierce started a tannery near the first little brook crossing the road leading from the depot at West Townsend to the post-office in that village. It stood on the north side of the road. Several proprietors followed him in the business, among whom were George Hartwell, Levi Stearns (about 1825), Alexander Lewis (about 1828) and Abram S. French, 1831.

In 1827 Curtis Stevens had a tannery on the spot where Stickney's mill now stands, which he operated for seven or eight years. He ground the bark in the mill, and his vats were on the north side of it.

In 1789 Captain Timothy Fessenden was engaged in the tanning business on land now owned by Harriet Read, near the north end of the dam across the Squannicook, at the Harbor. John and Samuel Billings, of Lunenburg, were interested in this property, but whether as owners, mortgagees, or otherwise, is unknown. John Jewett followed Fessenden in this business until about 1808, when Oliver Read bought the place and worked at the same trade until about 1827.

John Orr, in 1854, erected quite a large two-story and attic building near the railroad track at West Townsend Depot for a tannery, which was operated by steam-power. He employed five or six workmen in the trade until 1858, when the property went into the hands of a firm doing business under the name of Freeman & Avery. These men increased the business, constantly employing fifteen or twenty operatives. The firm shipped a large amount of goods into the market, but the owners were not first-class financiers and did not succeed according to their expectations.

In 1864 George Taft bought this establishment, retaining the foreman and some of the workmen under the firm which preceded him, and he went on with the business. The building and finished stock contained in it were burned in 1868, but in due time Mr. Taft built another structure of about the same dimensions, on the same site, which remained about three years, when that also was burned. Since that time the ruins of this factory have remained undisturbed. Within the last forty years this branch of industry has been concentrated into a few places and is carried on by combined capital and rich firms, with whom competition is next to impossible.

In 1833 Abram S. French built a morocco factory on the brook running northeasterly from Bayberry Hill, near its confluence with the river, and near where James Giles built his saw-mill described in this chapter. He erected a dam on this brook which kept back sufficient water to operate a fulling-mill during the largest part of the year. This establishment was in successful operation for twenty years, employing constantly ten or twelve workmen; and considering the length of time the business was prosecuted, it must have been a source of wealth to the proprietor.

From 1800 to 1840 many families in this town manufactured woolen goods—using the hand-loom—for their own clothing. A tailoress would be in attendance with these families once a year, and cut the cloth and make these woolen goods into clothing for their members. So with boots and shoes. The farmers sent their hides—marked so as to be recognized—to the tanners, where they were made into leather. A boot and shoemaker would go around to each house and make these goods—sufficient for a year's stock for the family.

Nathan Carlton had a wool-carding and cloth-coloring and dressing-mill at the Harbor as early as 1790. His mill stood on the north side of the river, just above

the bridge, and he took water from the Harbor Pond for his power. In 1821 Paul Gerrish took possession of this property and engaged quite extensively in the same trade with good success. This gentleman was one of the most prominent citizens of the town. He was a justice of the peace and one of the selectmen for a number of years. He represented Townsend in the Legislature in 1832, was an accurate town officer and an exemplary man. Died September 15, 1847, at Townsend.

About 1807 Jonathan Richardson came into possession and ownership of the saw and grist-mill erected by Hezekiah Richardson & Sons, which stood a few rods easterly of the present leather-board factory. Connected with this building was an ell, or wing, which contained a wool-carding machine owned by Captain Josiah G. Heald, who continued in the clothier's trade here for more than twenty-five years. He was a much respected citizen, represented Townsend in the General Court in 1839, died at Mason Village, N. H., June 15, 1849.

Soon after the close of the Revolution the Warrens, and others, were engaged in the manufacture of potash, and this industry was followed in a profitable manner until about 1820, when wood became more valuable for other purposes.

Previous to the beginning of the present century the principal branch of industry of the town, from which was derived the greatest amount of money, was the manufacture of beef, pork and rum barrels, and, in fact, this trade continued until nearly 1830, when casks began to be made from sawed pine staves. These casks were drawn to Boston market by ox-teams, usually about four days being spent making the journey.

In 1787 Peter Manning commenced making saddles at the Harbor, his house and shop both being in the building where Charles Emery resides. This was in the days when equestrianism was practiced by both sexes, when pleasure wagons were unknown and the "one-horse shay" had not been introduced. A saddler was almost as indispensable in every town as a minister. He is represented as a very polite man, a skillful mechanic, and a good singer; but he rebelled against the practice of alternate reading and singing the lines of the hymn, which was the custom in public service on the Sabbath, and it was through his influence that fashion was laid aside. At that time Townsend Harbor was the only collection of houses in town which could be called a village. It had a tavern, the large, old house (now standing) at or near the south end of the dam at the river, kept by John Conant, a very popular landlord; a saw and grist-mill, a blacksmith shop, a clothier (1790), a tanner, a trader (Life Baldwin in 1788), who occupied the building now painted red, for a store, which stands on the north side of the road, nearly opposite of the spot where the first mill stood. This was the first store in Townsend, and its proprietor at that time, Mr. Baldwin, was a man of good influence, was town clerk 1793, and one of the selectmen 1793 and 1794.

About 1830, Beriah Blood and Reuben Farrar came from Concord to the Harbor and bought the Conant mill. Soon after they moved a large barn, standing near by on the south side of the river, and set it up in their mill-yard, near the side of the road, and converted it into a foundry. Quite a sum of money was invested in the building and stock in trade. Albert S. Page commenced the business, which afterwards was in possession of several different men and different firms. At one time the establishment turned out a large quantity of goods. The Wards, two brothers there for a while, were experienced workmen and gave character to their goods. There always appeared to be a lack of capital in the hands of the owners of this foundry to prosecute the business in a successful manner. In 1851 it was burned, while the Wood brothers (the railroad contractors) were the owners.

Soon after the old meeting-house was moved on to the Common (1804), a blacksmith, a tinsmith and a hatter set up their several trades near each other, just west of the Goss Bridge, at the centre of the town; but a large number of hatters were in Townsend twenty years after that date, scattered throughout the town in almost every farmer's house, where their wives and daughters braided thousands of dollars' worth of palm-leaf hats every year for more than twenty-five years after this industry was introduced here. David P. Livermore, a trader at the Harbor, introduced this business into Townsend, and he and John Snow, at the centre, put the leaf into the hands of the braiders, who received their pay for braiding in goods. The wives, in many families, earned enough to buy the groceries and store goods for their households through the year. The business waned about 1850, but between that year and 1860 Daniel Adams, a trader at Townsend Centre, had made and sold annually between twelve and fifteen thousand dozen of palm-leaf hats, a large part of which went to the Southern States and were worn by colored people, concerning whom President Lincoln issued a proclamation.

It is remarkable how soon a few years will sweep into oblivion the dates and events which were once of thrilling interest to the whole community. Not all the dates could be given in this chapter which are desirable. A friend when laid in the ground has the time of his departure indented on the faithful marble that perpetuates his memory, but no monument is ever erected on the spot once cheered by happy industry, where a mill has rotted down or been swept out of existence by fire or flood; neither is there any record of the event, and, unless the searcher after the date can obtain an interview with some intelligent mother who recollects that "it was the same year that my Mary was born," he can scarcely, with certainty, fix the date.

Anson D. Fessenden, Albert L. Fessenden, Union S. Adams and Clarence Stickney are the only persons, each operating separately, who are now extensively engaged in the coopering business in this town. They ship a good many thousand dollars' worth of packages to market annually, and they employ in all parts of this business about seventy-five workmen.

E. W. Seaver & Co. are tub and pail-makers in a factory at Joslynville, built in 1849, and occupied since that time by —— Potter, A. M. White, Lawrence Brothers and Charles Lawrence before the present firm took possession. The motive-power here is both steam and water, and the mill has first-class machinery. The firm employs about eighteen men through the year in this trade, which produces about thirty thousand dollars' worth of goods annually.

"Spaulding Brothers," Jonas and Isaac W. Spaulding, are leather-board manufacturers. They have two large mills, one at the Harbor and one at West Townsend. The mill at the Harbor they built with much expense; the main building at West Townsend is the same that has been used for different industries for a long time. This is a bulky business, producing many tons of goods each month.

THE REBELLION OF 1861–65.—The great wrong of firing upon the national flag, and plotting treason against the government, must be held in everlasting remembrance, to the disgrace of the Southern leaders in the slave-holders' rebellion; but let no reader, for a moment, suppose that the South *alone* was responsible for this civil feud which sundered the ties of consanguinity and drenched the land with fraternal blood; which entailed an enormous debt on the nation, and swept away from their homes and into the grave nearly half a million of men, on both sides, who have fought their last battle.

It is hardly necessary to state here that Massachusetts extended a vigorous and unqualified support to the government in its effort to preserve the Union by military force. The report of the adjutant-general of this State, in 1866, shows that this Commonwealth was represented in the army and navy, in the different terms of service during the war, by one hundred and fifty-nine thousand one hundred and fifteen (159,115) men; and that with the exception of twelve small towns, every town and city in the State had furnished a surplus over all the demands from the War Department, which amounted in the aggregate to fifteen thousand one hundred and seventy-eight (15,178) men, of which the town of Townsend furnished thirty-three (33) men.

As on the 19th of April, 1775, the Middlesex County men were the first to yield their lives in the Revolution, so on the 19th of April, 1861, just eighty-five years afterward, men from the same towns, belonging to the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, were the first to give their lives for their country, in the mob fight at Baltimore, on which occasion three men were killed and thirty wounded.

In common with all the towns and municipalities of the State, Townsend was aroused to a great excitement by the treacherous shots, April 12, 1861, aimed at Fort Sumter. On the 20th of April a town-warrant was posted at the usual places, in Townsend, calling a town-meeting on the 27th day of said April, which contained the following article:

"To see if the town will take any measures to facilitate the enrollment or enlistment of volunteers, whose services shall be tendered to the Governor of the Commonwealth, or through him to the President of the United States.

"On this article voted and chose a committee of five citizens to report to the town a plan for its action. Chose for said committee, Henry Sceva, Walter Fessenden, Daniel L. Brown, Nathaniel F. Cummings and Samuel S. Haynes, who submitted the following preamble and resolutions, which were accepted and adopted by a unanimous vote of the town:

"*Whereas*, a portion of the states of this confederacy are now in open rebellion against the government, and whereas the President of these United States has called upon the Loyal States for a military force sufficient to suppress the rebellion and maintain the laws of the land,

"Now, therefore, we, the citizens of Townsend in town-meeting assembled, hereby declare our undying love for liberty, and our sacred regard for the Constitution as submitted to us by its founders.

"*Resolved*, that we tender to the Government our sympathy, and, if necessity requires, our lives and property.

"*Resolved*, that our foreign-born citizens, for the promptness with which they have rallied to the support of this their adopted country, have laid us, the native-born citizens, under everlasting obligations, and that our gratitude for their support and sympathy should be appropriately, cheerfully and promptly acknowledged.

"*Voted*, that Walter Fessenden, Daniel S. Brown, Nathaniel F. Cummings, James N. Tucker and Alfred M. Adams be a committee to take immediate measures for the enrollment of a company of able-bodied men, whose services shall forthwith be tendered to the government.

"*Voted*, to provide for the families of those who may need assistance during their actual service."

The gentlemen of this committee, and other men of wealth and influence, appealed to the patriotism of the citizens, assuring them that the families of married men should be cared for in case they should volunteer to fill the quota of the town. It appears that the seceding States had been making preparations for a fight for some time, while the North, with the exception of a few regiments of volunteer militia in Massachusetts, and one or two other States, was unprepared for either an offensive or defensive war.

The President called for seventy-five thousand men, April 15, 1861, and the next day the Old Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, with General Butler, left for Boston, *en route* for Washington. June 19th following, seven Townsend men were enlisted and joined this regiment, viz.: Henry J. Parker, Frederick A. Jones, Robert F. Webb, John Quigg, Ramson C. Watson, George N. Spaulding, Daniel Sidelinger. These men enlisted for three months, and were mustered out at expiration of term, but most of them re-enlisted and served in various regiments.

"The Old Sixth," which had a skirmish in Baltimore with Butler as commander, was reorganized in October, 1861, under the name of the Twenty-sixth Massachusetts Regiment, and sailed from Boston directly for Ship Island. Mustered out August 26, 1865. Townsend had thirty-two men in Company G, in this regiment, whose names are as follows: Loren

Hosley, George A. Adams, Charles W. Dix, James Willard, Ally B. Brown, Elijah T. Bates, Charles H. Brown, Warren B. Clark, Franklin F. Cross, William Davis, Russell O. Houghton, Alvah Richardson, Charles Willard, James A. Sanborn, Frederick A. Jones, Samuel W. Griffith, Merrick S. Gilson, Charles R. Shattuck, William Hunt, Charles L. Spaulding, Myron F. Going, Charles J. Hapgood, Charles L. Hall, Charles H. Martin, Aaron S. Petts, Ai H. Spaulding, Andrew H. Sloan, Frank Stevens, Francis W. Wood, Ramson C. Watson, Lysander P. Taylor and John Shattuck.

This regiment took part in the engagements at Winchester, Cedar Creek and Fisher's Hill in the Nineteenth Army Corps.

July 1, 1862, the President called for 300,000 men for three years, considering the reverses in the Shenandoah Valley and the imminent danger of a successful attempt to take Washington. Under this call twenty-five men of this town volunteered for service, and joined the Thirty-third Massachusetts Regiment of Volunteers, Company E. The names of these men are as follows: George W. Bennett, Abijah W. Blood, James Buckley, George E. Clark, Thomas Dalrymple, Lewis Gonnier, Andrew D. Heselton, James King, Clarence W. Sylvester, Charles E. Marshall, Dominick May, Waldo T. Tower, Jonah Parker, Henry J. Parker, Charles W. Parker, Simeon K. Richards, Sylvester T. Wheeler, Charles W. Wetherbee, Jefferson Whitcomb, Evander W. Wright, Franklin S. Wright, Andrew L. Woodard, William H. Wright, Lewis T. Wright, Abram Clark and Oliver B. Osborn.

This regiment took part in the battles of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Beverly Ford, Gettysburg, Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge and the several battles of Sherman's grand army. It used up two stands of colors, which were so torn and mutilated by wear and bullets that they would scarcely hang together. They were sent home and deposited in the State-House with other mementos of the conflict, and a third stand of colors was sent to the regiment, on which were inscribed the names of the twenty-two battles in which it was engaged.

Five Townsend men re-enlisted in the Sixth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers in August, 1862, for nine months, and they were under Captain George F. Shattuck, of Groton. The names of these men are Richard Pierce, Albert D. Turner, Alanson Withington, Charles W. Hildreth and Charles A. Wright.

On the 1st day of August, 1862, the President called for 300,000 nine months' men. War-meetings during that month were frequently held at the town hall to devise means to fill the quota of the town. At one of these meetings Anson D. Fessenden was selected to recruit a company, if possible; if not, as many as he could. He enlisted forty Townsend men, and about the same number of recruits were enlisted in the town of Shirley and the neighboring towns. Mr. Fessenden was chosen first lieutenant of this company, which made a part of the Fifty-third Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, which served in the Department of the Gulf, Nineteenth Army Corps, John W. Kimball, of Fitchburg, colonel. This regiment was in the battle of Port Hudson, and in other battles and skirmishes during the spring and summer of 1863. The following are the names of the Townsend men: Anson D. Fessenden, promoted to captain September 2, 1863, John Q. Adams, Isaac Allen, Wallis S. Arlin, John B. Blood, Daniel Brogan, John A. Brown, William Bush, Charles S. Champney, Edmund O. Day, Andrew Foster, Adams S. Graham, Harlan F. Green, John Haynes, John P. Hildreth, Webster Hoffses, Leander C. Jefts, Dennison S. Kimball, Francis A. Laws, William Ordway, Henry C. Nichols, Levi T. Parker, Shubell B. Pierce, Hiram F. Richards, John Richards, Edson A. Richardson, Dennis J. Shehan, George A. Sherwin, Alden W. Smith, Benjamin B. Spaulding, Augustus G. Stickney, William E. Sylvester, Levi Wares, Alson S. Warren, William H. Woodward and Thomas H. Warren.

The following are the names of Townsend men who enlisted at different times and served in various regiments: Patrick Murray, Charles C. Cobleigh, Henry O. Adams, James E. Brooks, Amos Pierce, Boyd Todd, Edward Potter, Lorenzo Bruce, James A. Willard, George Spalding, William H. Lewis, Alden Adams, Leonard O. Bruce, William T. Barrett, William T. Adams, Charles Searles, Julius C. Eastman, Henry H. Hosley, Joseph O. Hildreth, Oliver E. Hazard (colored), Horace Hazard (colored), Nahum G. Hazard (colored), John J. Hennessey (colored), William A. Champney, Edwin Adams, Thomas H. Welsh, Robert Webb, Daniel T. Goodwin, George F. French, Horace E. Lawrence.

The following is a list of the names of the men who enlisted in August, 1864, for one year, and were mustered in on the 25th of the same month. They are described in the records as belonging to the "Twenty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment Unattached Heavy Artillery." They were stationed at Fort Delaware and near the city of Washington: Vernal Barber, John A. Brown, William Coombs, George H. Ellis, Jonas L. Jennerson, Benjamin F. King, Augustus Lovejoy, Newell F. Putnam, Nathaniel A. Ripley, Benj. B. Spalding, Amos Webber, Elbridge A. Wright.

A roll of the men who enlisted July 7, 1864, for 100 days, and proceeded to Washington and performed guard duty at Arlington Heights. The men are represented in the record as belonging to Company B, Sixth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers. No casualties happened to these men during their absence: Charles Adams, Joseph Barter, James Brogan, Rufus T. Brown, George H. Green, Samuel K. Gilson, George S. Graham, Charles W. Hildreth, James C. Moody, Ai Richards, Charles Spaulding, Marshall D. Spaulding, Henry Sturtevant, William R. Wright, John B. Spaulding.

The foregoing rolls contain the names of all the Townsend men, as far as known, who volunteered to assist in suppressing the Rebellion. Only one Townsend man (Horace Hazard) was drafted. No mention of the substitutes has been made, as they were mere merchandise, used for a time to shield the men who chose to purchase them rather than to take the risks of war upon their own shoulders.

The town records, during the time the Rebellion was in progress, were not kept with the greatest accuracy; but, as near as can be ascertained from all sources, Townsend sent to the field troops enlisted for three months, one hundred days, nine months and three years, or for the war, including substitutes, 270 men, of whom 161 were voters in this town at the time of their enlistment. Twelve Townsend men were killed in action and twenty-one lost their lives by starvation in rebel prisons, disease and the casualties of war. It has been a source of pleasure to the writer that, during the entire labor of examining muster-rolls, discharge-papers, diaries, adjutant-general's reports and town records, that the word "deserted" has never been found written or printed opposite the name of any Townsend man.

The services of the women of the town, acting in concert with the Sanitary Commission, are not to be overlooked. During the war, from the time our soldiers were first encamped within the borders of the State, until they returned home at the expiration of their term of service, they were remembered by this class of patient toilers. The sessions of the Ladies' Benevolent Society were many, which were devoted to industrious efforts in making quilts, clothing, lint and cushions for broken limbs. The busy hands of the home-circle, similarly employed, should also be mentioned. The goods thus made, together with condiments, provisions, stimulants and delicacies, purchased at considerable expense, suitable for those who were suffering in the hospitals, were at different dates carefully packed, filling many barrels and boxes and forwarded in a cause where philanthropy was at a premium. Among the ladies who were active in this womanly sympathy, the names of Mrs. Mary Bertram, Mrs. Ralph Ball, Mrs. Jonas Spaulding, Jr., Mrs. Noah Ball and others might be mentioned. Their efforts awakened gladness in many hearts, and will be held in grateful remembrance.

"War is honorable
In those who do their native rights maintain;
In those whose swords an iron barrier are
Between the lawless spoiler and the weak."

Lawyers, Physicians and College Graduates.—Walter Hastings, born in Chelmsford, 1778; Harvard College, 1799; admitted to the bar, 1803; was a colonel at Port Warren in the war with England, 1812; died in Townsend, June 6, 1831.

Aaron Keyes, born in Westford, 1791; read law with John Abbott, of Westford; was admitted to the bar in 1822; came to Townsend the same year and opened an office; was in practice here for twenty years; died at Townsend, November 28, 1842.

John Preston was a lawyer in practice in Townsend for two or three years, about 1830; Harvard College, 1823; removed to New Ipswich, New Hampshire; died March 5, 1867.

Frederick A. Worcester, born in Hollis, New Hampshire, January 28, 1807; Harvard College, 1831; came to Townsend and opened an office in 1836; remained in practice here during his life; died March 3, 1888.

Charles F. Worcester, born in Townsend, February 25, 1859; Dartmouth College, 1884; has an office in Townsend and one in Ayer; resides in Townsend.

The first physician in Townsend, Doctor Joseph Adams, came from Lincoln about 1774; was a loyalist, fled to England and died there, Febuary 3, 1803; property confiscated.

Dr. Samuel Hosley was an assistant surgeon in the Continental Army until the close of the war, and commenced the practice of medicine here at its close; born in Townsend in 1758.

Dr. Isaac Mullikin originated in Bradford; came to Townsend about 1780; was a justice of the peace and town clerk several years.

Dr. Samuel Lovejoy, born in Milton, New Hampshire, 1775; came to Townsend, in 1802; was in practice here more than thirty years,—the last man that traveled on horse-back with saddle-bags; died 1851.

Dr. Moses Kidder came from Billerica; was surgeon at Fort Warren, 1813; came to Townsend, 1822; moved to Lowell about 1835; died there.

Dr. John Bertram was born at Petersborough, New Hampshire, 1794; Dartmouth College Medical Department, 1825; came to Townsend 1827; died December 15, 1846, at Townsend.

Dr. Ebenezer P. Hills, born in Newbury, 1804; Bowdoin College Medical Department, 1825; came to Townsend Harbor, 1825; remained at that village about twenty years; died in Shirley, 1854.

Dr. John Heard was born in Maine about 1810; took the degree of Bachelor of Medicine from Dartmouth College, 1838; came to Townsend, 1852; left town 1861.

Dr. Augustus G. Stickney, born in Antrim, New Hampshire, 1807; Berkshire Medical College, Pittsfield, 1833; came to West Townsend, 1834; member of Massachusetts Medical Society, 1844; died at West Townsend, August 23, 1862.

Dr. Royal B. Boynton, born in Pepperell, February 7, 1826; Medical College, Woodstock, Vermont, 1852; commenced practice in Townsend, 1853; was in practice at Mason Village, N. H., for a few years; returned to Townsend in 1865, and remained here ever since.

Dr. Edward J. Donnell, born in Lyndeborough, New Hampshire in 1835; Dartmouth Medical College, 1865; came to West Townsend, 1870; removed to Stockton, Kansas, 1876; member of New Hampshire Medical Society.

Dr. Charles J. Towne, born in Stoddard, New Hampshire, 1840; College of Physicians and Surgeons in the City of New York, 1865; came to Townsend, 1867; removed to the town of Essex, 1881.

Dr. Luther G. Chandler, son of George S. and Elizabeth (Thurston) Chandler, born in Nashua, New Hampshire, December 12, 1844; graduated from Portland (Maine) High School, 1863; Harvard College Medical Department, 1871; came to Townsend June, 1878; is now in practice here.

Dr. Albert J. Atwood, son of George M. and Jane (Hall) Atwoood, born in England, county of Kent, March 30, 1859; graduated from Cleveland Homœopathic Hospital College 1885; came to Townsend September, 1885; is now in practice here.

COLLEGE GRADUATES.

John Hubbard, Dartmouth College, 1785; Abraham Butterfield, Dartmouth College, 1796; Daniel Adams, Dartmouth College, 1797; Joseph Walker, Bowdoin College, 1818; William Farmer, Harvard College, 1819; John Stevens, Middlebury College, 1821; Joel Giles, Harvard College, 1829; John Graham, Amherst College, 1829; John Giles, Harvard College, 1831; Charles Brooks, Yale College, 1853; Warren Brooks, Harvard College, 1855; Mark Davis, Dartmouth College, 1859; Charles Theodore Haynes, Amherst College, 1862; John Milton Proctor, Dartmouth College, 1863; Randall Spaulding, Yale College, 1870; Eliel Shumway Ball, Dartmouth College, 1874; Wayland Spaulding, Yale College, 1874; Charles Frederick Worcester, Dartmouth College, 1884; Edward James Sartelle, Harvard College, 1885; George Elliott Wright, Harvard College, 1889; Willie E. Smith, Williams College, 1890; Charles Spaulding, Williams College, 1890.

Post-Office—One hundred years ago there was not much written communication among the people living a considerable distance from each other. Most all the letters written in Northern New England were sent by the market-men and teamsters to a general post-office in Boston, and most of them were advertised in the *Boston Gazette*, a newspaper duly authorized for that purpose. There were some subscribers to that paper in Townsend at that time. In 1777, among the letters advertised in a copy of that paper, is one for a man in Lyndeborough, N. H., one for Colonel William Prescott, of Pepperell, and one for "Mary Reed, of Townshend."

In 1794 a man by the name of Balch was a courier between Keene and Boston, traveling on horseback. His route was through Townsend, and he was an expressman, in a small way, for two or three years.

The Boston and Keene stages began to run in 1806, making three trips a week at first, but soon the horses were more frequently changed and the entire distance was made daily, and the passengers dined at Townsend, which town is about equidistant from these two places.

The monotony of the long summer days in these rural towns was very pleasantly broken by the noisy axle-trees of these vehicles; and the busy toilers in the roadside fields would pause in their labors to catch a view of these messengers of civilization as they moved briskly along. The stage-drivers of that time were a jolly set of fellows, always pleasant and accommodating. Their hardships in occasionally encountering the deep snow-drifts on the hills and the pinching northwest winds, which January sweeps over the Townsend plains, were quite severe. After the railroads were made some of these drivers were placed upon the cars as conductors, but they always appeared out of their element, and as though they greatly preferred the excitement afforded by their pet animals rather than the unnatural snort of the iron horse.

The following is a list of the postmasters at Townsend Centre and the date of their appointments:

Moses Warren, July 1, 1808; John W. Loring, July 1, 1811; William A. Bancroft, February 17, 1817; Aaron Keyes, August 23, 1826; office discontinued, October 29, 1834; re-established, April 11, 1835; Joseph Adams, Jr., April 11, 1835; Thomas Farrar, July 20, 1839; Walter Fessenden, November 12, 1846; John Brooks, September 15, 1849; George A. Wood, September 13, 1851; Charles Osgood, August 12, 1852; William T. Taylor, April 12, 1861; Edwin A. Larkin, September 27, 1866; Charles Osgood, August 5, 1868; William P. Taylor, April 8, 1869; Charles Osgood, July 22, 1885; Walter D. Osgood, May 24, 1886; Henry B. Hildreth, October 22, 1889.

The following is a list of the postmasters at Townsend Harbor, and the time of their appointments:

James S. Walton, ————————; David B. Livermore, July 31, 1832; Paul Gerrish, February 23, 1835; Ebenezer P. Hills, April 17, 1839; Charles Gerrish, February 23, 1842; Charles Emery, February 8, 1843; Oliver Whitcomb, January 3, 1850; Charles Emery, September 15, 1855.

The following is a list of the postmasters at West Townsend and the dates of their appointments:

Silas Bruce, July 20, 1849; Augustus G. Stickney, June 25, 1855; Albert Howe, April 22, 1861; Augustus G. Stickney, July 17, 1862; Albert Howe, October 1, 1862; John E. Dickerman, August 30, 1881; Richard McElligott, September 15, 1885.

There was a mail-route established between Lowell and Worcester in 1832, which gave the Harbor a post-office at that early date. The post-office at Townsend Centre was discontinued in 1834, because the returns to the department were not made as promptly as was required, so that all mail matter for Townsend, from October, 1834, to April 11, 1835, came to Townsend Harbor.

The Public Library.—

> "The past but lives in words; a thousand ages
> Were blank, if books had not evok'd their ghosts,
> And kept the pale, unbodied shadows to warn us
> From fleshless lips."

In 1858 a book agent canvassed this town for the sale of a set of books to make up an agricultural library and obtained the names of some more than one hundred subscribers who paid three dollars each and became mutually interested in the enterprise. A farmers' club was talked about, but never organized. A committee was chosen to select the books from a long catalogue. Most of the volumes selected were well worthy the attention of the farmer, but a part of them, like Peter Pindar's razors, "were made to sell." The volumes were read considerably for a year or two, when it began to be discussed how to have more books and those treating on different subjects. In the winter of 1861 a levee was given at the town-hall expressly in the interest of the library, at which some over a hundred dollars were made after paying all

expenses. During the next ten years two or three gatherings of this kind were held, the object of which was to raise money with which to buy books for the library. The proprietors of the two stores situated on the borders of the town's Common (Mr. Osgood more than the other), for the space of ten or more years, had the care of this little library, and they dealt out the books twice a week for a little or no compensation, except room rent, on account of the trade or custom which it brought them. At that time each person having the benefit of this library was taxed fifty cents a year to help pay for a place to keep it in and to pay for the services of a librarian. The number of readers increased and nearly every time when books were to be bought a good degree of judgment was exercised in selecting standard literature from the best authors.

In 1873 the shareholders and patrons of the library had an article inserted in the town warrant to see if the town would take it off their hands and make it a free library to be supported by the town. The town voted to accept it as a town institution and appropriated one hundred dollars annually for its support for several years, and later one hundred and fifty dollars have been appropriated—this year (1890) one hundred and seventy-five dollars were appropriated. These funds have been used in the purchase of books by a committee and for the payment of the librarian. It is open for the delivery of books about two hours each day four days in each week. The influence of this institution has been excellent in creating and fostering a taste for reading and observation, and in giving to our youth pleasant thoughts and profitable culture. There are over two thousand volumes in this library, which is properly catalogued and under the care of Miss Kate L. Larkin, the efficient librarian.

In 1875 the town inaugurated a Fire Department containing the modern appliances in this direction. It consisted of hose and hose-carriages, a hand fire-engine, an Amoskeag steam fire-engine and the houses to contain them—in all at an expense of over $16,000. Since the organization of this department considerable property has escaped "the devouring element" on account of the presence of these machines in the hands of stalwart, active men.

North Star Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows was instituted in Townsend in 1866, and David Cram, N.G., Albert Howe, V.G., and Frederick Stevens, Secretary, were inducted into office. Presumably, from the social and charitable nature of this institution, in a quiet way it has done some good and caused the burdens of life in many instances easier to be borne.

The Townsend Bank was chartered in 1854. At the organization of the grantees, in September of that year, John M. Hollingsworth, of Groton, was elected president and Edward Ordway cashier. The next month Mr. Hollingsworth resigned the office of president and Walter Fessenden, of Townsend, was chosen to fill the office, which he held until his death, January 28, 1884. For over thirty years Mr. Fessenden and Mr. Ordway attended to the business of this bank in a very satisfactory manner, both to the stockholders and every one doing business with them. Soon after the death of Walter Fessenden Mr. Ordway resigned, whereupon the directors made unanimous choice of Albert L. Fessenden president, and Henry A. Hill cashier, who hold these offices at the present time.

The capital stock is one hundred thousand dollars. It was changed to a National Bank in April, 1865. There have been two or three attempts to burglarize this bank, none of which were successful. It is fairly patronized and it does a quiet, paying business.

TOWN OFFICES.—

"And Absalom said moreover, Oh that I were made a judge in the land, that every man which hath any suit or cause, might come unto me, and I would do him justice."

It thus appears that there were office-seekers away back in the time of this good-looking young man, whose death caused his father so many tears.

In colonial times the justices of the peace were commissioned in the name of the King, and the office was considered as one of marked distinction. Upon the adoption of the State Constitution the appointing power vested in the Governor, yet the duties and prerogatives of the office remained the same as before, and the peculiar dignity continued to attend those holding the office. In later years appointments have been more freely given, and the number of persons qualified for the position, both by education and a knowledge of legal forms and proceedings, is so numerous that the magistrates of the present time, surrounded by men of equal influence and eminence, do not enjoy the distinction that once attended the position. The commissions of these men conferred authority for seven years, but they were almost invariably renewed and continued. John Stevens, Israel Hobart and Daniel Adams obtained the office by the favor of the royal Governors.

In the following list of Townsend men, who have been and are now magistrates, the names of the eight men and all of the list now among the living are printed in *italics*. Two of them, however, are not at present residents of Townsend:

John Stevens, Israel Hobart, Daniel Adams, James Locke, Isaac Mullikin, Josiah Richardson, Samuel Brooks, Aaron Warren, Walter Hastings, Shobal C. Allen, Richard Warner, Aaron Keyes, Levi Sherwin, Hiram Walcott, Joel Adams, John Farwell, George Green, Samuel Jenkins, Ebenezer Rawson, Daniel Giles, Ezra Blood, John Bertram, Henry Sceva, Daniel L. Brown, Levi Stearns, Noah Ball, Frederick A. Worcester, Hartwell Graham, *Rhamar B. Sawtelle*, Albert Howe, *Newton C. Boutelle, Solomon J. Stearns, Edward J. Sartelle*, James N. Tucker, Ephraim S. Wilder, *Stillman Haynes*, George Taft, *Samuel S. Haynes, Charles F. Worcester, Royal B. Boynton.*

The following is a list of the names of those who held the principal offices in Townsend, from the incorporation of the town until 1891 inclusive.

It will be observed that Townsend omitted to send a representative to the General Court many times during the first fifty years after the acquisition of our

national independence. Probably this may be accounted for from the fact that each town, for the most of that time, paid its own representative, and the neglect was regarded as economy. A lawsuit (James Locke *vs.* the inhabitants of the town of Townsend) was commenced in 1786, concerning a bill which James Locke brought against the town for services as a representative. The town considered the charge in his account excessive, and refused to pay it, which, after the usual delays of the law, was finally compromised and adjusted.

Townsend has guarded her interests invariably with a jealous eye, and maintained her legal rights, "asking for nothing but what was right, and submitting to nothing that was wrong."

The records for 1732 are lost, so that it is impossible to give the officers for that year. Samuel Manning was town clerk, as appears from a part of the record, for that year. There is not much doubt but that the town had the same officers in 1732 as in 1733:

1733. Moderator, Joseph Stevens; Clerk, Samuel Manning. Selectmen—Joseph Stevens, Joseph Baldwin, Samuel Manning.

1734. Moderator, Jasher Wyman; Clerk, Samuel Manning. Selectmen—Joseph Stephens, Joseph Baldwin, Samuel Manning.

1735. Moderator, Jasher Wyman; Clerk, Samuel Manning. Selectmen—John Stevens, Jasher Wyman, Daniel Taylor, Jeremiah Ball, Samuel Manning.

1736. Moderator, Samuel Manning; Clerk, John Stevens. Selectmen—John Stevens, Jasher Wyman, Daniel Taylor.

1737. Moderator, Daniel Taylor; Clerk, Samuel Manning. Selectmen—Samuel Manning, John Stevens, William Clark, Amos Whitney, Jacob Baldwin.

1738. Moderator, Jasher Wyman; Clerk, Samuel Manning. Selectmen—Daniel Taylor, James Hosley, Amos Whitney, Isaac Spaulding, Samuel Manning.

1739. Moderator, Nathaniel Richardson; Clerk, Samuel Manning. Selectmen—Samuel Manning, Daniel Taylor, Jasher Wyman, Ephraim Brown, Amos Whitney.

1740. Moderator, Ephraim Brown; Clerk, Samuel Manning. Selectmen—John Stevens, Daniel Taylor, Amos Whitney.

1741. Moderator, Daniel Taylor; Clerk, Samuel Manning. Selectmen—William Fletcher, John Stevens, Nathaniel Richardson.

1742. Moderator, John Stevens; Clerk, Samuel Manning. Selectmen—Samuel Manning, John Stevens, Daniel Taylor, Ephraim Brown, William Fletcher.

1743. Moderator, Daniel Taylor; Clerk, Samuel Manning. Selectmen—Samuel Manning, John Stevens, Benjamin Brooks, Ephraim Brown, Daniel Taylor.

1744. Moderator, Daniel Taylor; Clerk, Samuel Manning. Selectmen—Samuel Manning, Benjamin Brooks, Nathaniel Richardson, Josiah Robbins, Daniel Taylor.

1745. Moderator, John Stevens; Clerk, Samuel Manning. Selectmen—John Stevens, Benjamin Brooks, Nathaniel Richardson, John Conant, Amos Whitney.

1746. Moderator, John Stevens; Clerk, John Stevens. Selectmen—John Stevens, Benjamin Brooks, Nathaniel Richardson.

1747. Moderator, John Stevens; Clerk, John Stevens. Selectmen—John Stevens, Benjamin Brooks, Jeremiah Ball, Isaac Spaulding, John Wallis.

1748. Moderator, Nathaniel Richardson; Clerk, Samuel Manning, Selectmen—John Stevens, Jonathan Hubbard, Amos Whitney.

1749. Moderator, Jonathan Hubbard; Clerk, Samuel Manning. Selectmen—John Stevens, Jonathan Hubbard, Amos Whitney.

1750. Moderator, Jonathan Hubbard; Clerk, Samuel Manning. Selectmen—John Stevens, Jonathan Wallis, Amos Whitney.

1751. Moderator, Daniel Taylor; Clerk, Samuel Manning. Selectmen—Samuel Manning, Benjamin Brooks, Amos Whitney.

1752. Moderator, Daniel Taylor; Clerk, Samuel Manning. Selectmen—Samuel Manning, Amos Whitney, Jonathan Hubbard.

1753. Moderator, Jonathan Hubbard; Clerk, Samuel Manning. Selectmen—John Stevens, Jonathan Hubbard, Benjamin Brooks, Amos Whitney, Isaac Spaulding.

1754. Moderator, John Stevens; Clerk, Samuel Manning. Selectmen—John Conant, Daniel Adams, Zacheriah Emery.

1755. Moderator, Daniel Taylor; Clerk, Samuel Manning. Selectmen Samuel Manning, Daniel Adams, John Conant, Zacheriah Emery, Ephraim Brown.

1756. Moderator, Jonathan Hubbard; Clerk, Samuel Manning. Selectmen—Jonathan Hubbard, Amos Whitney, Daniel Adams, Zacheriah Emery, Samuel Manning.

1757. Moderator, Jonathan Hubbard; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Jonathan Hubbard, Amos Whitney, Daniel Adams, Ebenezer Wyman, William Stevens.

1758. Moderator, Jonathan Hubbard; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Jonathan Hubbard, Daniel Adams, Amos Whitney, Daniel Taylor, Benjamin Brooks.

1759. Moderator, Benjamin Brooks; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Benjamin Brooks, Amos Whitney, Isaac Spaulding, Daniel Adams, Ephraim Heald.

1760. Moderator, Daniel Taylor; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, Amos Whitney, Daniel Taylor, Ephraim Heald, Isaac Spaulding.

1761. Moderator, Daniel Taylor; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, Daniel Taylor, Zacheriah Emery, Isaac Farrar, Ephraim Heald.

1762. Moderator, Daniel Taylor; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Amos Whitney, Oliver Hildreth, Jonathan Wallis, Daniel Taylor, Daniel Adams.

1763. Moderator, Daniel Taylor; Clerk. Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, Isaac Spaulding, Daniel Taylor, Benjamin Brooks, Zacheriah Emery.

1764. Moderator, Daniel Taylor; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen Daniel Adams, Amos Whitney, Ephraim Heald, Thomas Warren, Jonathan Wallis.

1765. Moderator, Daniel Taylor; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, Daniel Taylor, Ephraim Heald, Ephraim Brown, William Clark.

1766. Moderator, Daniel Taylor; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, Ephraim Heald, Benjamin Brooks, James Hosley, Jonathan Wallis.

1767. Moderator, Ephraim Heald; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, Ephraim Heald, Thomas Warren, Isaac Farrar, Jonathan Wallis.

1768. Moderator, Ephraim Heald; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, Ephraim Heald, Jonathan Wallis, Benjamin Brooks, Amos Heald.

1769. Moderator, Samuel Manning; Clerk, Samuel Manning. Selectmen—Samuel Manning, Amos Heald, Isaac Farrar, Jonathan Patts, Daniel Sherwin.

1770. Moderator, Amos Heald; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, Amos Heald, Isaac Farrar, Thomas Warren, John Conant.

1771. Moderator, James Hosley; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, James Hosley, John Conant, Benjamin Spaulding, Samuel Douglas.

1772. Moderator, Jonathan Wallis; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, Isaac Farrar, Samuel Douglas, Zacheriah Emery, James Hosley.

1773. Moderator, James Hosley; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, James Hosley, Zacheriah Emery, Benjamin Brooks, Jonathan Wallis.

1774. Moderator, Daniel Taylor; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, Daniel Taylor, Richard Wyer, Jonathan Wallis, Benjamin Brooks.

1775. Moderator, James Hosley; Clerk, James Hosley. Selectmen—James Hosley, Isaac Farrar, Thomas Warren, Daniel Emery, Richard Wyer.

Representative in the Provincial Congress, Israel Hobart.

1776. Moderator, Daniel Adams; Clerk, James Hosley. Selectmen—James Hosley, Isaac Farrar, Daniel Emery, Richard Wyer, Zacheriah Emery.

Representative in the Provincial Congress, Israel Hobart.

1777. Moderator, Daniel Adams; Clerk, James Hosley. Selectmen—James Hosley, Richard Wyer, Levi Whitney, Zacheriah Emery, Thomas Warren.

Representative, James Locke.

1778. Moderator, Daniel Adams; Clerk, James Hosley. Selectmen—James Hosley, Richard Wyer, Thomas Warren, Benjamin Spaulding, Elijah Wyman.
Representative, James Locke.

1779. Moderator, Daniel Adams; Clerk, James Hosley. Selectmen—Thomas Warren, Benjamin Spaulding, Samuel Maynard, Daniel Adams, Jr., Elijah Wyman.
Sent no Representative.

1780. Moderator, Daniel Adams; Clerk, James Hosley. Selectmen—Thomas Warren, Richard Wyer, Isaac Farrar, Daniel Adams, Jr., Benjamin Spaulding.
Representative, James Locke.

1781. Moderator, Daniel Adams; Clerk, James Hosley. Selectmen—Thomas Warren, Richard Wyer, Benjamin Spaulding, Lemuel Petts, Daniel Adams, Jr.
Representative, Thomas Warren.

1782. Moderator, Isaac Farrar; Clerk, Benjamin Ball. Selectmen—Benjamin Ball, Daniel Adams, Jr., Lemuel Petts, Daniel Sherwin, James Giles.
Representative, James Locke.

1783. Moderator, Daniel Adams; Clerk, Benjamin Ball. Selectmen—Benjamin Ball, Daniel Adams, Jr., Benjamin Spaulding, Thomas Seaver, Elijah Wyman,

1784. Moderator, William Hobart; Clerk, Benjamin Ball. Selectmen—Benjamin Ball, Daniel Adams, Jr., Benjamin Spaulding, Thomas Seaver, Lemuel Petts.
Representative, William Hobart.

1785. Moderator, Daniel Adams; Clerk, Benjamin Ball. Selectmen—Benjamin Ball, Thomas Seaver, Thomas Warren.

1786. Moderator, Daniel Adams; Clerk, Benjamin Ball. Selectmen—Benjamin Ball, Thomas Warren, Benjamin Spaulding.

1787. Moderator, Daniel Adams; Clerk, Daniel Adams, Jr. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, Jr., Lemuel Petts, Benjamin Spaulding, Jacob Blodget, Abner Adams.
Representative, Daniel Adams.

1788. Moderator, David Spafford; Clerk, Daniel Adams, Jr. Selectmen—Benjamin Ball, Benjamin Spaulding, David Spafford, Jr., Thomas Warren, Thomas Seaver.
Representative, Daniel Adams.

1789. Moderator, Daniel Adams; Clerk, Benjamin Ball. Selectmen—Benjamin Ball, Benjamin Spaulding, David Spafford, Jr., Daniel Adams, Jr., John Campbell.
Representative, Daniel Adams.

1790. Moderator, Daniel Adams; Clerk, Daniel Adams, Jr. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, Jr., Benjamin Spaulding, John Campbell, Richard Wyer, Lemuel Petts.
Representative, Daniel Adams.

1791. Moderator, Daniel Adams; Clerk, Daniel Adams, Jr. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, Jr., Benjamin Spaulding, Nathan Conant, John Campbell, John Emery.

1792. Moderator, Daniel Adams; Clerk, Daniel Adams, Jr. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, Jr., Lemuel Petts, Jonathan Wallis, John Campbell, Nathan Conant.
Representative, Jonathan Wallis.

1793. Moderator, Daniel Adams; Clerk, Life Baldwin. Selectmen—Life Baldwin, Daniel Adams, Jr., John Campbell, Jonathan Wallace, Zacheriah Hildreth.
Representative, Jonathan Wallace.

1794. Moderator, Walden Stone; Clerk, Walden Stone. Selectmen—Life Baldwin, John Campbell, Jonathan Wallis, Abner Adams, Thomas Seaver.
Sent no Representative.

1795. Moderator, Walden Stone; Clerk, Jacob Blodget. Selectmen—Jacob Blodget, Abner Adams, John Emery, Samuel Stone, Nathan Scales.
Sent no Representative.

1796. Moderator, Daniel Adams; Clerk, Jacob Blodget. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, Jacob Blodget, Abner Adams, John Emery, Samuel Stone.
Representative, Daniel Adams.

1797. Moderator, John Campbell; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, Jacob Blodget, Abner Adams, Samuel Stone, Josiah Richardson.
Representative, Daniel Adams.

1798. Moderator, Jonathan Wallis; Clerk, Isaac Mullikin. Selectmen—Walter Mullikin, Jacob Blodget, Abner Adams, Josiah Richardson, Samuel Brooks.
Sent no Representative.

1799. Moderator, John Campbell; Clerk, Isaac Mullikin. Selectmen—Isaac Mullikin, Abner Adams, Josiah Richardson, John Emery, Samuel Brooks.
Representative, John Campbell.

1800. Moderator, Daniel Adams; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, Abner Adams, Josiah Richardson, Samuel Brooks, John Emery.
Representative, John Campbell.

1801. Moderator, Caleb Sylvester; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, Josiah Richardson, Joseph Adams, Abner Adams, Caleb Sylvester.
Representative, John Campbell.

1802. Moderator, Caleb Sylvester; Clerk, Isaac Mullikin. Selectmen—Isaac Mullikin, John Campbell, Jonathan Keep, Samuel Stone, Daniel Conant.
Sent no Representative.

1803. Moderator, John Campbell; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, Abner Adams, John Campbell, Josiah Richardson, Jacob Blodget.
Sent no Representative.

1804. Moderator, John Campbell; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, John Campbell, Jacob Blodget, Benanuel Pratt, Shubal C. Allen.
Sent no Representative.

1805. Moderator, Caleb Sylvester; Clerk, Josiah Richardson. Selectmen—Josiah Richardson, John Emery, Daniel Conant, Ebenezer Stone, Richard Warner.
Representative, John Campbell.

1806. Moderator, Daniel Adams; Clerk, Josiah Richardson. Selectmen—Josiah Richardson, John Emery, Daniel Conant, Ebenezer Stone, Richard Warner.
Representative, John Campbell.

1807. Moderator, Daniel Conant; Clerk, Josiah Richardson. Selectmen—Josiah Ribhardson, John Emery, Daniel Conant, Ebenezer Stone, Richard Warner.
Representative, Abner Adams.

1808. Moderator, Daniel Adams; Clerk, Josiah Richardson. Selectmen—Josiah Richardson, Ebenezer Stone, Aaron Warren, Samuel Brooks, Nathaniel Cummings.
Representative, Abner Adams.

1809. Moderator, John Emery; Clerk, Josiah Richardson. Selectmen—Josiah Richardson, Aaron Warren, Samuel Brooks, Nathaniel Cummings, Noah Ball.
Sent no Representative.

1810. Moderator, Aaron Warren; Clerk, Josiah Richardson. Selectmen—Josiah Richardson, Aaron Warren, Samuel Brooks, Nathaniel Cummings, William Archibald.
Representative, Abner Adams.

1811. Moderator, Aaron Warren; Clerk, Samuel Brooks. Selectmen—Samuel Brooks, Richard Warner, Aaron Warren, Nathaniel Cummings, William Archibald.
Representative, Samuel Brooks.

1812. Moderator, Aaron Warren; Clerk, Samuel Brooks. Selectmen—Samuel Brooks, Richard Warner, Aaron Warren, Nathaniel Cummings, William Archibald.
Representative, Samuel Brooks.

1813. Moderator, Aaron Warren; Clerk, Samuel Brooks. Selectmen—Samuel Brooks, Aaron Warren, Nathaniel Cummings, William Archibald, Josoph Adams.
Representative, Samuel Brooks.

1814. Moderator, Aaron Warren; Clerk, Samuel Brooks. Selectmen—Samuel Brooks, Aaron Warren, William Archibald, Joseph Adams, Eliab Going.
Representative, Samuel Brooks.

1815. Moderator, Aaron Warren; Clerk, Samuel Brooks. Selectmen—Samuel Brooks, Joseph Adams, Eliab Going, Nathaniel Cummings, Isaac Sanders.
Representative, Samuel Brooks.

1816. Moderator, Josiah Richardson; Clerk, Nathaniel Cummings. Selectmen—Nathaniel Cummings, John Richardson, Isaac Sanders, Zela Bartlett, Solomon Jewett.
Representative, Samuel Brooks.

1817. Moderator, Aaron Warren; Clerk, Nathaniel Cummings. Selectmen—Nathaniel Cummings, Josiah Richardson, Isaac Sanders, Benanuel Pratt, Joel Adams.
Representative, Samuel Brooks.

1818. Moderator, Aaron Warren; Clerk, Nathaniel Cummings. Selectmen—Nathaniel Cummings, Samuel Brooks, Aaron Warren.
Sent no Representative.

1819. Moderator, Aaron Warren; Clerk, Nathaniel Cummings. Selectmen—Nathaniel Cummings, Samuel Brooks, Aaron Warren.
Representative, Aaron Warren.

1820. Moderator, Aaron Warren; Clerk, Nathaniel Cummings. Selectmen—Nathaniel Cummings, Samuel Brooks, Isaac Turner.
Representative, Aaron Warren.

1821. Moderator, Aaron Warren; Clerk, Aaron Warren. Selectmen—Aaron Warren, Samuel Stone, Jr., John Shipley.
Representative, Aaron Warren.

1822. Moderator, Nathaniel Cummings; Clerk, Aaron Warren. Selectmen—Aaron Warren, Samuel Stone, Jr., Daniel Giles.
Sent no Representative.

1823. Moderator, Aaron Keyes; Clerk, Aaron Warren. Selectmen—Aaron Warren, Samuel Stone, Jr., Daniel Giles.
Representative, Aaron Warren.

1824. Moderator, William A. Bancroft; Clerk, Aaron Warren. Selectmen—Aaron Warren, Joel Adams, Joel Spaulding.
Representative, Aaron Warren.

1825. Moderator, Joel Adams; Clerk, Joel Adams. Selectmen—Joel Adams, Joel Spaulding, Josiah G. Heald.
Sent no Representative.

1826. Moderator, Aaron Warren; Clerk, Aaron Warren. Selectmen—Aaron Warren, Josiah G. Heald, Samuel Brooks, Aaron Keyes, William Pratt.
Representative, Aaron Warren.

1827. Moderator, Solomon Jewett, Jr.; Clerk, Aaron Warren. Selectmen—Aaron Warren, Samuel Stone, Jr., William Pratt, Joel Spaulding, Aaron Keyes.
Representative, Aaron Warren.[1]

1828. Moderator, Jacob S. Ryner; Clerk, Aaron Warren. Selectmen—Aaron Warren, William Pratt, Josiah G. Heald, Paul Gerrish, Aaron Keyes.
Representative, Aaron Warren.

1829. Moderator, Solomon Jewett, Jr.; Clerk, Aaron Warren. Selectmen—Aaron Warren, William Pratt, Paul Gerrish, Aaron Keyes, Richard W. Pierce.
Representative, Aaron Warren.

1830. Moderator, Solomon Jewett, Jr.; Clerk, Aaron Warren. Selectmen—Paul Gerrish, Aaron Keyes, Richard W. Pierce, Solomon Jewett, Jr., Benjamin Barrett, Jr.
Representative, Aaron Warren.

1831. Moderator, Solomon Jewett, Jr.; Clerk, Solomon Jewett, Jr. Selectmen—Solomon Jewett, Jr., Richard W. Pierce, Benjamin Barrett, Jr., Josiah G. Heald, Isaac Spaulding.
Sent no Representative.

1832. Moderator, Aaron Keyes; Clerk, Solomon Jewett, Jr. Selectmen—Solomon Jewett, Jr., Richard W. Pierce, Benjamin Barrett, Jr., Joel Emery, Levi Sherwin.
Representative, Paul Gerrish.

1833. Moderator, Joel Adams; Clerk, David Palmer. Selectmen—Solomon Jewett, Jr., Richard W. Pierce, Benjamin Barrett, Jr., Levi Ball, Abraham Seaver.
Representative, David Palmer.

1834. Moderator, Henry Sceva; Clerk, Paul Gerrish. Selectmen—Paul Gerrish, Joel Emery, William Pratt.
Representatives, David Palmer and Elnathan Davis.

1835. Moderator, Joseph Steele; Clerk, Paul Gerrish. Selectmen—Paul Gerrish, William Pratt, Benjamin Barrett, Jr.
Representatives, Joel Emery and David Palmer.

1836. Moderator, Samuel Adams; Clerk, David Palmer. Selectmen—Quincy Sylvester, Luther Adams, Daniel Adams.
Representatives, Joel Emery and Samuel Adams.

1837. Moderator, Samuel Adams; Clerk, David Palmer. Selectmen—Joel Adams, Levi Ball, Elnathan Davis.
Representative, Joel Emery.

[1] In 1827, "Voted that the town will abolish the custom of receiving a treat from their representative when chosen." Townsend commenced early in the temperance cause. Aaron Warren, this year, instead of furnishing the liquors, presented an expensive pall or burying-cloth to the town. This might have been intended as a symbol of public opinion which was preparing to bury His Majesty, King Alcohol.

1838. Moderator, Henry Sceva; Clerk, David Palmer. Selectmen—William Pratt, Benjamin Barrett, Jr., Paul Gerrish.
Representative, Josiah G. Heald.

1839. Moderator, Ezra Blood; Clerk, Samuel Adams. Selectmen—Joel Adams, Joel Emery, Luther Adams.
Representative, Luther Adams.

1840. Moderator, Henry Sceva; Clerk, John Bertram. Selectmen—Joel Emery, Richard W. Pierce, William Pratt.
Representative, Daniel Giles.

1841. Moderator, Henry Sceva; Clerk, John Bertram. Selectmen—Henry Sceva, Ebenezer Rawson, Henry A. Woods.
Sent no Representative.

1842. Moderator, Henry Sceva; Clerk, John Bertram. Selectmen—Henry Sceva, Henry A. Woods, Luther Adams.
Representative, Henry Sceva.

1843. Moderator, Ezra Blood; Clerk, Daniel Giles. Selectmen—Paul Gerrish, Luther Adams, Daniel Adams.
Representative, Henry Sceva.

1844. Moderator, Ezra Blood; Clerk, Daniel Giles. Selectmen—Paul Gerrish, Daniel Adams, Luther Adams.
Sent no Representative.

1845. Moderator, Samuel Adams; Clerk, Daniel Giles. Selectmen—John Scales, Levi Stearns, Ebenezer Rawson.
Sent no Representative.

1846. Moderator, Daniel Adams; Clerk, Daniel Giles. Selectmen—John Scales, Joseph Adams, John Hart.
Representative, Levi Warren.

1847. Moderator, Ezra Blood, Jr.; Clerk, Joseph Adams. Selectmen—Joseph Adams, Levi Stearns, John Hart.
Representative, Joel Kendall.

1848. Moderator, Ezra Blood, Jr.; Clerk, Joseph Adams. Selectmen—Joseph Adams, Levi Stearns, Joel Emery.
Representative, Joel Emery.

1849. Moderator, Ezra Blood, Jr.; Clerk, Joseph Adams. Selectmen—Joel Emery, Luther Adams, Ezra Blood, Jr.
Representative, Samuel Hart.

1850. Moderator, Ezra Blood; Clerk, Joseph Adams. Selectmen—Joseph Adams, John Scales, Zimri Sherwin.
Representative, Henry A. Gerry.

1851. Moderator, Charles Powers; Clerk, Henry A. Gerry. Selectmen—Charles Powers, Aaron Pressey, Joel Emery.
Representative, Samuel S. Haynes.

1852. Moderator, Levi Sherwin; Clerk, Quincy A. Sylvester. Selectmen—Quincy A. Sylvester, Levi Sherwin, Nathaniel F. Cummings.
Sent no Representative.

1853. Moderator, Abram S. French; Clerk, Quincy A. Sylvester. Selectmen—Daniel Adams, Nathaniel F. Cummings, Charles B. Barrett.
Sent no Representative.

1854. Moderator, Samuel Adams; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Joseph Adams, Levi Stearns, Charles B. Barrett.
Representative, Benjamin E. Wetherbee.

1855. Moderator, Ezra Blood; Clerk, Rector T. Bartlett. Selectmen—Nathaniel F. Cummings, Ezra Blood, James E. Adams.
Representative, Frederick A. Worcester.

1856. Moderator, Eliab Going; Clerk, Rector T. Bartlett. Selectmen—Nathaniel F. Cummings, Daniel Adams, Alexander Craig.
Representative, Luther Adams.

1857. Moderator, Eliab Going; Clerk, Rector T. Bartlett. Selectmen—Henry Sceva, Albert Howe, Benjamin E. Wetherbee.
Representative, Frederick A. Worcester, of Townsend.[2]

1858. Moderator, Ezra Blood; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Joseph Adams, William H. Lewis, Zimri Sherwin.
Representative, Noah Ball, of Townsend.

1859. Moderator, Ezra Blood; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—John Scales, Jr., John Whitcomb, Jonathan Pierce.
Representative, Alexander Craig, of Townsend.

1860. Moderator, Christopher Gates; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—John Scales, Jr., Alexander Craig, Benjamin F. Lewis.
Representative, Joseph Foster, of Ashby.

1861. Moderator, Ezra Blood; Clerk, Ezra Blood. Selectmen—Nathaniel F. Cummings, Alexander Craig, Benjamin F. Lewis.
Representative, Abram S. French, of Townsend.

[2] Townsend and Ashby constituted District No. 27, this year.

1862. Moderator, Edwin A. Larkin; Clerk, Noah Wallace. Selectmen—Nathaniel F. Cummings, Alexander Craig, Benjamin F. Lewis.
Representative, Abram S. French, of Townsend.

1863. Moderator, Samuel S. Haynes; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Nathaniel F. Cummings, Oliver H. Pratt, Charles H. Warren.
Representative, Paul Gates, of Ashby.

1864. Moderator, Stillman Haynes; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Nathaniel F. Cummings, James N. Tucker, Newton C. Boutell.
Representative, Anson D. Fessenden, of Townsend.

1865. Moderator, Stillman Haynes; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Oliver Proctor, Stillman Haynes, Abel G. Stearns.
Representative, George L. Hitchcock, of Ashby.

1866. Moderator, Samuel S. Haynes; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Abel G. Stearns, Noah Ball, Edwin A. Larkin.
Representative, Noah Wallace, of Townsend.

1867. Moderator, Christopher Gates; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Abel G. Stearns, Benjamin F. Lewis, Edward A. Larkin.
Representative, Jonathan Pierce, of Townsend.[1]

1868. Moderator, Christopher Gates; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Abel G. Stearns, Edwin A. Larkin, Jonathan Pierce.
Representative, A. A. Plympton, of Shirley.

1869. Moderator, Christopher Gates; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Abel G. Stearns, Charles Osgood, Benjamin Brown.
Representative, Samuel R. Damon, of Ashby.

1870. Moderator, Christopher Gates; Clerk, Daniel Adams. Selectmen—Abel G. Stearns, Charles Osgood, Benjamin Brown.
Representative, Benjamin F. Lewis, of Townsend.

1871. Moderator, Ithamar B. Sawtelle; Clerk, Christopher Gates. Selectmen—Abel G. Stearns, Benjamin Brown, Joshua S. Page.
Representative, Alvin Lawton, of Shirley.

1872. Moderator, Ithamar B. Sawtelle; Clerk, Christopher Gates. Selectmen—Abel G. Stearns, Benjamin Brown, Joshua S. Page.
Representative, Samuel S. Haynes, of Townsend.

1873. Moderator, Ithamar B. Sawtelle; Clerk, Christopher Gates. Selectmen—Abel G. Stearns, Benjamin Brown, Joshua S. Page.
Representative, Alonzo A. Carr, of Ashby.

1874. Moderator, Albert L. Fessenden; Clerk, Christopher Gates. Selectmen—Charles Osgood, Eliot Moore, Ephraim S. Wilder.
Representative, Edwin A. Spaulding, of Townsend.

1875. Moderator, Albert L. Fessenden; Clerk, Christopher Gates. Selectmen—Charles Osgood, Ephraim S. Wilder, George A. Upton.
Representative, Samuel Longley, of Shirley.

1876. Moderator, Ithamar B. Sawtelle; Clerk, Christopher Gates. Selectmen—Ephraim S. Wilder, Abel G. Stearns, Eugene R. Kilbourn.
Representative, Alfred M. Adams, of Townsend.[2]

1877. Moderator, Ithamar B. Sawtelle; Clerk, Christopher Gates. Selectmen—Abel G. Stearns, Benjamin Brown, Benjamin Henecy.

1878. Moderator, Ithamar B. Sawtelle; Clerk, William P. Taylor; Selectmen—Abel G. Stearns, Benjamin Brown, Edwin A. Spaulding.

1879. Moderator, Albert L. Fessenden; Clerk, William P. Taylor. Selectmen—Abel G. Stearns, Benjamin Brown, A. K. Tyler.

1880. Moderator, Albert L. Fessenden; Clerk, William P. Taylor. Selectmen—Abel G. Stearns, Benjamin Brown, A. K. Tyler.
Representative, John E. Dickerman.

1881. Moderator, Albert L. Fessenden; Clerk, William P. Taylor. Selectmen—Abel G. Stearns, A. K. Tyler, Benjamin Brown.

1882. Moderator, Albert L. Fessenden; Clerk, William P. Taylor. Selectmen—Abel G. Stearns, A. K. Tyler, Benjamin Brown.

1883. Moderator, Albert L. Fessenden; Clerk, William P. Taylor. Selectmen—Abel G. Stearns, A. K. Tyler, George H. Baldwin,

1884. Moderator, Albert L. Fessenden; Clerk, William P. Taylor. Selectmen—Abel G. Stearns, A. K. Tyler, Benjamin Brown.
Representative, Julian W. Eastman.

1885. Moderator, Albert L. Fessenden; Clerk, E. A. Blood. Selectmen—Abel G. Stearns, A. K. Tyler, George H. Baldwin.

1886. Moderator, Ithamar B. Sawtelle; Clerk, E. A. Blood. Selectmen—Clarence Stickney, Eugene R. Kilbourn, Oliver Proctor.
Representative, William P. Taylor.

1887. Moderator, Ithamar B. Sawtelle; Clerk, E. A. Blood. Selectmen—Clarence Stickney, Eugene R. Kilbourn, Oliver Proctor.

1888. Moderator, Edward J. Sartelle; Clerk, E. A. Blood. Selectmen—Eugene R. Kilbourn, Abel G. Stearns, A. K. Tyler.

1889. Moderator, Edward J. Sartelle; Clerk, E. A. Blood. Selectmen—Abel G. Stearns, A. K. Tyler, Ransom B. Adams.
Representative, Charles F. Worcester.

1890. Moderator, Edward J. Sartelle; Clerk, E. A. Blood. Selectmen—Asa K. Tyler, Ransom B. Adams, Everett W. Seaver.

[1] In 1867, Townsend, Ashby and Shirley constituted a representative district. Middlesex County was entitled to forty-one of the two hundred and forty members of the House of Representatives.

[2] In 1876, Ayer, Ashby, Shirley and Townsend constituted one representative district.

The valuation of the town is about $1,000,000.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR 1890.

For the support of schools	$3000
For the support of roads and bridges	1800
For to defray town charges	1500
For the support of the poor	800
For to be added to the memorial fund	500
For military aid	400
For the Fire Department	400
For the suppression of liquor-selling	200
For repairs on school-houses	200
For the purchase of school-books	200
For the public library	175
For carrying children to school	150
For the village improvement society	115
	$9440

FINALE.—The space in this work given to Townsend is so limited that notices of many prominent individuals must be omitted; and yet it may be stated that this town has produced several men who have had a good influence on their contemporaries. Her sons have filled the learned professions outside of New England as well as in this Commonwealth; and her daughters, leaving the West Townsend Female Seminary, wherever located, have been welcomed as teachers in that field of womanly labor. Miss Myra Proctor spent the best years of her life as a missionary in Turkey. In connection with her labors she translated "Cutter's Physiology," and other English literature, into the Turkish language, and gathered around her many friends in that far-off land, over which the crescent has been the symbol for many centuries. Henry Price, an Englishman, was an adopted citizen of Townsend for seventeen years. In 1764 and 1765 he represented Townsend in the Provincial Legislature, in which he served on two important committees. He was the founder of duly constituted Masonry in America, died in Townsend (1780), and was buried here. In 1888, more than one hundred years after his death, the Grand Lodge of Masons of Massachusetts erected a plain but strikingly beautiful and appropriate monument, at his grave, which was dedicated by that body June 21st of that year. Among the Townsend men who have been actors in the theatre of merchandise, the name of Asa Whitney is prominent. He was an engineer and a manufacturer of car-wheels in Philadelphia. It was through his advice that the rails on our roads are laid fifty-six and one-half inches apart. He was very rich and he gave liberally.

Townsend has been represented in the State Senate by three of its citizens. John Hubbard, once a popular professor of Dartmouth College, was a musician and an author. More than eighty years ago "Hub-



A. M. Adams.



Capt. A. Craig

bard's Anthems" were in use in all the New England churches. Daniel Adams was the author of a series of school-books, which were in use throughout the Eastern States for more than half a century. The list of the deserving might be extended, but it must be left to larger space and an abler pen.

> "Long live the good town, giving out year by year
> Recruits to true manhood and womanhood dear;
> Brave boys, modest maidens, in beauty sent forth
> The living epistles and proof of its worth."

BIOGRAPHICAL.

ALFRED M. ADAMS.

Alfred Mark Adams, son of Noah and Levina P. (Cowden) Adams, was born in Townsend October 2, 1835. He was of the fifth generation from Joseph Adams, who came from England about 1685 and settled in Cambridge, in that part thereof which is now Arlington. While he was at school he was always free from trouble either with his teachers or schoolfellows. He was noted for his politeness towards his superiors. At the age of fifteen years he entered New Ipswich Academy, where he remained nearly three years, when he left that institution and joined a class at Westfield Academy, where he continued his studies for about two years. On leaving this academy he went to Boston and was a clerk in a wholesale carpet-store for more than a year. The firm of Adams & Powers was dissolved by the death of Mr. Powers in 1856. On the 1st of January, 1857, the surviving partner and father of Alfred M. Adams bought out the interest of the widow and that of Charles E. Powers, the only heir. Mr. Noah Adams, being out of health and feeling the pressure of business, was very anxious to have his son return from Boston and assist him; and he made so liberal an offer to him that he complied with his father's wishes. In December, 1859, Mr. Noah Adams died. Soon after his decease Alfred M. Adams bought the interest of his mother, brother and sister in the estate and continued in the coopering, lumbering and grinding Western corn business until August 27, 1884, when he died. He married Eliza A. (Sylvester) Everett November 21, 1860. Union S. Adams, his only son and heir, has continued the business since the decease of his father, and he has a large and increasing trade in all the branches of industry above enumerated.

As a successful manufacturer and manager of an extensive business, the record of A. M. Adams will not appear to disadvantage when viewed in connection with the efforts of men of larger experience and equally favorable surroundings. He made many improvements in his mill and extended the business, particularly in the grain elevator department. His life exemplified the exception rather than the rule in the descent of property. Generally when a young man, not knowing how to earn money, has a large property left to him, he loses it almost as easily as he obtained it; and then, perhaps, he will make an effort to learn the value of money by earning some himself. This gentleman kept as much property as he inherited and added largely to that amount. Mr. Adams was a prominent member of the Republican party, and as such he represented the Thirty-fifth Middlesex District in the General Court in 1877. He was strongly attached to the Masonic fraternity, and he was buried with the honors of that ancient institution, a large number of the order being in attendance at his obsequies.

ALEXANDER CRAIG.

Alexander Craig, son of James and Nancy (McBride) Craig, was born in Mason, New Hampshire, January 18, 1815. The family of which he was a member moved to Townsend when he was a small boy, and lived on a farm at the south part of the town, where he worked with his father during his minority. He attended the district schools regularly at the time when both sexes were in attendance during the winter months, until they arrived at the stature of manhood and womanhood, and by dint of perseverance he obtained an education suitable for a business life, all of which, except in early childhood, was passed in Townsend. On his arrival at majority he commenced work for himself, at a time when "from sun to sun" was the length of a day's work, and when the pay for the labor which he performed was about one-fourth as much as it is at the present time. The amount of money for his first year's work, over and above his expenses, he lost by loaning it and taking a note from a man supposed by every one to be solvent. This experience so sharpened his observation that always afterward his funds were safely invested. After accumulating a limited sum of money he commenced trading in neat stock, and for a short time he was in the butchering business at West Townsend, in which he was both popular and successful. In a certain degree, every transaction which he made increased his wealth. For several years, between 1840 and 1850 and until the completion of the Peterborough and Shirley Railroad, he kept a livery-stable at West Townsend. He contracted for furnishing several thousand ties for this railroad, and in carrying out this agreement he employed about twenty men in cutting, hewing and teaming them. He also furnished most of the telegraph poles on this line of road from Greenville to Ayer. From 1850 to the time of his death he traded in most everything in which there was money to be made, including cattle, horses, wood, lumber and farms. He would buy farms, cut off the wood and timber, and then sell the freehold on the best terms he could, as the value to him was in the wood and timber. He had good judgment in all his traffic and people knew it. If he bought anything at an auction, before touching it,

perhaps, some one would give him a profit on it and take it off his hands. He was a man of conviction, was straightforward, energetic, pushing, and always at the front of everything which he undertook. He was one of the selectmen 1856, 1860, 1861, 1862, and he represented District No. 27 (Ashby and Townsend) in the General Court in 1859. He never married, but always had a home of his own, which Miss Mary Ann Craig, an unmarried sister, happily shared with him all along up to the three-score and ten point of life; and in the distribution of his large estate by his will, this sister was kindly and liberally remembered. He died January 11, 1886.

CHARLES POWERS.[1]

Charles Powers, son of William and Pamelia (Wright) Powers, was born in Pepperell September 6, 1809.

He was a descendant, in the sixth generation, from Walter Power, an Englishman, born in 1639, and who came to this country (landing at Salem) in 1654. Walter Power was married in 1660 to Trial, daughter of Deacon Ralph and Thankslord Sheppard, at Malden. Two daughters and seven sons were the fruit of this marriage. Walter Power, in 1694, bought of certain Indians one-fourth part of the township of Nashoba (now Littleton) and settled there.

The name Power in the next generation was spelled Powers, and it has retained that orthography since that time. The subject of this sketch grew up to manhood under the influence of a home where work was the rule and not the exception. He attended the public schools at the time when the first principles of an education were mastered and not hurried through to gain a higher grade, and the education which he acquired was a better equipment for the battle of life than in many instances is taken from our colleges.

During his minority he earned some money, with which he purchased the farm which his father had rented, and gave a deed of it to his mother. After he became of age he purchased a few horses, and engaged in the teaming business, and removed to the adjoining town of Townsend, which was upon the great highway between Boston and the large towns of northern Middlesex County and New Hampshire. This was at a time before any railroads were built, and the business became large and lucrative, requiring a large number of horses.

Soon after removing to Townsend he, with Mr. Noah Adams, purchased the mill property at Townsend Centre, and a co-partnership was formed under the firm-name of "Adams & Powers," which became well known throughout and beyond Middlesex County for more than twenty years. This firm did an extensive business in lumbering, coopering stock, grist and flouring-mill work. Mr. Powers became the presiding genius of this firm. The buying of large timber lots was done altogether on his judgment. After several years of devotion to business he purchased interests in manufacturing enterprises, railroads and banking establishments. For a few years he was a sheriff of Middlesex County. He never was an office-seeker, having a natural distaste for politics. He occasionally acted as moderator at meetings of the town, and served as chairman of the Board of Selectmen in 1851. If there was any money to be raised, either for charitable, political or religious purposes, he would solicit moderately among his friends for the amount needed, and would always make up the deficit from his own pocket. He contributed largely towards the sum necessary to purchase the old First Parish Meeting-house, and presented it to the Methodist Episcopal Society of Townsend. He was the patron of the Methodists, and is gratefully remembered by that denomination. In private life his character was of singular charm. He was a man of large physique, was warm-hearted and affectionate, most faithful in his friendships, and delighting in liberal hospitality, and unwearied in his efforts to make everybody about him happy.

His probity was a tower of strength to himself and to all who dealt with him. What was right and honest was the very law of his being. His judgment was sound and conservative. He was a Christian and belonged to the whole church of Christ, and because he loved every branch of the church, he loved not his own communion less. In the bestowal of his charities and benevolent contributions he was governed, not by occasional impulses, produced by appeals to his emotional nature, but by calm, settled, religious principles. He was one of the few but increasing number who gave by system annually as God gave him the means, and known only to the Great Head of the church are the amounts of his benefactions. As a friend to young men commencing business or a course of education, there are a number living to-day, and filling honorable positions in the community, who can bear testimony to his unostentatious but generous aid. The manner of his death was like the seal of Heaven on a good man's life, On the 7th of October, 1856, having spent the greater part of the day in the city of Boston, and having returned to his home in Townsend, seemingly in best health and spirits, when all at once, feeling a faintness coming over him, he exclaimed, "I believe I shall faint away;" these were his last words on earth, and after uttering them he immediately expired. At the time of his death he had lived forty-seven years, one month and one day. He left a widow, Sarah (Brooks) Powers, and a son, Charles Edward Powers, both of whom are among the living.

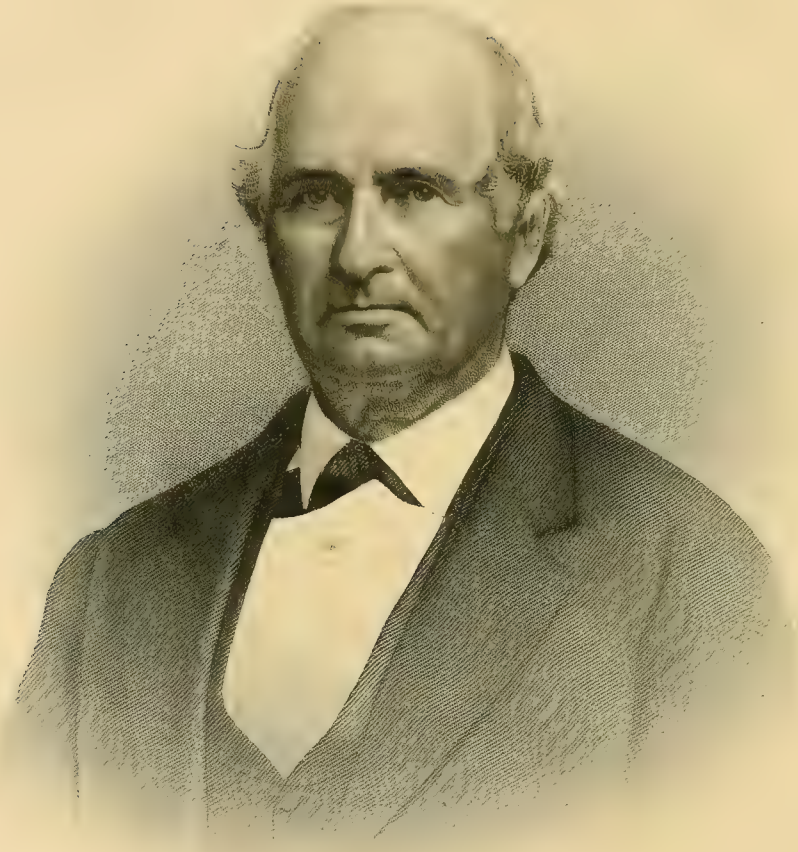
[1] By Charles E. Powers.

ABRAM S. FRENCH.

Abram Stickney French, son of Abram and Elizabeth (Kidder) French, was born in Boston March 5,



Charles Powers



Abram S. French

1809. He made one or two voyages to the West Indies as a cabin-boy, but not being pleased with a maritime life he was sent to New Ipswich Academy, where he acquired a good education. He preferred a business life rather than to pursue a course of studies with the view to enter upon one of the learned professions. In 1830 he engaged in the morocco-tanning business at West Townsend, in a building which stood opposite to the residence of A. M. Wilson. In 1833 he built a morocco-factory on a brook running northeasterly from Bayberry Hill, near its junction with Squanicook River. This establishment was in successful operation until 1853, employing constantly ten or twelve workmen; and from the fact of a continuation of twenty years in the trade, the presumption is that the business was a source of wealth to the proprietor. Leaving Townsend in 1853, he went to Lockport, N. Y., and stocked a tannery, where he carried on business successfully with a partner, to whom he sold his interest in the business in 1858, and removed to Wellsville, N. Y., and built an extensive tannery, and pursued that branch of industry for several years, doing a large and profitable business. Partially losing his health, and seeing a good chance to sell out, he disposed of this factory and its stock in trade and retired from business in 1864. The price of everything was inflated by the paper currency, caused by the war, so that leather —like all other property—was worth more than double when he sold, compared with its value when he built the tannery, and consequently the sale was a good stroke of financial policy. He married Lois P. Richardson, daughter of Jonathan Richardson, October 2, 1831. She was born in Townsend July 16, 1812. Although they have an abundance of wealth and friends, they have been greatly bereaved by the loss of four of their six children—a son in the Rebellion, two daughters, each about twenty years of age, and a daughter in childhood. The account of this family may be of interest to the future genealogist looking after persons by the name of French.

Children: Mary Elizabeth, born October 26, 1832, died September 30, 1834; Mary Elizabeth, born March 30, 1834, died February 6, 1859; George Frederick, born September 1, 1836, died November 24, 1861; Ann Maria, born August 2, 1838, died August 26, 1854; Abram Arthur, born March 1, 1844; Martha Ellen, born November 4, 1846.

Mr. French has always been fond of books, which, during the days of bad health, have been a source of pleasure to him. He has a retentive memory, is well posted on historical matters and possesses a large amount of miscellaneous information. He gives liberally to the poor, and enjoys life at his advanced age in a remarkable manner. He is a member of the Republican party, and in 1861–62 he represented the Twenty-seventh District (Ashby and Townsend) in the General Court.

CHARLES EMERY.

The name of Emery is said to be of Norman origin. Those of the name were in England in 1066, and engaged in the battle of Hastings under William the Conqueror. In 1635 John Emery and his son John, and Anthony his brother, embarked in the ship "James," Captain Cooper, and landed in Boston June 3d of that year. John settled in Newbury, and he died there November 3, 1685, aged eighty-five. He was a carpenter, and it was from him that the subject of this sketch is descended. Zacheriah Emery, the great-grandfather, came to Townsend about 1739, and, December 2d, he married Esther Stevens, of Townsend. He was a leading man in town and church affairs, was one of the selectmen eight years, from 1754 to 1778. He was at the battle of Bunker Hill in Captain Hosley's company. He owned a large tract of land, situated about two miles south from where the meeting-house stood, on the Lunenburg road, leading through South Row. This estate has remained in the Emery family to the present time, Charles Emery and his sister being the sole heirs. About 150 acres of this tract remain in a perfectly wild state, and the sound of the woodman's ax has never reverberated among the huge and mossy trunks of this primeval forest. John Emery, the grandfather, was a prominent townsman; was in Captain Henry Farwell's company at the battle of Bunker Hill; married Ruth Sanderson, of Lunenburg; was one of the selectmen seven years, from 1795 to 1809. Joel Emery, the father, was a soldier in the War of 1812, stationed at Fort Warren. He served on the Board of Selectmen six years, from 1832 to 1852, and he represented Townsend in the General Court in 1835, 1836, 1837 and 1839.

CHARLES EMERY, son of Joel and Mary (Sylvester) Emery, was born in Townsend December 3, 1819. He married, July 2, 1846, Amanda M. Walcott. She was born in Lowell September 24, 1828. Children: twins, a son and a daughter, born October 9, 1862. The daughter died in infancy; the son, Charles H. Emery, died October 17, 1879. The death of this son, a promising youth of seventeen, was a great bereavement to these parents. He was their only child. Mr. Emery, soon after he arrived at majority, opened a store at Townsend Harbor, in the same building which he now occupies as a store. In 1848 the failure of the contractors to build the Peterborough and Shirley Railroad ruined him financially, as he had a large amount of goods trusted to their boarding-house keepers and laborers, who received little or nothing for their services and consequently could not pay their bills. Not losing his courage, he served as a clerk for a firm in Boston for a short time, but he soon returned to Townsend Harbor and commenced business at the store where he is now in trade, where he paid all his debts and has had a profitable trade ever since. He has often been urged to accept some of the town offices, but he has always declined a nom-

ination. With the exception of about five years, from 1850 to 1855, he has been postmaster at Townsend Harbor since 1843, a term of over forty years. He is a genial gentleman and has as few enemies as any Townsend man. Since last winter (1890) his usual good health has failed so much that in July of this year he sold out his stock in trade and retired from business.

ROYAL B. BOYNTON.

Royal Bullard Boynton, son of Isaac and Sybil (Lawrence) Boynton, was born in Pepperell February 7, 1826. He is descended from John Boynton, who, in 1638, came from Yorkshire, England, and settled in the old town of Rowley. On his maternal side he is a descendant of John Lawrence, who first settled in Lexington; afterwards removed to Groton. He was one of the original proprietors of Townsend. While not at school or teaching school the subject of this sketch worked on his father's farm until he arrived at majority. The whole dream and hope of his boyhood was to become a physician, and he was at his books while his neighbors' boys were at their games and amusements. In 1847 he was at Ludlow Academy, Vermont. In 1848 he was connected with Pepperell Academy, both as pupil and assistant teacher in mathematics. During the winter of 1848–49 he was at Groton Academy, studying Greek and geometry, with a view of entering college two years in advance, and while he was there his eyes failed by an attack of amaurosis to such an extent that in the following spring for about six weeks he was totally blind. Recovering partially from this difficulty, but not so much as to enable him to pursue his studies, he went to Lowell and entered the office of Knowls, a noted mechanical and operative dentist, and attended to the mechanical part of that business for about two months during the following summer. He was after that a student in the office of Dr. Nehemiah Cutter, who gave him a certificate of two years' study of medicine. He graduated from Woodstock Medical College (Woodstock, Vt.) in 1852, in a large class, of which he and five others stood in the front rank in scholarship. He commenced the practice of medicine in Pepperell soon after his graduation. In 1855 he moved to Townsend Centre, and was in practice at that village until 1862, when he removed to Mason Village, N. H., and remained there until 1865, when he removed to West Townsend, where he is now in practice. He is a skillful physician and surgeon and has an extensive practice. He is decidedly a self-made man, and his success in his profession is attributable as much to his interest in his studies at the fireside in his father's house as to any other source. He keeps thoroughly posted in the literature of his profession, and he has the same yearning for advancement, sometimes called ambition, which he felt in early life. His office patients come from all directions, and, besides taking many long rides to visit the sick, he occasionally travels by rail, sometimes a long distance, to attend to those who wish for his professional services. November 12, 1863, he married Jose H. Taft, of Mason Village, N. H.

CHAPTER XLIII.

LEXINGTON.

BY REV. C. A. STAPLES.

TOPOGRAPHY AND SCENERY.

THIS town lies west-northwest of Boston, the central village being about eleven miles distant from that city and connected with it by the Western Division of the Boston and Maine Railroad. It contains nineteen square miles of territory, or upwards of 20,000 acres. The boundaries of the town are quite irregular, and its length from north to south considerably greater than its breadth from east to west. It lies between the towns of Winchester, Woburn and Burlington on the east, and Lincoln and Waltham on the west, and between Arlington and Belmont on the south and Bedford on the north. The central village is situated chiefly in a plain, probably in geologic eras the bottom of a shallow lake, from which rise on all sides, excepting the northeast and southeast, hills having an elevation of from fifty to one hundred and fifty feet. The site is nearly two hundred and fifty feet above tide-water in Boston harbor and ninety feet above Concord River, six miles distant toward the northwest. The surface of the town is broken by ranges of hills running generally from northeast to southwest, and by many isolated elevations of considerable height. Of the latter, Concord, Davis, Fiske and Loring Hills, lying southwest and northwest of the village, and Merriam, Hancock Heights, Mason, Mount Independence and Mount Ephraim, lying east and south of the village, are illustrations. These hills are generally covered with wood and are of a rocky and precipitous character, especially the eastern slope; but some are used as pastures and afford extensive and beautiful views of the surrounding country from their summits. Embosomed among these hills are extensive peat swamps, many of which have been reclaimed and brought under cultivation. They form a striking feature of the landscape in some portions of the town and produce enormous crops under generous fertilization. On one of these meadows the owner gathered recently, at a single mowing, over four tons of hay from an acre, by actual weight, when put in the barn. The second harvest not unfrequently affords half the quantity of the first.

The general elevation of the surface of Lexington prevents the accumulation of stagnant water within its borders. It contains no pond of more than one or two acres in extent, excepting that near the east village, made by flooding the great meadows to furnish

a water supply for the Arlington reservoir. The town is virtually the water-shed of the southern part of Middlesex County between the Charles and the Mystic Rivers. Considerable streams take their rise in the town and run in different directions. Among these, Vine Brook, one of the largest, rises half a mile west of the village and pursues a northeasterly course into the town of Burlington, affording several mill privileges and emptying into the Shawshine River. The North Brook, rising in the same locality, flows directly north into the town of Bedford, where it unites with the same river. Half a mile southeast of the village the Munroe Brook, having its source in a copious spring of pure cold water, flows southeasterly into Arlington, where it forms the chief supply for the town water-works, furnishing, by actual measurement, 200,000 gallons daily. A mile west of the village Hobbs' Brook has its source and runs in a southerly direction along the borders of Lincoln, in a deep valley, and pursuing its course under the eastern slope of Mount Tabor, empties into the Charles River in Waltham. Other brooks in the southerly portion of the town flow in the same direction, pouring their waters, through various channels, into the Mystic or the Charles. Thus we may say, in general, that the surface of the town slopes to the north and to the south, the local water-shed being in the vicinity of the central village, from which streams flow in these opposite directions. This absence of stagnant water and the good drainage afforded by these brooks, together with the general elevation of the surface, give the atmosphere great purity and cause the town to be one of the most healthful in the State. There are few tracts of level ground within its limits, excepting the plain in which the central village is situated and one of considerable extent lying eastwardly on the borders of Vine Brook, and containing the old race-course.

Having a great variety of surface, with extensive tracts of forest and meadow land and bold, rocky hills, the scenery of Lexington is attractive and delightful. In every direction the drives are inviting, winding around wood-covered hills, along rich valleys, past comfortable and spacious dwellings, with broad and beautiful landscapes continually opening before the traveler. In many parts of the town Wachusett Mountain is seen rising in graceful outline on the western horizon thirty miles distant. Farther to the north the Grand Monadnock lifts its giant form in solitary grandeur, and around it are gathered the lofty Peterboro' hills, all distinctly visible on a clear day. But the most extensive and fascinating view is obtained from Hancock Heights, where, at an elevation of 150 feet above the village, the eye sweeps the unbroken line of the horizon on a radius of thirty or forty miles. A vast extent of gardens, fields, orchards and forests lies outspread before you, dotted over with flourishing villages, while through an opening between Crescent Hill and Arlington Heights are seen the spires and domes of Boston and Cambridge. The city of Woburn lies farther towards the north, with Stoneham and Reading beyond, while still farther north are Burlington and Bedford. Turning towards the west, we have a wide sweep of woods and fields backed by mountains, and in the south a charming view over Waltham and Newton, with the Blue Hill of Milton in the distance. From hills around East Lexington, and from elevations on the Cary farm, the views, though much less extensive, are hardly less striking and beautiful.

Lexington is, almost exclusively, an agricultural town, and contains many large and valuable farms. Among these the most noted is the Hayes estate of 400 acres, with its lordly stone mansion, its noble groves of pine and oak, its well-kept lawns and gardens, its extensive collection of plants, shrubs and trees, and its broad fields and meadows around the farm buildings at the foot of Hancock Heights. Few places in the vicinity of Boston present so many and so varied attractions,—a surface so diversified by hill, valley and plain, such enormous masses of rock, grand old forests, a natural pond on the highest point of land and an unfailing brook winding along its southern border. Its late owner, Hon. Francis B. Hayes, laid out these extensive grounds with fine taste and adorned them with rare shrubs and trees. It is a place delightful to visit, especially when its thousands of rhododendrons are in bloom, and the air is fragrant with the choicest roses, azaleas and lilies of the garden and conservatory.

In the northern part of the town are many extensive and well-tilled farms. Among these we may notice the Bowman farm, now owned by Mr. F. O. Vaille; the Hammon Reed place, now owned by Mr. Stimpson; the Wetherbee farm, the John P. Reed farm and the Henry Simonds farm, all large and productive, with spacious dwellings, fine barns and outbuildings, and having the appearance of comfort and prosperity. In the western and southern portions of the town we notice the Berry farm, recently purchased by Mr. Hartley, who is adding extensive and costly improvements; the Cary farm, owned by Miss Alice B. Cary, and occupied by her mother, the late Maria Hastings Cary, many years as a summer home, and by her ancestors for many generations, one of the most valuable and beautiful of Lexington farms; the old Phinney place, now owned by Mr. Webster Smith, long the residence of the Phinney family; the Wellington farm, where, for a hundred and fifty years, the ancestors of Mr. Cornelius Wellington, the present owner, have lived—a place which, for beauty of location, fine lawn and garden, noble trees, well-tilled fields and broad views over a charming country, can hardly be excelled by any other in this portion of the county; the old Matthew Bridge farm, now owned by Mr. Goldthwaite, with its large extent of fertile meadows, probably the most productive farm in town, upon the improvement of which much

money has been expended by successive proprietors; and the Estabrook and Blodgett farm, now owned by Mr. Severns. Upon the main road, a mile south of the village, the farm and grounds of Mr. James S. Munroe deservedly attract much attention for their beauty and productiveness. The broad meadows, the natural groves of oak upon rounded knolls, the extensive lawn carefully kept, the hills bounding it upon the west, planted with many varieties of trees, make it a delightful place, and peculiarly dear to its owner as the home of several generations of his family. In the eastern quarter are the valuable farms of Mr. Haskell Reed, Charles Putnam and the late George Munroe, pleasant for situation and under careful tillage, while farther north, near the Burlington line, is the well-known Gibbs farm, recently bought by Mr. Moody and now undergoing extensive improvements. In the same neighborhood the Willard place bears evidence of skillful and profitable farming, with its well-managed dairy and its enormous brood of 2000 chickens. In addition to the large farms already mentioned are many smaller and hardly less valuable estates belonging to merchants and business men of Boston who have made here pleasant homes for their families. Among these are those of Colonel William A. Tower, near the east village, on a commanding height overlooking a wide sweep of wooded and cultivated land dotted with farm-houses and animated by peaceful scenes of country life; the new and spacious house of Mr. C. C. Goodwin, with its many acres of bright, velvety lawn skillfully graded and adorned with trees and shrubs; the stately mansions of Mr. Matthew H. Merriam and Mr. B. F. Brown, on Hancock Street, with extensive grounds showing the care of many years in fine orchards, gardens and noble trees; and the unique and beautiful house of Mr. George O. Whiting, occupying a pleasant site at the corner of Hancock and Adams Streets, and having a delightful view from the broad piazza and the spacious rooms over a vast extent of country backed by Wachusett, Monadnock and the Peterboro' hills in the western horizon. The home of Dr. R. M. Lawrence, on the southern slope of Loring Hill, half a mile southwest of the village, is a noteworthy place. On a broad avenue winding up from Waltham Street through the native forest, sheltered on the north by a heavy growth of oak and pine, amid huge masses of granite rock, and having a fine outlook to the southwest upon the hills and farms of Lincoln, it forms a picture of seclusion and comfort peculiarly attractive to a refined and cultivated mind. Many other pleasant homes might be named, for Lexington abounds in such, especially among those recently erected on Bloomfield and Oakland Streets; but enough has been written to show that the old town has fine farms, noble mansions, beautiful scenery and much to please and interest the traveler.

CHAPTER XLIV.

LEXINGTON—(Continued).

CIVIL HISTORY.

THE early history of Lexington is identified with that of Cambridge, of whose extensive territory it formed a part for nearly three-quarters of a century. The original purpose of the settlement of Cambridge in 1631 was to form there a fortified town for the defence of other settlements and for the capital of the Colony. For this purpose, it was laid out to contain only about a thousand acres, and was enclosed by a trench and a palisade of logs. This purpose, however, was soon abandoned in favor of Boston as a more eligible location. The limited territory of Cambridge, or "Newtowne," as it was called, was rapidly taken up by settlers, and complaint was soon made of the lack of room for further growth. The leading men of the place were uneasy and discontented in their straitened quarters, and began to consider the question of removal to a location more favorable for expansion. To allay this discontent, in 1635 the General Court granted to the proprietors of "Newtowne" all territory lying between Charlestown and Woburn on the east and Watertown on the west, extending eight miles from their meeting-house in a northerly direction. This grant includes the greater part of what is now Arlington and Lexington. The eight-mile line ran from east to west, between what is now Burlington and Weston. Its location is still pointed out across the meadows, just in the rear of the old burying-ground in Lexington, and many of the ancient deeds are bounded on it. Thus a large portion of the territory of this town became the property of Cambridge. But this extensive grant did not wholly allay the uneasiness, and in 1642 the General Court again extended the boundaries of the town to include all the territory as far as Concord and Merrimac Rivers not otherwise disposed of. In this way Cambridge obtained possession of the land lying between the grants to Watertown and Concord on the west and Charlestown and Woburn on the east, and extending from the Charles to the Merrimac Rivers, besides that portion of territory south of the Charles, now included in Brighton and Newton. Thus the whole length of her domain must have been at least thirty miles, with an average width of not more than four or five miles.

After this great accession was made to her territory, Cambridge began to parcel out the land among her wealthy and prominent people. Extensive tracts were granted to them, from time to time, on condition that they should clear the forest, erect houses and make permanent settlements thereon. Thus John Bridge obtained a grant of 600 acres, which he chose in different tracts where the land appeared best

fitted for farming purposes, and settled his four sons upon them. The Winships, the Whittemores, the Stones, the Bowmans, the Cutlers, the Fiskes and many more Cambridge families took up lands in this outlying territory, cleared away the forest and made farms for their children, while still retaining, probably, their homes in the village of Cambridge. Thus these new clearings and settlements were called "Cambridge Farms." The people living here were spoken of as "The Farmers." These names were applied to the district and to the people for a long period, not only in common speech, but in the official documents of the Colony. At what time the first settlements were made at the farms it is difficult to determine. We find that a grant of 600 acres was made to Richard Herlarkenden in 1635, at Vine Brook, in the Shawshine country. From the description given of it there is no doubt but this tract covered the greater part of the site of Lexington village. It lay on both sides of Vine Brook, midway between Cambridge and Concord. Richard Herlarkenden was living at that time in England, of which country he was probably a native. A brother, Roger, was a prominent and much respected citizen of Cambridge. The conditions of the grant were, that he should cause a clearing to be made and erect a house thereon, within a given time, and in the following season come over and occupy it himself. He failed to come, and the grant was transferred to his brother, who took possession of it and began the work which the terms of the grant required. But he died in 1637, and five years later, viz., in 1642, Herbert Pelham, the first treasurer of Harvard College, came into possession of it. At that time there was a house on the tract, and a considerable clearing had been made, as we learn from the records describing the property. As the settlement at Concord, six miles beyond, was begun in 1636, no doubt the road leading to that place from Cambridge had been laid out and was much traveled. This road was substantially that now represented by Main and Monument Streets, and not unlikely the Pelham house was opened as a place of public entertainment. Thus it is probable that the first house erected in Lexington village was built about 1640. It stood on the eastern side of the Concord road, and not far from the site of the old Buckman tavern, now known as the Merriam house. Herbert Pelham bequeathed this large estate to his son Edward, and it was retained by him until 1693, when he sold it in three different parcels, of 200 acres each, to Benj. Muzzey, Joseph Estabrook and John Poulter. Up to that time the Pelham house appears to have been the only one on the land now occupied by the central village. It was held as one great farm, and either cultivated or rented by the Pelhams. In ancient deeds it is spoken of as "Mr. Pelham's Manor," or "Mr. Pelham's farm." No doubt it was owing to the fact that the site of the village was held by a single wealthy family for more than half a century from the first settlement, that there was no growth in the centre, while the outlying districts were steadily increasing in population. The Munroes had taken up their abode in the eastern part of the town and given the neighborhood the name "Scotland" (which it still retains), in honor of the land of their birth. The Winships, the Reeds, the Whittemores, the Bowmans, the Browns had settled in the southeastern quarter; the Wellingtons, the Smiths, the Hastingses, the Chandlers, the Stones, the Bridges in the southwestern; the Fiskes, the Reeds, the Tidds, the Simonds, the Cutlers in the northern, making altogether a population of nearly 200 persons within the bounds of Cambridge Farms, while in the centre district there was no more than a single family. But after the breaking up of "Mr. Pelham's Manor" new farms were laid out and new buildings erected.

As early as 1682 the farmers began to agaitate the question of a separate parish organization. At this date they numbered no more than thirty families, with about 180 persons. Attendance on the Sunday worship at Cambridge was a great burden, involving a journey of from six to eight miles each way, over roads that were mere cart-paths cut through the woods. In the autumn and winter the long ride on horseback must have been a serious exposure, which only the strongest were able to endure. The farmers were naturally anxious to have the ministrations of religion brought within the reach of all, and especially to have their children reared under its restraining and elevating influence. But Cambridge resisted the granting of the petition, and it was defeated. Again, in 1684, their request was renewed, with a similar result. But seven years later, in December, 1691, after a third appeal to the General Court, they succeeded in obtaining an act of incorporation for the precinct of Cambridge Farms, with boundaries nearly identical with those of Lexington at the present time. In the April following (1692) the first meeting was held for parish organization, and from this date the records of the parish have been carefully kept and preserved.

The Parish of Cambridge Farms.—We enter now upon the history of Cambridge Farms while a parish of the original town, which it continued to be until 1713, a period of twenty-two years. The first business transacted by the new parish was to choose a minister and build a meeting-house. Benjamin Estabrook was employed to preach for one year from May 1, 1692, for forty pounds, of which twenty pounds was to be paid in money and twenty pounds in produce at money price. This arrangement was continued from year to year until October 21, 1696, when he was ordained and settled as the minister of the parish, and a church organization was formed. Thus for more than four years he preached here without ordination, and before he could administer the rites of baptism and the Lord's Supper. At his ordination Judge Samuel Sewell, of the old South Church

in Boston, was present with the pastor, Rev. Mr. Willard, as a delegate, and in his wonderful diary, which he kept for sixty years, we find the following entry regarding this event:

"Oct. 21st, 1696.—A church is gathered at Cambridge North Farms; no relations made, but a covenant signed and voted by ten brethren, dismissed from the churches of Cambridge, Watertown, Woburn, Concord for the work. Being declared to be a church, they chose Mr. Benjamin Estabrook their pastor, who had made a good sermon from Jer. 3: 15. Mr. Estabrook, the father, managed this, having prayed excellently. Mr. Willard gave the charge; Mr. Fox the Right hand of Fellowship. Sung part of 4th psalm from the 9th verse to the end, O God, our Thoughts. Mr. Stone and Mr. Fiske thanked me for my assistance there. Cambridge was sent to, though had no teaching officer; they sent Elder Clark, Hastings, Remington."

Thus the church was duly established and a minister settled; but in the following year, July, 1697, Mr. Estabrook died, to the great disappointment and sorrow of the people, by whom he was universally esteemed. He was the son of Rev. Joseph Estabrook, minister of Concord, and a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1690. In 1693 his father purchased of Edward Pelham 200 acres of land on the southeasterly side of Vine Brook, beginning at the county road (now Main Street), and extending far out towards the Scotland District. The parish erected a house for their pastor on that part of this purchase where Mr. William Plumer's house now stands. It is believed that some portion of the Estabrook house was incorporated with the present structure and remains to this day. This house was given him by the parish, and much of the tract bought of Pelham remained in the Estabrook family for several generations. Captain Joseph Estabrook, the minister's brother, lived on that portion of it near the railroad crossing, and Estabrook Hill, just beyond, doubtless takes its name from the family.

The first tax-bill of the parish was made in 1692 for the payment of the minister's salary, and contains fifty-four names—probably, for the most part, names of heads of families. Of these seven have the name Stone, four Tidd, three Munroe, three Merriam, two Cutler, two Winship, two Smith, two Bridge and two Fiske. Of the twenty-seven different names, fifteen are represented in the town to-day by their descendants, or those bearing the same names.

The First Meeting-House.—The subscription for building the first meeting-house was made in 1691, and contains forty-one names with the amount of £62. Nothing is found upon the records showing the dimensions of this house or its appearance, excepting that it contained two galleries, one on either side. The body of the house was furnished with benches for seats, and divided by a central aisle; on one side were the men, on the other the women. Some of the more prominent men of the town were allowed to build seats for their wives in the rear of the benches and against the wall, and a seat was provided for the minister's wife; these appear to have been raised a step above the floor, but there is no mention of pews; Mistress William Reed, however, is allowed to have "a sette" built for her use. Subsequently, in 1700, two upper galleries were added to the meeting-house to accommodate the increasing number of worshipers. In view of the fact that there were two tiers of galleries, one above the other, on each side, we may conclude that this house must have been of considerable height, whatever were its other dimensions. It stood at the junction of Bedford and Monument Streets, near the site of the stone watering-trough, and, with various repairs upon interior and exterior remained until it was torn down, to give place to a more imposing structure in 1713, twenty-two years after its erection.

Rev. John Hancock, the Second Minister.—We enter now upon the long and prosperous pastorate of Rev. John Hancock, the second minister of the parish, the son of Deacon Nathaniel Hancock, "Cordwainer," of Cambridge. He was a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1689, and devoted a number of years to teaching the grammar school of his native town. During this time he prepared himself for the work of the ministry, and began preaching here November 7, 1697, four months after the death of Mr. Estabrook, but was not ordained and settled until the following year, November 2, 1698. He was to receive £80 as a settlement and the same salary as his predecessor, viz.: £45 for the first three years, with a quarterly collection in the church for his benefit, and afterwards £56 without the collection. This remained his salary for a long period, with the addition of twenty cords of wood delivered at his door annually from the ministerial land. The ministerial land had been purchased from the Cambridge proprietors in 1693 by a parish subscription, and embraced a large tract southwest of the village, lying on both sides of the Concord road. It partially included the lands now owned by Mr. George W. Robinson, Mr. M. K. Gilmore, Mr. William Ham, on the north side, and the tract known as the Blaisdell farm, on the south side, extending across the meadow up the northern slope of Loring Hill to the estate of Dr. R. M. Lawrence. The land was held by the parish for a long period. Some portions of it were cleared for pasture and meadow, and rented annually to different persons and the income used to defray parish expenses. The timber for the school-house and the belfry was taken from it and the wood to supply the minister; sometimes, also, the wood for the schools. From time to time large quantities of wood and timber were sold from it, and the proceeds put into a fund, the income of which was to be used for paying the minister's salary. Ultimately the whole tract was disposed of and the money received for it funded for this object. Such was the origin of the Ministerial Fund, which, for many years, was allowed to accumulate until the interest was adequate for the support of the minister. The fund has been carefully invested and managed down to the present day. For the last forty years the income has been divided between the three churches of the town

in existence when the original division was made, and by act of the Legislature no change can be made in the division without the unanimous consent of the people of these three churches.

THE INCORPORATION OF LEXINGTON.—At what time the agitation for a town organization began we are unable to determine. But in 1712 the inhabitants of the parish of Cambridge Farms petitioned the General Court for an act of incorporation as a town. Their petition was not opposed by Cambridge, and on March 20, 1713, the act was passed and the parish became a town under the name of Lexington, with boundaries corresponding to those of the parish. It was stipulated in the act that the new town should bear an equitable portion of the expense of keeping the Great Bridge in repair over the Charles River at Cambridge, a provision which caused endless trouble and bickering in subsequent years. So onerous did this obligation become that the town petitioned the General Court for a grant of unoccupied land to help them bear the burden, and accordingly, in 1734, a thousand acres was donated for this purpose in what is now the town of Ashburnham. It was known as "the Bridge Farm," and rented for a small sum annually, until 1757, when it was sold for £225, the purchaser having twelve years in which to pay for it. Ultimately the town was relieved of the expense altogether, and the charge laid upon the county.

The name Lexington appears to have been adopted as a compliment to Lord Lexington, an English nobleman and diplomatist of some prominence at that time. From the most reliable statistics obtainable, the entire population, when Lexington was incorporated, did not exceed 450. There were few, if any, wealthy people among them, and the support of "a learned orthodox minister," added to the support of schools, and other town expenses, must have entailed a heavy burden of taxation from the start.

LEXINGTON COMMON, A NEW MEETING-HOUSE AND THE FIRST SCHOOL-HOUSE.—Before becoming a town, in 1711, the people of Cambridge Farms had purchased an acre and a half of land in the rear of the meeting-house for a Common. It was bought of "Nibour Muzzy" (Benjamin) for £16, raised by subscription. Subsequently, in 1722, an additional acre was bought to enlarge its area for £25, from Mr. Muzzy and his son John. These purchases comprise the triangular plat of land lying between Elm Avenue on the north, Hancock Street on the east, and Monument Street on the west, known and forever memorable as "Lexington Common." In the next month after obtaining the act of incorporation, at a town-meeting duly called, the town voted to build a new meeting-house. It was to be fifty feet in length, forty in width and twenty in height. Afterwards the height was increased to twenty-eight feet by vote of the town, on condition that individuals should bear the extra expense. It was planned and built accordingly, with three tiers of windows and two tiers of galleries, but without a bell-tower or steeple, and cost, when finished, about £500. It was located near the first meeting-house, on the southern point of the Common, with the front door facing down Main Street, and with doors in each end toward Monument and Hancock Streets. No provision was made for warming it, and with three outside doors opening directly into the audience-room, it seems impossible that the people could have sat there on cushionless seats and uncarpeted floors in winter through two services of two hours each, without great suffering. The exterior of this building is familiar in the pictures of the battle of Lexington—a plain, barn-like structure, of the usual Puritan type of architecture in that period. The interior was arranged with a central aisle extending from the front door to the pulpit, and parallel side aisles connected by aisles in front and rear. Against the walls, on the four sides of the house, pews were built by individuals who bought the spaces for them from the town, and in the body of the house long benches, were placed, reaching from the central to the side aisles. On one hand were the men, on the other the women, while children were placed on the rear benches, "where they might be inspected." The permanent seating of the people on these benches was a difficult matter. It was assigned to a committee chosen by the town, who were instructed to have regard "for age, for property, and for but one head to a family." Thus, the old people were given the front seats, and the wealthy people were next behind them. That there might be no mistake in regard to age, the people were directed to bring in their ages to the committee by a given time. As to property, they were rated from the assessor's lists. When there was a re-seating of the meeting-house, the committee charged with this important duty was instructed "not to degrade any man, and only have regard to real estate." Of course, in the pews owned by individuals, there was no seating by the committee, the members of the family sitting together in such order as they pleased. But on the benches, which were for those who had no pews, the seats were assigned in this curious manner. In this house the first gallery was occupied, probably, by the poorer and humbler people, while the second gallery was set apart for the colored folks and also for the town's stock of powder. The bell was not placed upon the meeting-house, but upon some kind of a structure built for the purpose, and when it fell one day while being rung, a bell-tower was built against the eastern end of the school-house, and it was hung there. Such was the second meeting-house built in 1713–14. The town clerk has left this record: "Oct. 17, 1714, was the first Sabbath day we mette in the new meeting-house." With occasional repairs, it was used for Sunday worship and for town-meetings during a period of eighty years. Around it the British soldiers poured in the early morning of the 19th of April, 1775, when they formed just behind it and

fired the fatal volleys which drew the first blood of the Revolution. Here, after they had raised their brutal shout of triumph and marched on towards Concord, the bodies of the dead were brought and laid upon the floor, and here a touching service was held, when they were borne away and placed in a common grave in the village burying-ground. In the afternoon of that eventful day, when the retreating army had gained the protection of Earl Percy's cannon, a shot was fired which passed into the meeting-house just above the front door, and out through the pulpit window, lodging in the Common. But these thrilling associations did not avail to preserve the ancient structure from dilapidation and decay, and, after standing for more than three-fourths of a century, it was torn down in 1794, to give place to a more commodious and comfortable structure. Thus perished the second meeting-house, which had been the centre of so much of the town-life, and was associated with an event of world-wide renown.

This meeting-house had hardly been completed and opened for use, when the town voted, in November, 1714, "to erect a school-house." The building was an humble structure, "28 ft. in length by 20 ft. in width, and 8 or nine feet stud." It was placed upon the Common facing the Concord road, on a gentle knoll afterwards known as "school-house hill," where the old monument now stands. Subsequently a well was dug near it and provided with a curb and sweep, "for the use of the school and the town's people on Sabbath days to drink at." This house remained until 1761, after undergoing frequent repairs, when it was torn down and a still smaller one erected on the same site, which lasted until 1797, when it was sold and removed to give place to the monument. During this period of more than eighty years, here was the only school-house in the town. It was used for the grammar school, and also occasionally for town-meetings, especially when the weather was too cold for comfort in the meeting-house; sometimes, however, adjournment was made from the meeting-house to the Buckman tavern, where other means than fires were provided for warming up.

The first school established by the town was on the completion of the school-house in 1716, when Captain Joseph Estabrook was employed as teacher at a salary of £3 per month. He continued in the school for several years apparently for this compensation, but teaching at first only five months in the year. It was not, however, a free school, since each pupil was obliged "to pai two pens per week for reading and three pens per week for righting and siphering." Nor was it open to girls even at this charge. Apparently it was maintained solely for the education of boys during more than thirty years, since in 1747 we find a vote recorded admitting "gairls" to the grammar school. The tuition was raised to "four pens" per week, with two feet of wood from each scholar to keep up the fire. In addition to the grammar school, however, female, or "dame schools," were established nearly at the same time in different parts of the town. These were kept in private houses, in rooms rented for the purpose, and were free to all. But those families living in remote districts complained that their children were deprived of the advantages afforded by the grammar school, and, to give universal satisfaction, it was decided to make it "a moving school." Accordingly a vote was taken annually to see if the town would have a moving school or a stationary school. Sometimes it is called "a running school," and is kept a month in each of the five quarters of the town, going around twice during the year. At other times it remains two months in each locality and goes round but once. This policy of determining, year by year, whether the grammar school should be maintained at the central village, or migrate from one part of the town to another, seems to have been continued till near the beginning of this century, when school-houses were built in the outskirts and permanent schools established in each district.

Among the teachers employed here for longer or shorter periods were several collegians from Harvard, who thus earned in part the means of paying their college expenses. And others, after graduation, came here to prepare for the ministry under the direction of the pastor of the church, and, in addition to their theological studies, taught the grammar school. Some names of young men so employed are found upon our records who afterwards became distinguished preachers, scholars and theologians. Among these may be mentioned Jonathan Bowman, Abiel Abbot, Peter Whitney, John Pipon, Pitt Clark, Benjamin Green and many others. For two years or more Rev. John Hancock, sometimes called "Sir Hancock" on the records, was the teacher and fitted young men for college in the Lexington Grammar School. In 1729 his son, Ebenezer, took charge of the school, and in 1734 was ordained as colleague pastor with his father, but continued to be teacher for some time afterwards. Occasionally the grammar school was discontinued, no appropriation being made for its support, and in two instances the town was presented to the General Court for not complying with the law in failing to maintain it. But the "dame schools" in the different quarters of the town appear to have been steadily kept up. Considering how small the population was at this time, and how little wealth the people possessed, and also that during a portion of the time the salaries of two ministers had to be provided for, the support of the schools must have added materially to their burdens and shows a creditable interest in the education of their children. Some of the votes passed regarding the school are curious and worthy of notice. Thus, in 1742, it was voted to take up "a contribution for the school-master by reason of his giving so unusually dear for his board." This was largely due to the depreciation of the currency. The school was to be dismissed on all public occasions, and if the time

was not made up, so much was to be taken out of the teacher's salary. Rev. Timothy Harrington teaches the school in 1748, and in his contract with the town it is specified that "lecture days, half a day at funerals, at raisings, at ordinations in the neighborhood and training days to be respected as holidays." "Agreed with John Muzzy to board the school-master for £1 15*s.* per week and with Deacon Stone to find him in candles at 5*d.* per pound." In 1750 Rev. Mr. Hancock's salary is fixed at £55 lawful money, instead of £416, old tenor, showing a depreciation of almost 8 for 1. In 1751 Nathan Robbins teaches the school, and is allowed "half a day a week to preach anywhere."

But let us turn from the schools to notice the action of the town regarding other matters. All persons were required to attend the Sabbath worship unless excused for good and sufficient reasons. In 1720, when Will Chamberlain was complained of for non-attendance, he made the plea that he had no suitable clothes. Whereupon the selectmen ordered that he be furnished with a full suit "forthwith," and the bill for each article appears accordingly upon the records, amounting to about £2. But Will appears to have still continued remiss in church attendance, and finally he is taken before a justice at Cambridge and convicted of violating the law regarding this matter, reprimanded and ordered to conduct himself in future as became a citizen of a Christian state. Then follow the charges for transporting the obdurate offender to and from the court, and for boarding him while awaiting his trial. Whether poor Will was finally brought under the ministrations of religion or not, we are unable to determine. Ultimately he became a public charge, and in 1735 was gathered to his fathers, as we learn from a bill of "16*s.* 9*d.* for drink at Chamberlain's funeral." This is the only instance of legal coercion to bring people to church found upon our records. The experiment was costly and not encouraging. But it is by no means the only instance of a charge for "entertainment" furnished at the funerals of paupers for the selectmen and others. Thus, in 1728, it required "seven quarts and one gill of rhum" to celebrate the obsequies at the funeral of a Mrs. Paul. Two years later "42*s.* is allowed Mr. Muzzy for rum for father Paul, and at his funeral." And again, in 1747, the selectmen expend "£1 for drink at old Johnson's funeral." On all occasions where the town was a party, such as letting jobs of work, or selling public property, or raising public buildings, liquor was provided for the people at the public charge. Thus, when "the old Cushing" of the meeting-house pulpit and "the glass-iron" were sold at auction 10*s.* were used to treat the people and stimulate the bidding. At the funeral of widow Mead's child "6 prs. of gloves and some rum and sugar" are provided. Also, in 1767, paid "3*s.* 10*d.* for liquor used at the renting of the town's land." And when "our Reverend and Beloved pastor" (Rev. John Hancock) died, £200 O. T. was voted for the funeral. The charges amounted to £219, including six rings for the bearers, 500 bricks for the grave, gloves and weeds for relatives and friends, and a generous amount of eating and drinking at the taverns. The selectmen seldom met for the transaction of business without some "entertainment" being provided for them, the cost of which, during the year, amounted to several pounds.

One of the old customs which demands notice, but which has happily long since disappeared, was that of warning people to leave the town who might become a public charge or who were objectionable for other reasons. After being officially notified to leave, they were compelled to go, or subjected to imprisonment. Many instances of this kind are found upon our records, some of which are very curious. Thus, in 1723, 1*s.* 6*d.* is paid "for running Daniel Ruff out of town." In 1724 four persons are warned to leave at the same time, one of which bears the honored name of John Parker, "who came from Billerica last year." In 1738 all "the Irish are to be warned out of town," consisting of five families. It would not be easy at this time to enforce such a resolve, even if it could be carried in town-meeting, since that nationality now forms, probably, one-fourth of the whole population. People warned out, however, were permitted to remain if able to give bonds securing the town against liability for their support. Probably the warning was not always enforced and was often given only as a precautionary measure. To this circumstance may be due the fact that the Lexington minute-men were provided with a brave captain on the 19th of April, 1775, and that the town furnished Massachusetts, in the following century, with an excellent and popular Governor, since it is said that the ancestors of both were once warned out lest they might become a public charge.

Stocks were built on the Common, near the meeting-house, in 1713, as a terror to Sabbath-breakers, profane swearers and other evil-doers. Nor need we suppose that they remained without occupants, from time to time, as another pair appears to have been demanded for the preservation of order, and duly added a few years afterwards.

The care of the boys, especially on Sabbath days, seems to have received much attention. Thus it was voted that "the two hind seats in the lower gallery, front and side, are appointed for the boys under sixteen years to sitt in on Sabbath days, and a tything man to sitt near them each Sabbath, and to take turns; and if any above sixteen be disorderly, they shall be ordered into said seats." "That the tything men be desired to attend Sabbath noons to keep the boys in order in the meeting-house." And that "if they find any playing on the Lord's day, they shall inform their parents, and if they play afterwards, call their names" in meeting. In 1744 six men are chosen to inspect the children at intermission on

Sabbath day; and subsequently, "two elderly men to tarry in the meeting-house on the Sabbath in the intermission season, one below and one above, to see that there be no disorder there." And in 1757 a committee is chosen by the town "to draw up a paper to regulate the people coming down-stairs after service from the galleries and give it to the minister to read, and that they should put something in the paper to regulate the people Sabbath-day noons." In 1734 it was voted that "no writing of a worldly or secular concernment be set up, or allowed on the meeting-house on Sabbath day for time to come." The tythingmen were provided with long poles with which to thump the heads of disorderly boys or impious sleepers; nor is it surprising that there should have been such in the Lexington meeting-house, when we are told that the minister once prayed for an hour, and that his sermons sometimes extended to two hours! It is no wonder, therefore, that when Governor Hancock presented the church with a Bible on condition that it be read in the service (it had not been read up to that time as a part of the service), one of the deacons arose and said that if it was to increase the length of the service, he apprehended the people would not want it. Parson Clarke, however, promised that it should not, and so from that time, 1793, the Bible was read in the Sunday worship.

As already stated, the first and the second meeting-houses had no bell-tower or steeple. But "a Turriott" was built for the bell, probably a belfry standing by itself on the Common. This, however, fell down in 1733, and a new one was built against the east end of the school-house, where the bell was afterward hung. A bell appears to have been given the parish by the town of Cambridge when the first meeting-house was built, and was in use until 1761. At a town-meeting in June of that year, Isaac Stone presented the town with a new bell, which was "to be for the town's use forever." He received the thanks of the town, through the moderator, for the generous gift, and it was immediately voted to build a new belfry, on what is known as Belfry Hill, and hang it there. Accordingly it was erected, probably on the highest point of land, an elevation of thirty or forty feet above the Common, and as many rods from the meeting-house. But it was not long permitted to remain there and send out its summons to the Sabbath worship. The hill belonged to Mr. John Munroe, and he demanded rent from the town for the eighteen feet square of rock on which it stood. This the town stubbornly refused to pay, and so, after two years of bickering, the structure was moved down the hill and left on the west side of the Concord road. But this location awakened bitter opposition, and the belfry was secretly moved across the road to the Common, where, after a spirited town-meeting to decide where it should stand, it was finally located near the meeting-house by a committee appointed for the purpose. This bell weighed 463 pounds, as we are told by the records. Of course, it was a small affair, compared with those now used, weighing five or six times as much; probably its note was sharp and shrill, but it was the bell that rung out the first notes of American Independence, summoning the minute-men to the Common, to resist the invaders, on the 19th of April, 1775. Were it in our possession to-day, Lexington would hardly part with it for its weight in gold. What became of it no man knoweth. The tongue was found many years since in a blacksmith shop, and is now in Cary library; but the bell itself is probably gone past recovery. How little the fathers valued objects so intimately associated with the birth of the nation, but which their descendants to-day regard with the deepest interest! The old bell is indeed lost; but the old belfry in which it hung remains with us to this day. It was bought by John Parker, after the church of 1793 was built, and removed to the Parker homestead, in the southwestern part of the town, where it did duty for a long period as a carpenter-shop, and where it still stands. The bell given to the parish by Cambridge was retained by the town long after that given by Isaac Stone had been hung in the new belfry. It was finally sold, in May, 1775, for six pounds, probably to provide means for buying powder and ball to put the town in a proper state of defence. The bell that rung out the alarm on the 19th of April, with mended tongue, did duty for forty years in the belfry, when it gave place, in 1801, to a new one, weighing 800 pounds, and costing $333.33. But there were some extra charges for hanging it, as we learn from the selectmen's accounts, of $9.86, allowed "Rufus Merriam for nine meals of victuals, 27½ mugs of toddy and ten mugs of punch supplied the committee when raising the bell." And immediately following, "ten mugs of toddy when letting the poor and the bell," besides "$1.41 for sundries supplied the selectmen by Dudley when Champney was married." The "letting the poor and the bell" refers, no doubt, to the custom of putting the keeping of the poor, and the ringing of the bell for the year, up at public auction, when they were struck off to the lowest bidder. Punch and toddy were supplied to bring people together, and in the excitement following their use obtain the best possible bids for the town. Why the selectmen should have treated "when Champney was married" it is difficult to understand. But while great shrewdness was shown in managing the auction to the town's advantage, what shall we say of the charge for "one gallon of brandy and one pound of loaf sugar delivered to the selectmen and used at Mrs. Fessenden's funeral!" Surely, municipal junketing is not a modern invention. It prevailed in Lexington a century ago, though, happily, the custom here long since disappeared.

The ministry of Rev. John Hancock extended from 1697 to 1752, a period of fifty-five years. Soon after his settlement, in 1698, he bought of Benjamin Muzzy

a tract of land of twenty-five acres lying on both sides of the road leading to Bedford. It extended from the Common, northerly on what is now Hancock Street, to the land of David and Joseph Tidd, and was bounded westerly on the eight mile line. Here he built an humble cottage of four or five rooms, probably in 1699, to which he soon brought his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Thomas Clark, of Chelmsford. And here their five children,—John, Thomas, Ebenezer, Elizabeth and Lucy,—were born and grew up to manhood and womanhood. The eldest, John, graduated at Harvard and became minister of Braintree (now Quincy), where his son, John, President of the Continental Congress and the first Governor of Massachusetts, was born. Ebenezer also graduated at Harvard and became the colleague of his father over the Lexington Church, dying here in 1740, after a brief ministry of six years. Thomas was apprenticed to a bookbinder in Boston, where he became a prosperous merchant and ship-owner, accumulating a large property and attaining political distinction. He bought the Beacon Hill estate and erected the famous Hancock mansion there in 1734. Having no children of his own, he adopted his nephew, John, and at his death left him heir to the principal part of his vast estate. No doubt the possession of this wealth did much to give young John Hancock the great prominence which he had in the events of the Revolution and the subsequent history of the State. The daughters of the second minister, Elizabeth and Lucy, married clergymen,—the former, Jonathan Bowman, minister of Dorchester, and the latter, Nicholas Bowes, the first minister of Bedford. Thus, in the one-story, gambrel-roof house of Rev. John Hancock, the second minister of Lexington, which was twenty-four feet in length by eighteen in width, were born five children who lived to exert a great influence upon the future of the State and Nation. Mr. Hancock's salary appears never to have exceeded £60 a year; but on this small income, with the products of the farm, he managed to support his large family respectably and give his children an education that fitted them for positions of usefulness. There are evidences, however, that it was a hard struggle to make both ends meet in the humble parsonage. Mr. Hancock repeatedly asked for an increase of salary, but it was uniformly voted down in town-meeting, though in a few instances something was added to make up the depreciation in the currency. But the people were not unmindful of their pastor's faithful labors, and in 1728 they "voted £85 to purchase a servant for Mr. Hancock," no doubt to relieve him from the hard work of the farm after his boys had grown to manhood and enable him to live in a style more becoming the dignity of so worthy a family. Evidently he was a man of great influence in the town and in the neighboring churches. A rigid disciplinarian, ruling with an authority that was seldom questioned, and preaching the terrors of the law not less than the mercies of the Gospel. An unquestioning believer in the rigid doctrines and observances of the Puritan churches, he brought the great majority of his people up to the same standard in the discharge of their religious duties. In the long record of his ministry he has preserved their confessions of evil doing "made in open meeting," insisting upon them as an indispensable requisite "to the enjoyment of gospel privileges" both for themselves and their children. There could be no admission to the Lord's table and no baptism of their children until their impurity, dishonesty and intemperance had been confessed before the congregation and the forgiveness of God implored. A large number of these confessions are found in the church records. They show how absolute the minister's authority must have been, or how dull were the sensibilities of the people, that he could draw out such revelations in open meeting and make them a matter of public record. For more than half a century he held this stern rule over the town, and there is no evidence that it was ever seriously opposed. He labored faithfully to the last for what he believed to be the interests of true religion and the salvation of the people. A strong, stern, wise and good man, who served God according to the best of his knowledge and ability, and through his descendants has been the means of largely moulding and guiding the affairs of the State and Nation.

But let us return to the story of the Hancock house. It remains in substantially the same condition to-day as when built nearly two hundred years ago, and its subsequent history is most interesting. After Thomas Hancock had become a rich and prosperous merchant in Boston, he built an addition to the humble cottage, in which he was born, for the greater comfort of his father and mother in their old age. This was two stories in height and contained four large, pleasant rooms. In the declining years of his parents, he seems to have taken their support into his own hands and pieced out the meagre salary by adding whatever they needed in food, clothing and money to maintain a style of living befitting so noted a family. The whole estate was conveyed to him and he advanced whatever things were required for their comfort and a generous hospitality. Here they passed their remaining days, "Sir Hancock" dying in 1752, and Madame Hancock in 1760. The old minister was succeeded, in 1755, by a young man destined to hold the pastorate almost as long and to attain an influence in the town and State far more decided and enduring. Jonas Clarke was a native of Newton, and graduated at Harvard in 1752. After completing his studies he was ordained over the church in Lexington, November 5, 1755, where he remained until his death, in November, 1805, in the active service of the ministry. The town agreed to pay him a salary of £80 a year, furnish him with 20 cords of wood, delivered at his door, annually, and £130 as a settlement. In 1757 he married Lucy,

daughter of Rev. Nicholas Bowes, of Bedford, and granddaughter of his predecessor, Rev. John Hancock. They began their married life in the old parsonage with Madam Hancock, and after her death in 1760, Mr. Clarke bought the estate of Thomas, her son. Here their twelve children, six sons and six daughters, were born and grew up to manhood and womanhood. Here the parents lived until their death, and two unmarried daughters until their decease in 1843. Thus, for nearly a century, the house was occupied by the Clarke family, and, for half a century before them, by the Hancock family. It was a prolific hive of ministers, no less than twenty-five having been born there, or descended from those who were, or were in some way connected with it. Four of Mr. Clarke's daughters married clergymen—one, Dr. Henry Ware Hollis, Professor of Divinity at Harvard; another Dr. William Harris, president of Columbia College; another, Dr. Thaddeus Fiske, of West Cambridge, and another, the Rev. Benjamin Green, of West Medway; from these have descended some of the most distinguished men in the various professions, in literature, in teaching, and in scientific pursuits which our country has produced.

Jonas Clarke was an ardent patriot, and took an active part in the measures of resistance to British aggression adopted by the town. In the old parsonage of his grandfather, occupied by Mr. Clarke, young John Hancock had passed much of his boyhood after the death of his father, the honored minister of Braintree. Mrs. Clarke being his cousin, it naturally followed that he often visited there and became intimate with the family. Samuel Adams, the leader of the patriot cause in Massachusetts, was an intimate friend of Hancock's and often accompanied him on his visits to Lexington. Thus it happened that the parsonage became the rallying-point of many prominent patriots in this vicinity. Here they gathered for consultation, and here many of their plans were formed and important letters and papers written. We have glimpses of these matters in the manuscript diaries of Mr. Clarke, of which he left five volumes, each covering about ten years of his ministry. Two of these have been lost, but the remaining volumes are still in existence, carefully preserved by his grandson, Dr. Henry Clarke, of Boston. They contain brief entries for each day in the year, kept on interleaved almanacs, and covering the period from 1755 to 1805, and containing notices of the weather, of his visitors, of what he was doing and of important occurrences in the town and in the country. They contain a vast amount of information regarding the customs and occupations of the people, and especially of what transpired from day to day in the parsonage. It was the home of a wide and generous hospitality. The most cultivated people of New England, college presidents and professors, statesmen, politicians and ministers, found genial companionship at Mr. Clarke's fireside. Here came John Hancock and Samuel Adams from Concord, after the adjournment of the Second Provincial Congress, which had been in session there. And here they were sleeping when aroused by Paul Revere at an early hour on the morning of the ever-memorable 19th of April, 1775, with the intelligence that a battalion of British soldiers were marching for Lexington to arrest them. From the windows of the house Mr. Clarke witnessed the encounter of the soldiers with the minute-men on the Common, where six of his parishioners fell before the murderous fire of the British, and the first blood of the Revolution was shed. These are some of the associations connected with this venerable house which endear it to all patriotic hearts. It remains substantially as it was a hundred and fifty years ago, a most interesting memorial of the characters and events belonging to the birth of a mighty nation. Long may it be spared to repeat its story of noble devotion to freedom and the most sacred interests of man!

Mr. Clarke was regarded by his people with great respect and affection. He was looked up to as their leader, not only in spiritual matters, but in political and municipal affairs. He served frequently on town committees and drew up important papers relating to the pending difficulties with the mother country, and giving instructions to the town's representative in the General Court. He was among the foremost advocates of resistance to the oppressive measures of the British Government, and inspired a lofty enthusiasm in his parishioners. When convinced that there was no hope of obtaining justice from Parliament or the crown, he was outspoken and firm in advocating national independence. With such a leader, strong, bold, enthusiastic in devotion to freedom, it is no wonder that the people of Lexington were resolute and unflinching in their opposition to the encroachments of tyranny, and that here was offered the first sacrifice on the altar of American liberty.

Mr. Clarke cultivated his farm by the help of his sons, and drew from it a considerable portion of the support of his large family. He was a diligent worker, both in the fields and in his study. Rev. William Ware, his grandson, states that during his ministry of fifty years, he wrote 2200 sermons, and we may be sure that they were not brief ones; an hour or an hour and a half in length was not unusual. Two of these discourses, with prayers and songs of similar proportions, occupied four or five hours of the Sabbath. Laboring on the farm, catechising the children of the schools, making long journeys to ordain young men in the ministry who had grown up under his guidance, writing elaborate arguments for the right of the people to self-government, collecting food and fuel for "their distressed brethren in Boston," working on the fortifications in the harbor with his parishioners, sending off reinforcements to the army from the young men of the town after exhortation

and prayer in the church, serving as a delegate in the convention which formed the Constitution of the State, and preparing two sermons a week for the edification of his people—such was the busy life of this noble man through his long pastorate. When his life closed, in November, 1805, his ministry and that of his predecessor had covered a hundred and five years of the history of the town and church, a period reaching from the accession of Queen Anne to the English throne to the presidency of Thomas Jefferson over the United States.

CHAPTER XLV.

LEXINGTON—(Continued).

MILITARY HISTORY.

THE military spirit in Lexington was strikingly manifest in all the Colonial wars, though the early history is so interwoven with that of Cambridge as to make it difficult to separate one from the other. We find, however, that men from Cambridge Farms were engaged in the Indian Wars at the close of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, and also in those fierce and bloody conflicts between France and England for supremacy on the American continent. In the capture of Louisburg, in 1745, that great victory in which Massachusetts troops bore so honorable a part, the men of Lexington were represented. And during the desperate struggle extending from 1755 to 1763, Lexington had its full quota continually in the service. Thirty-two men, in 1757, marched to the relief of Fort William Henry, a number fully equal to one-third of all the able-bodied men of the town. And in 1756 and 1759, the number from Lexington in the field was nearly as large. Among the names most prominent on the rolls are the Munroes, the Merriams, the Blodgetts and the Bridges, all of whom were found on the battle-fields of this terrible war. These war-worn veterans were first and foremost in organizing and training the minute-men of the Revolution. The hard discipline of that long struggle gave us officers and men of intrepidity and skill in the conflict with the best troops of Great Britain. The firmness and heroism with which Captain Parker's little company faced the regulars on Lexington Common was due largely to the men in his ranks who had seen service in the campaigns of the French and Indian War. At the close of this war, the whole population probably did not exceed 600, and yet Lexington furnished nearly one hundred men for the service whose names are given upon the rolls, and among these were fourteen Munroes.

LEXINGTON IN THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.—In the events preceding the opening of the conflict the town was prompt and decided in its action. The Stamp Act was passed and sent over in the summer of 1765. Its execution met with strenuous opposition wherever attempted. Those who offered the stamps for sale did so at the peril of their lives. A town-meeting was called, and a strong protest against the measure was drawn up and passed unanimously. It was an invasion of their rights as free-born Englishmen to tax them without their consent and without representation in Parliament. Two years later the town voted to concur with the non-importation act of Boston, and declared that those who persisted in using British goods should be regarded as public enemies and treated accordingly. When the cargo of tea, sent over by the East India Company, arrived it was resolved "not to use any tea or snuff, nor keep them, nor suffer them to be used in our families till the duties are taken off." In January, 1773, a Committee of Correspondence was chosen to keep the town informed of what other towns were doing, and of measures proposed for the public safety. In response to the action of Boston they wrote, "We trust in God that we shall be ready to sacrifice our estates and everything dear in life, yea, and life itself, in support of the Common Cause." Nor was their confidence in the patriotism of their fellow-citizens misplaced. In the hour of trial it proved to be all that they had promised. The first convention to organize resistance to British oppression assembled at Concord August 30, 1774. It was composed of delegates from all the towns of Middlesex County, who solemnly pledged themselves to lay down their lives, if need be, "in support of the laws and liberties of their country." Such was the spirit animating the people when the great struggle was coming on, and which impelled them to offer themselves and all that they possessed on the altar of American independence. In their instructions to their representative in the General Court (Deacon Stone), the town requires him to use his utmost influence that nothing be done there under the council appointed by the Governor or "in conformity with the late acts of parliament." At meetings held in November and December, 1774, the town voted "to provide a suitable quantity of flints, to bring up two pieces of cannon from Watertown and mount them, and provide bayonets for the training soldiers and a pair of drums." Thus Lexington was preparing for the appeal to arms in support of the people's rights. The resolutions passed in town-meeting were backed by bayonets and cannon and men trained to use them.

In the first Provincial Congress, which met after adjournment at Concord October 11, 1774, it was determined that companies of minute-men should be organized and drilled for action. Lexington was one of the first towns to respond to this order. A company, numbering 120, was immediately enrolled, which included all the able-bodied men of the town.

John Parker, then forty-six years of age, who, it is believed, had seen service in the French and Indian war, was chosen captain. And for five months before the beginning of hostilities he was diligently drilling his men and preparing them to render efficient service. Not less than twenty-five or thirty were war-worn veterans, who gave steadiness and confidence to the others. Affairs were now rapidly drifting towards a collision with the British Government. The people were thoroughly aroused to the dangers besetting their liberties, and determined to resist further aggressions to the bitter end.

Such was the state of affairs at the adjournment of the second Provincial Congress, April 15, 1775. John Hancock, the president, and Samuel Adams, delegates from Boston, returned from the session to Lexington, and remained for a few days at the old parsonage with the family of Rev. Mr. Clarke. It was no longer safe for them to stay in Boston. An order had been sent to General Gage to have them arrested and brought to England for trial, and a second order directing that they should be arrested and hung in Boston, to strike terror to the hearts of Massachusetts rebels. On the afternoon of the 18th came rumors that some movement was about being made by General Gage into the country, and it was naturally supposed that the object must be the arrest of Hancock and Adams and the destruction of the public stores at Concord. A number of British officers had been seen riding through the town, as it was surmised, to reconnoitre the country and prepare the way for the expedition. People were everywhere on the alert, eagerly watching and listening for tokens of the intended movement. For the protection of the distinguished visitors at the parsonage, a guard of eight men, under Sergeant William Munroe, of Captain Parker's company, was placed around the house. This was early in the evening. Many of the minute-men were in the village waiting for news at the taverns and eagerly discussing these reports. In the meantime the lantern had been hung out from the steeple of the Old North Church, and Paul Revere was riding furiously towards Lexington with the intelligence that the regulars were surely on the march. He reached the old parsonage soon after midnight, but was denied entrance by Sergeant Munroe. Hancock, recognizing his voice, threw up the window and bade him come in. The news brought by Revere caused an immediate alarm to be rung from the belfry on the Common calling out Captain Parker's company. Men were sent down the road towards Boston to learn whether the red-coats were really coming, and Hancock and Adams were piloted by Sergeant Munroe to the house of James Reed, in Woburn, about two miles distant; while Revere rode on towards Concord to give the alarm there and secure the stores from destruction. The minute-men assembled on the ringing of the bell, many coming from their homes from one to three miles away. But, after forming on the Common, the report came back that it was a false alarm, as nothing could be seen of the British. Accordingly, after waiting for some time, Captain Parker dismissed his men, as the night was cool, but bade them remain within sound of the bell, to respond to a second alarm, should the report of the British march prove true. This was about half-past two in the morning. The men remained in the vicinity of the Common, sheltered in the taverns or in the homes of their friends. Two hours passed quickly away, and at half-past four the sharp notes of the bell were again heard calling them together. There was not a moment to be lost. The regulars were not half a mile away. Sergeant Munroe had just returned from his trip to Woburn to conceal Hancock and Adams, and he quickly formed the company on the Common, the right resting on Bedford Road, and the line extending towards the Concord Road. Here were drawn up about seventy men, somewhere from six to ten rods in the rear of the meeting-house. They had on their ordinary clothes, worn in the work of the farm, of different colors and patterns, and their arms were the old fowling pieces used for generations in hunting the game of the woods. What was their purpose in forming there in battle array? They knew that a battalion of thoroughly disciplined and equipped soldiers, numbering not less than 600 men, were marching towards them. Could they, for a moment, think of resisting the King's troops, under the command of the King's officers, executing the purpose of the royal governor? How foolhardy such an idea must have seemed to thoughtful men. Probably they felt that the time had come to defend their homes and their rights. They were to make good in brave deeds the resolves of the town-meeting and the counsels of their beloved pastor. It was vain to expect to stop the advance of this well-disciplined force with a mere handful of yeomanry; but they would stand up for the cause in which they believed, and die, if need be, to save their homes from pillage, and protect their wives and children. "Stand your ground; don't fire unless fired upon," were the words of their brave captain. "But if they mean to have a war, let it begin here." Calm, firm, resolute was the spirit of the little band drawn up there in the early morning to receive the shock of battle.

The British, hearing the drum and alarm bell when a quarter of a mile from the Common, came rushing on under the lead of Major Pitcairn, riding a little in advance. They formed just behind the meeting-house, ten rods in front of the minute-men. In rough words Pitcairn commanded them to disperse. "Lay down your arms and disperse, ye rebels," which, being unheeded, he drew his pistol and fired, at the same time commanding his men to fire. The first shot harmed no one, and, the minute men still standing their ground, the command was repeated. The second shot brought six brave men to the ground, killed or mortally wounded. Several shots were re-

turned before the command was given to retreat and others were fired from behind stone walls and from the door of the Buckman tavern. One wounded man, Jonas Parker, was despatched by a British bayonet while attempting to reload his gun, and one was killed after leaving the Common. It was an unprovoked attack, and it opened a breach which could never be healed.

In his report to General Gage, Pitcairn asserts that he was wantonly fired upon before giving the command to his troops, and that one of his men was wounded. But this was certainly a mistake. Each party was anxious to lay the responsibility of the first firing upon the other; so great was this desire on the part of some of the minute-men that they even testified there was no firing whatever by Captain Parker's men. In the excitement of the moment it is not surprising that very different impressions should have been made upon different minds. But that Pitcairn fired himself and commanded his men to fire before a shot from the minute men, and that the British fire was returned before Parker's men left the Common, we have the positive testimony of many witnesses. The assertion that "no forcible resistance" was offered to the British until they reached Concord has no valid foundation. Pitcairn asserts that such resistance *was* made here, and those who made it have sworn to the fact.

After raising a brutal shout of triumph and firing a volley over the fallen patriots, the British marched on for Concord, where they arrived about nine o'clock in the morning. Captain Parker soon gathered his men together and followed in pursuit to the borders of Lincoln. During the British retreat in the afternoon, they joined the minute-men of other towns and rendered good service in driving the flying foe back to Boston.

In the western part of the town, a mile and a half from the Common, on a steep hill well fitted for the purpose, the British officers attempted to rally their men and make a stand against their pursuers. A sharp fight ensued, in which they were driven in great disorder from the position to Fiske Hill, a higher elevation nearer the village. Here the fight was renewed, with the same result, Major Pitcairn being dismounted in the conflict and his horse, with all his accoutrements, captured. His elegant pistols, one of which he fired when the command was given in the morning on the Common, thus fell into the hands of the minute men. Subsequently they were given to General Putnam and worn by him during the war; recently they have been donated to the town by his great-grandniece, and are now preserved among the precious mementos of this day in the public library.

After the brief struggle on Fiske Hill, no further effort was made to stay the retreat until the disordered and flying foe had reached the protection of Earl Percy's reinforcements, half a mile below the Common, on the road to Boston. The proud and triumphant battalion that raised the shout of victory on the Common in the morning were driven past that spot in the afternoon in a confused mass, their ranks sadly thinned and their spirits broken by six miles of a retreating fight.

Among the incidents of the day in Lexington was the encounter of young Hayward, of Acton, with a British soldier at a house near Fiske Hill, a mile west of the Common. On the retreat the soldier had entered the house for plunder and been left behind by his comrades. Hayward, following in the pursuit, stopped at the well in the yard to drink, just as the soldier came out of the door; raising his gun, the soldier said: "You are a dead man." "So are you," Hayward replied. Both fired at the same instant, and both fell, the soldier killed and Hayward mortally wounded.

When the retreating host gained the covert of Percy's succoring army they were utterly exhausted. The day was warm and they had been marching since ten o'clock of the night before, almost without halting, and without food, save what they had stolen from the houses along the road. It was now one o'clock in the afternoon. They had been on the road at least sixteen hours, and marched not less than twenty-five or thirty miles, a portion of the way fighting and running as they went. Their provision-train, sent out from Boston in the morning, had been captured at West Cambridge. It is evident that, with the minute-men pouring in upon the line of their retreat from a dozen different towns and assailing them at every point, their capture or total destruction was inevitable. A few hours more would surely have completed the work and seen the end of this proud battalion sent to strike terror into the hearts of the Middlesex patriots. Percy's reinforcements saved the expedition from overwhelming disaster. Planting his two field pieces on heights commanding the village and covering the line of retreat, while he threw out columns to enclose the exhausted men of Colonel Smith's command, he was able to avert the great disaster. At the old Munroe tavern he established himself for two or three hours, while the wounded were cared for and the men rested and helped themselves to such food and plunder as they could find in the neighboring houses. Much wanton destruction of property took place in that vicinity. Several buildings were burned and such valuables stolen as could be easily carried away. Cattle were killed, and one inoffensive old man who had mixed their drinks at the tavern bar was shot while attempting to escape from the house. Some of their wounded were left in houses along the way to be cared for by the people whom they had so cruelly wronged.

After a rest of two hours the British march was resumed, the minute-men still pursuing the retreating foe and taking advantage of every favorable point to annoy and distress them. A running fight continued all the way to Charlestown where the beaten army

found protection and safety under the guns of the British ships. Thus ended this memorable day, the opening scene of the war. Capt. Parker's company lost ten killed and nine wounded, more than one-fifth of their number, and the loss to the town in the destruction of property was estimated at £1761.

At the gathering of troops in Cambridge to shut the British army up in Boston, Capt. Parker was on duty with his minute-men, and also on the 17th and 18th of June, during and after the battle of Bunker Hill, when an attack was momentarily expected on that place. Capt. John Parker was an ardent patriot and a brave soldier. Had he lived, no doubt he would have taken a prominent part in leading our armies. But he was in feeble health at the time of the Lexington battle, and the excitement and responsibility of that day hastened his decline. In September following he passed away, in the prime of his years, sincerely mourned by his fellow-soldiers and townsmen. His grave was made in the old cemetery of the village near the spot where his fallen heroes were laid, but not until more than a century had passed away was a memorial erected to mark the spot. In 1884 the town caused an appropriate and substantial monument to be placed there "in grateful remembrance" of one whose name is associated with the proudest day of Lexington's history.

Nor did the interest of the town in the success of our arms end with the first events of the war. It continued unabated until the victory was won and independence secured. Contributions of men and supplies to our armies were large and constant. The rolls, though very imperfect, show that up to 1779 Lexington men had taken part in seventeen campaigns. These include the siege of Boston, the expedition against Canada, the campaign at Ticonderoga, of Bennington, of Burgoyne's capture, of White Plains, of the Jerseys and of Rhode Island. In 1780 there enlisted thirty men from Lexington to serve for three years, or during the war. When we remember that the whole population at this time did not exceed seven hundred, it is obvious that a very large proportion of all those capable of bearing arms must have been in the field. Several hundred cords of wood, cut on the ministerial land, were delivered at the camp on Winter Hill while Washington was besieging Boston. Meat and clothing were sent to our distressed men while serving on distant campaigns, and bounties were liberally paid by the town to keep the ranks full. When the currency had so depreciated as to be nearly worthless, these bounties were paid in cattle; five three-years old for three years' service; five two-years old for two years, and five one year old for one year. In nearly all the famous battles of the war the men of Lexington were engaged. At Monmouth two, George and Edmund Munroe, were killed. There was no shirking of their burdens by the town, and to their credit be it recorded that not less than ten negroes, some of whom were slaves, enlisted in the service, and some of them served through the whole war.

The anniversary of the Lexington battle has been observed with fitting services annually. In the year following it, Rev. Jonas Clarke preached a sermon which was published and, in an appendix, he has left a graphic account of the scene on Lexington Common which is undoubtedly accurate and reliable in every particular. Through the period of 115 years the anniversary has been commemorated by the ringing of bells and firing of cannon; by services of prayer and song, and patriotic addresses. Two years after the great event, in 1777, the town chose a committee to take steps towards the erection of a monument to those who were slain, but nothing was accomplished until twelve years later, when, on petition of the town to the Legislature, an appropriation for the purpose was made, and the state and town united in erecting a simple memorial on the Common near the spot where the heroes fell. The monument was completed on the 4th of July, 1799, and was one of the first raised to commemorate the events of the Revolution.

On the sixteenth anniversary of the battle, in 1835, the occasion was observed by removing the remains of those who were killed from the old cemetery to a stone vault built in the rear of the monument. Their bones were reverently gathered up and placed in a mahogany sarcophagus, which was borne to the church by the survivors of the battle, where, after prayers and songs, an eloquent oration was pronounced by Edward Everett, then in the zenith of his power. The remains were then borne to their final resting-place under the monument, by the comrades who had seen them fall, and volleys from the military companies fired over the tomb. Lexington has always delighted to honor the memory of the first martyrs to liberty who perished on her soil. And since the organization of the Historical Society, in 1886, the event has been observed annually by a union religious service on the Sunday evening preceding the 19th of April, and on the day itself by gathering the children of the schools in the town hall, where patriotic songs are sung and recitations given. The town has cheerfully and generously appropriated money to carry out these observances.

At the close of the War of the Revolution, the population of Lexington was estimated at about 800. In the first census taken by the Government, 1790, it was found to be 940, and in that of 1800, it had only increased to 1006. On the incorporation of Lincoln, in 1754, a slice of her territory had been cut off to form the new town, containing about a hundred inhabitants. The growth was somewhat retarded by this spoliation, but it has always been slow. During the War of Independence, she lost heavily of her able-bodied men, and, after it was over, the fever of Western immigration soon began to rage, carrying away many of her most vigorous and enterprising

sons. The census of this year, 1890, shows a population of three thousand, two hundred, which is not a large increase from that of 1800; but, if moderate, it has been of a substantial and permanent character. The assessors' valuation of property in 1800 amounted to $250,000; that of this year will probably exceed $3,500,000, showing a high average of wealth to each individual—few towns or cities of Middlesex County probably have a higher average—and showing an increase of wealth *per capita* from $125 to $1000, or 800 per cent., while the increase of population has been but 300 per cent. in these ninety years.

In the formation of the State constitution, Lexington took an active interest through Rev. Mr. Clarke, her delegate in the convention. It was not altogether satisfactory to him, and when submitted to the town for approval, he proposed several amendments, which were unanimously adopted. He thought the rights of the people were not sufficiently guarded by that instrument, and also that Protestantism should be recognized as the religion of the State. Happily, his fears proved groundless, and all semblance of a State religion ultimately disappeared from the laws of the Commonwealth.

The War of 1812 with Great Britain was unpopular in New England, and especially in Massachusetts, where it was generally regarded as a needless one. And the fact that peace was made without even mentioning the matter which caused it, would seem to prove that it was wholly unnecessary. Party spirit ran high. Lexington was strongly opposed to the policy of the administration, but she did not fail to support the Government. Bounties were readily granted for soldiers, and an earnest purpose was manifest to bear her portion of the burdens and sacrifices of the war. Patriotism was stronger than party spirit, and the sons of the men who fought the battles of the Revolution were not wanting in the valor of their fathers. So it proved also half a century later in the great Rebellion.

War of the Rebellion.—The record of the town in that long and desperate conflict is a most creditable one. The old heroic spirit was here which in the earlier struggle dared all things for freedom and right. The town expended nearly $30,000 in furnishing men for the army and in supporting their families. Every call of the President was promptly answered from the first to the last. Lexington's quota was always full, and at the close of the war she had nine more men in the field than were required of her. During the war 244 men were enlisted from this town in the army and navy, of whom twenty were killed in battle, or died from wounds, or from disease contracted in the service. Lexington men may be traced in all the great battles and marches, doing their duty nobly, bearing the hardships and sacrifices of war patiently and heroically. Some of them, alas! learned what it was to face the horrors of Southern prisons and die in Southern hospitals. But wherever the fortunes of war carried them, the town had no cause to be ashamed of the men who represented her in the field. They made a brave and worthy record, and every patriotic heart delights to do them honor. Truly the record of 1775 is not dishonored by that of 1861, and the sires might well be proud of the sons.

Nor was the devotion of Lexington to the cause of the Union confined to the men in the field, or the men at home who faithfully supported them. The women of the town were just as earnest and as self-sacrificing, so far as it lay in their power. They toiled nobly to supply clothing and comfort for the sick and wounded in the hospitals. Efficient organizations existed in the churches for aiding the men in the field, and many boxes of stockings and mittens and underclothing were sent from the town to cheer their brothers on picket duty, on weary marches and in the trenches of besieged towns where they were pressing on to victory. After every great battle they promptly gathered, bringing their stores to alleviate the awful suffering and do all that could be done to save the precious lives of the wounded men. Some left their peaceful homes and went into the hospitals bearing light and comfort and making those dreary places brighter by their gentle ministries. Truly the heroism in that tremendous contest was not all on the side of the men in the service; the hardships and suffering were not all on the long marches or in malarial camps, or the terrible scenes of Southern prisons. The wives, mothers and sisters at home had things to bear that were quite as trying, and they bore them just as bravely and cheerfully. They did their part with equal fidelity and enthusiasm. All honor to the brave men who faced death in so many forms for union and freedom; all honor likewise to the noble women who bore the awful anxieties and losses of the war so patiently and toiled so faithfully to sustain their husbands, sons and brothers in the field. Lexington had her full share of both. She opened the bloody drama of freedom in 1775, and she did her part in the final scene of 1861.

Since the war a Grand Army Post, the George G. Meade, No. 119, has been organized in the town, now numbering forty veterans. A Women's Relief Corps is connected with it numbering fifty. Both organizations are well maintained and are in an efficient and flourishing condition. In addition to all which is done by the State for soldiers' families needing assistance, the Relief Corps watches over them and sees that they are properly attended in sickness and that nothing required for their comfort is lacking. The object of the corps is not only to give aid in time of need, but sympathy and counsel in the time of trouble, that no man's family who served his country in that awful crisis shall be neglected. These organizations command the hearty respect of the people of the town and anything necessary for their work is cheerfully contributed. The Grand Army Post annually observes

Decoration Day with appropriate ceremonies. The graves of their fallen comrades in the cemetery, of which there are nearly twenty, are visited, baskets of flowers and wreaths of ivy placed upon them, while the old flag, in defence of which they died, is waved over their resting-place, and a band of music plays solemn dirges in honor of their memory. In no portion of the State are the names of our country's dead heroes more fondly cherished or gratefully remembered. When the new town-hall was erected, in 1874, the late Mrs. Maria Hastings Cary, a native of Lexington, residing in Brooklyn, N. Y., gave the princely sum of $20,000 towards it on condition that a room should be provided in it for Cary Library and a Memorial Hall. Accordingly it was so planned and built. Two marble tablets were inserted in the walls of Memorial Hall—one inscribed with the names of the minute-men who fell on the 19th of April, 1775, and the other with the names of those who perished in the War of the Rebellion. Four marble statues of life-size, were also placed there by the contributions of the citizens commemorative of the men of the Revolution and the soldiers of the Rebellion; that of John Hancock and Samuel Adams, representing the foremost patriots of the earlier conflict, together with a typical minute-man of Captain Parker's company, and that of a typical infantry soldier standing on guard in the latter conflict. All are statues of artistic merit and fittingly represent the characteristic men of these great epochs of our history.

In the main hall of the town building there is also a large picture, by Henry Sandham, of the battle of Lexington. It represents the scene on the Common in the early morning as the dawn is breaking and at the moment when the firing occurred. On the left is the old Buckman tavern, the rendezvous of the minute-men, the smoke rising from the chimney and a candle dimly burning in the chamber; on the right stands the ancient meeting-house, and between them are drawn up the British troops, with Major Pitcairn upon his splendid charger, turning in his saddle and giving the command to fire. In the foreground are the broken ranks of the patriots, some returning the fire, some stooping over their fallen comrades, some standing their ground to reload their pieces and some turning to leave the field. The whole force and spirit of the picture are thrown into the faces and positions of the minute-men. The resolute, determined purpose of resistance speaks in every face and form. Their appearance is full of life and valor, well representing the spirit of the people at that time. While the dull, apathetic, mechanical appearance of the British soldiers in their splendid equipments forms a striking contrast and fittingly expresses the idea that they had no heart for the bloody business. There are also touches of beauty in the picture. The morning light breaking on the gable of the meeting-house and flushing the clouds with the coming glory, the wreaths of smoke rising over the British line from the firing, the pale, innocent face of a mere stripling who has fallen and whose head is held up by an old man bending over him, serve to give a softened beauty and pathos to the scene, which veils something of its horror and invests it with a marvelous fascination. While strongly realistic, depicting much of the actual scene, it is also instinct with the spirit of the time.

In the centennial year of the battle, the occasion was observed in Lexington by elaborate and fitting ceremonies. Many of the highest civil and military officials of the State and National Governments, including President Grant and members of his Cabinet, were present. A vast multitude, numbering it is thought from 50,000 to 75,000, persons from the neighboring cities and towns, and from distant portions of our country, including men distinguished in every walk of life, crowded the streets and public grounds, to visit places of historical interest. The services consisted in the unveiling of the statues in Memorial Hall, an oration by Hon. Richard H. Dana, and a banquet followed by a ball in the evening. A tree was planted on the Common by President Grant in commemoration of his visit. The day was cold and blustering, snow covered the ground and much suffering was caused by the crowded condition of the town and the impossibility of providing transportation on the cars for so vast a multitude, or food for their hunger and shelter from the cold. These things detracted much from the enjoyment of the people and the success of the celebration. The town, through its various committees had made systematic arrangements for the observance of the day, and no money or labor were spared to pay fitting honor to the occasion. More than $9000 was expended by the town for this purpose. Lexington has never grudged any money needed for patriotic objects or to perpetuate the memory of historic incidents within her borders. In 1884 the sum of $1500 was expended under the direction of a committee appointed by the town in marking places of interest in her history. These included tablets on the Hancock-Clarke house, the Buckman and Munroe taverns, the home of Jonathan Harrington, the last survivor of the battle, and several others; a huge boulder was placed on the Common to indicate the line of the minute-men; an appropriate and beautiful monument, on the site of the first three meeting-houses; a large granite block cut in pyramidal form and standing on a heavy base, over the grave of Captain John Parker; a unique stone cannon, on the spot where Earl Percy planted one of his field-pieces to cover the British retreat; a granite slab at the foot of the hill in the western part of the town, where Lieutenant-Colonel Smith attempted to rally his fleeing troops; also a similar one at the well where young Haywood and the British soldier shot each other; and one in the wall on Main Street near the Munroe tavern, to indicate the position of another field-piece and the locality where several buildings were burned by the retreating soldiers. These mem-

orials have added much to the satisfaction of those visiting the town for historic study, and they serve also to preserve a knowledge of many incidents and places in danger of being forgotten by future generations.

In keeping with the marking of historic spots was the improvement of the Common two years later. The old dilapidated fence of stone posts with wooden rails between was removed and a wide gravel walk made around the entire area. The unsightly town scales were taken from the southern point of the Common and put in a more convenient but less conspicuous place. Several hundred cubic yards of gravel were excavated and carried away and the space filled in with loam. It was then plowed, re-graded, enriched with fertilizer and seeded and a few additional trees set in vacant places. Thus the Common was made into a beautiful lawn, and it has been carefully kept as such ever since. It is now an attractive and delightful spot, surrounded with grand old trees and containing three historic monuments. Hundreds of pilgrims from every State in the Union visit it annually, and are pleased to find a spot "sacred to liberty and the rights of mankind" (in the words upon the old monument) so faithfully watched over and cared for by the people who possess it. For these improvements the town has expended nearly $2000, and an annual appropriation is made to keep the place bright and clean where the martyrs died. These facts show that the patriotic spirit still burns brightly in the hearts of the Lexington people and that a generous appreciation of brave men and noble deeds exists among them.

CHAPTER XLVI.

LEXINGTON—(*Continued*).

EDUCATION—SCHOOLS AND LIBRARIES.

We have seen that the earliest public school in Lexington was established by vote of the town in 1715. This was a grammar school, probably for boys only, and kept in the school-house erected that year on the Common. It was not altogether free, but a small charge was made each pupil according to the studies he pursued, and in addition to this he was sometimes obliged to furnish two feet of wood annually for the fire. Women schools, or "Dame Schools," as they were called, were established about the same time in different parts of the town, kept in private houses, and free to girls and the younger children. There were as many as five or six of these schools located in places where they would best accommodate the young children. In the years when the Grammar School was moved from one quarter of the town to another, every two months, it took the place of the Dame Schools, at least for a portion of the school year. This policy seems to have been continued for three-quarters of a century, or until 1795, when three school-houses were erected, one in the north, one in the east and one in the southwest parts of the town, and permanent schools established in them. At this time $333 was appropriated annually for education. The number of children of school age probably exceeded 150, showing that no more than $2.50 per scholar was expended. In 1804 three additional school-houses were erected, including a new one on the Common, making the third on that site, and more liberal appropriations began to be made for the support of schools. Evidently not much supervision had been exercised over the schools up to the beginning of this century. The minister was accustomed to visit them once or twice in the year, as we learn from the diary of Rev. Jonas Clarke, but it was for the purpose of hearing the children recite the Catechism and of giving some moral and religious instruction. In the year 1800 the town voted that teachers must bring certificates of their qualifications, and the selectmen were instructed to visit the schools and see that they were properly taught and governed. The first committee chosen to have a general oversight of them appears to have been in 1821. But the appropriation for schools did not reach $1000 until nine years later, in 1830. From this period there has been a gradual increase in the expenditure for public education. The school buildings have been much improved and seven of the schools are now graded. In 1854 a High School was established to furnish a thorough English course of study for graduates of the grammar schools and to prepare pupils for college. At the present time there are twelve schools in the town, including the High School, with thirteen teachers, besides a teacher of music and of sewing. Of these, four are ungraded schools, in the outlying districts; two are in the east village, a grammar and a primary; and five are in the centre village, viz., one grammar, two sub-grammar and two primary schools. The average number in all the schools during 1889 was 401, of which 60 were in the High School under a principal and assistant. The appropriation for schools the last year was $11,500, giving $28 for each scholar, which is certainly a generous expenditure and exceeded by few towns in the State. The management of the schools is under the control of a committee of three persons, one of whom is chosen annually to serve three years; and a superintendent who is also principal of the High School, and who receives additional compensation for this service.

A committee appointed by the town is now considering the question of a new school edifice for the central village. It is proposed to erect a building of six or eight rooms upon an ample lot, containing all modern improvements in heating, ventilation and drainage, and accommodations for some of the outlying schools, should the town decide to consolidate them by providing transportation for the scholars.

There is a demand on the part of the people for spacious, comfortable and convenient school-rooms, and there is no disposition to withhold any appropriation needed to secure them, and to make the means of public education as excellent as possible.

An academy was established in Lexington in 1822 for a higher education than the public schools afforded. Under the instruction of the late Caleb Stetson it attained a creditable standing among similar institutions, and drew scholars from other towns and States. It was founded by a number of the town's people, who erected a building for its use on a lot fronting the Common at the northeast corner. It was an incorporated institution, and maintained a school here with varying success for a number of years, but was finally abandoned. Having no endowment, the charge for tuition was the only means of its support, and the income proved inadequate to maintain it in an efficient condition. In 1839, when the State of Massachusetts took the first steps towards establishing normal schools, the use of the academy building was offered to the Board of Education for that purpose and gladly accepted. It was fitted up and put in a condition to accommodate the Normal School and also an experimental school, where the Normal scholars could receive practical instruction in teaching. The town paid these expenses and donated the use of the building without charge to the State. The school was opened in July, 1839, under the charge of Rev. Cyrus Pierce with but three pupils. The number gradually increased, and the school became eminently successful during the five years that it remained in Lexington. Such was the humble beginning of the first Normal School in America. In 1844 it was decided to place the school upon a more permanent basis and give it better accommodations. The location was opened to competitive bids, and Lexington was distanced by her more wealthy neighbors. It was secured by Newton, and transferred to that place during this year. Subsequently it was removed to Framingham, where it still remains, and has become one of the most efficient and popular of our Normal Schools. The old academy building has undergone many changes since it was abandoned for school purposes. For the last twenty years it has been used by the Hancock Congregational Society as a meeting-house, by whom it was purchased and fitted up for purposes of worship on the organization of that society. It must always be an object of peculiar interest to the historian as the place where, half a century ago, the experiment of Normal Schools was first made—an experiment from which have come the most beneficial and splendid results. May it long be preserved from the hand of the destroyer as a memorial of an event which has been fruitful in blessings to our country!

A young ladies' seminary was established here by the late Dr. Dio Lewis. For this purpose he purchased the Lexington House in 1864, a spacious hotel, and fitted it up for a boarding and day-school. His devotion to the physical training and development of the pupils, in connection with their studies and the favorable location for health, made the institution widely popular. Nearly 150 pupils were enrolled in the school during the third year after his occupancy of the Lexington House. But in the vacation following, and just before the opening of the fall term of 1867, the house took fire and was entirely consumed, involving a heavy loss of property and of school advantages to the town. It has never been rebuilt, and the school was broken up by the misfortune.

Lexington had several libraries before the present public library was founded. A library appears to have been connected with the First Parish sixty or seventy years ago. During the early pastorate of Rev. Charles Briggs, while town and parish were one, the juvenile library was established, designed especially to provide good reading for the children and young people. Appropriations were sometimes made by the town for the purchase of new books. This library was kept in the front vestibule of the meeting-house, and on Sundays between services was opened for returning and giving out books. It was well maintained, and afforded a valuable means of entertainment and improvement for young people before the organization of Sunday-schools. At the same time there was a village library belonging to an association formed for mutual improvement. By the payment of a small sum annually a person was entitled to the use of the books. And at a later period the Agricultural Library was established in connection with the Farmers' Club. This was devoted mainly to such books as were of value to the cultivators of the soil. Before any libraries existed in the town, the minister's books were freely loaned to his parishioners, as we learn from the MS. diary of Rev. Jonas Clarke, where a list of borrowers' names is carefully preserved. Among them are Baxter's works in four quarto volumes, presented to the Lexington church by the Hon. Samuel Holden, Governor of the Bank of England, in 1730, the donor of Holden Chapel to Harvard College. The volumes were to be loaned to the people and kept for the use of future generations. They are now to be seen in the public library; but probably are not often called for.

In 1868 Mrs. Maria Hastings Cary proposed to give $1000 to Lexington to establish a free public library, on condition that a similar sum should be raised in money or in books for the same object. The offer was made as an expression of interest in her native town and in the hope of promoting the welfare of its people. It was specified in the gift that the selectmen, the School Committee and the settled ministers of the churches for the time being should constitute a board of trustees for the management and control of the library, and that the town should provide a place for it and necessary attendance and care. The proposition was gratefully accepted and the conditions com-

plied with, by the donation of the other libraries to this object and an appropriation of money by the town. Such was the origin of Cary Library, so named in honor of the original donor. The organization of the board of trustees was soon effected, the books purchased, the other libraries consolidated with it, a place rented for its use, and Cary Library opened to the people of the town. Three years later, in 1871, Mrs. Cary being pleased with the public appreciation and usefulness of the library, gave $5000 towards a permanent endowment. When the new town-hall was erected a room was provided for the library by an additional gift from Mrs. Cary, as previously noticed, where it has remained to the present time. By her will she left the sum of $5000 for its further endowment, which was received after her death. The town has made generous appropriations annually for its maintenance, and it has been gradually enlarged until it contains between 12,000 and 13,000 volumes. It is highly prized by the people and extensively used; more than 25,000 volumes have been drawn from it during the last year. From 500 to 800 new books are added annually. For the most part the library has been carefully selected, and is especially rich in works of history, biography and travel, and in books of reference. It is supplied with a variety of magazines and papers and the tables are occupied by interested readers, among whom there is a large proportion of young people and pupils of the public schools. The influence going out from Cary Library into every portion of the town is most encouraging and helpful. No institution among us is more popular, and none is more cheerfully supported. A branch library is maintained in the east village, where a room is open for drawing and returning books through an assistant librarian. It is also supplied with magazines and papers. By this means the library is made available to a much larger class of people and a comfortable reading-room provided for their leisure hours. A special appropriation is made annually for the support of the branch.

In 1887 a proposal was made to the town by Col. William A. Tower to erect a building for the library, costing from forty to fifty thousand dollars, on condition that a site should be provided by the town for that purpose. In his letter addressed to the selectmen announcing this generous gift, he named a location at the southeast corner of Main and Clark Streets as the one he desired, if it could be procured at a reasonable price. A town-meeting was called, and it was unanimously resolved to accept the proposition of Colonel Tower, and the sum of $12,000 voted to purchase the site. A committee was also chosen to co-operate with him in procuring the site and erecting the building. After the passage of these votes, a letter was read from Miss Alice B. Cary, offering, on behalf of the heirs of the Cary estate, to give $10,000 towards the purchase of a site that should be acceptable to Colonel Tower. This generous proposal was received with great enthusiasm, and the thanks of the town voted to Colonel Tower and the heirs of the Cary estate for their munificent proposals. Long and complicated negotiations now followed for the location named by Colonel Tower—the owners of the property holding it at a price that seemed unreasonable and exorbitant. A committee appointed by the town to make some changes in the organization of the Board of Trustees in the meantime appealed to the Legislature for an act of incorporation for the library and the privilege of taking the site under the right of eminent domain. The act was granted. This produced new and greater complications, and awakened strenuous opposition in the town to the act itself. Before the conditions named by Colonel Tower were complied with the time had expired to which his proposal was limited. He renewed it, making it a condition, however, that the act of incorporation should be accepted by the town. It was so accepted by a majority of nearly fifty votes. Finally an appeal to the Supreme Court, involving the constitutionality of the act, was made, and the decision just rendered pronounces it a violation of the original compact with Mrs. Cary, and, hence, unconstitutional. Thus an unfortunate division of opinion has deferred the erection of an elegant and substantial building for the library, and not unlikely lost it altogether. It is much to be regretted from every point of view.

CHAPTER XLVII.

LEXINGTON—(*Continued.*)

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS—CHURCHES, SUNDAY-SCHOOLS AND BENEVOLENT ORGANIZATIONS.

THE early history of the first church and its meeting-houses has been given in connection with the early history of the town, when ecclesiastical and municipal affairs were under the same government. As already stated, the first pastorate, that of Rev. Benjamin Estabrook, was a brief one, ending with his death, in July, 1697, less than one year after his ordination, though he had preached here for five years previous to his settlement. The ordination of John Hancock, as the second minister, took place on November 2, 1698, and he continued to be the pastor of the church until his death, December 5, 1752, a period, including the time that he preached here before ordination, of fifty-five years. In 1734 his son, Ebenezer Hancock, was ordained as his colleague, and continued to be his father's assistant until his death, in January, 1739. After the death of Rev. John Hancock, in 1752, an interregnum of three years occurred, during which various persons were heard as candidates, including Rev. Timothy Minot,

of Concord; Rev. Mr. Stearns, of Billerica; Rev. Aaron Putnam, who was invited to settle over the parish, but declined, and Rev. Jonas Clarke, of Newton, upon whom the town and church finally united by a vote of seventy to three, after a day of fasting and prayer. He was ordained on the 5th of November, 1755, and remained in active service until his death, November 15, 1805, thus entering upon the fifty-first year of his ministry. The first four pastors of the parish, therefore, were ordained to the ministry here and died in the service of the parish. Their mortal remains rest in the old cemetery with those of the people to whom they ministered. The tomb of Rev. Benjamin Estabrook is one of the oldest in the burial-ground, bearing the date of 1697, though no doubt there are many unmarked graves much older, since the place was used for burial purposes from the early settlement of the town. The other pastors have a common tomb, that of the Hancock-Clarke families, sealed up since 1844, when the body of the last of Mr. Clarke's children living here was placed in it.

After the close of the long pastorate of Rev. Mr. Clarke, the parish again gave two years to the hearing of candidates before another minister was settled. In May, 1807, a call was given to Rev. Henry Coleman, which he declined. Finally, after another trial of candidates, the church and congregation united in calling Rev. Avery Williams by a unanimous vote. He accepted, and was ordained as the fifth pastor on December 30, 1807, at a salary of $600, with fifteen cords of wood annually, to be delivered at his door, and a settlement of $1000. He was to be the minister of the parish for the remainder of his life. His predecessors had all been settled on the same condition, which was, indeed, the universal custom in the early history of New England. So, likewise, was the custom of giving a sum in addition to the salary, called "a settlement."

It is interesting to notice the charges made on the town records for Mr. Williams' ordination. Evidently it was quite an elaborate and hilarious affair. At this time there were as many as eleven taverns and stores licensed for the sale of spirituous liquors within the town, and they received a generous patronage, especially on such an occasion as the ordination of a new minister. First, the council met and rigidly examined the candidate. After he had shown his proficiency in the profound and difficult questions of theology, and that he had passed through a true religious experience and possessed a sound Christian character, the services of ordination were performed. Then ministers, deacons and messengers, with the most prominent members of the church and parish, repaired to the tavern of Amos Muzzy, Jr., where sumptuous provision was made for their entertainment. What this consisted of we are unable to tell, since only the aggregate charge of $139.78 appears upon the records for the council dinner. The sum of $8 was paid "for spirits and luncheon for the singers," and "four mugs of toddy furnished the men who propped the meeting-house galleries for the ordination, and four mugs of toddy when letting the bell to be rung;" at the same time six mugs are provided for the selectmen when letting out the town's poor. It is not surprising, therefore, that three constables were required to keep order at the ordination, who were paid five dollars for their services, and that the meeting-house had to be cleaned at an additional expense after the ordination was over. A charge of $2.33 for new strings for the bass viol, and $14.75 for "moreen" for the pulpit windows completes the list of ordination expenses in the First Parish eighty years ago, when Rev. Mr. Williams was consecrated for his work. Surely, there has been a great advance in public sentiment and social custom since that time, when, on the most solemn occasion and for the most trifling work, spirituous liquors were required, that all things might be done properly. Mr. Williams' ministry appears to have been a harmonious and prosperous one. He was evidently a preacher of more than average ability, and very acceptable to his people. During his ministry increased attention was given to church-music, and a singing-school was maintained at the expense of the town for many years. In 1800 a sum of money was voted to supply "firewood and candles, to encourage the singers in keeping a school, in case they will engage to sit together in the meeting-house after they have learnt." And afterwards we find frequent charges for the repair of musical instruments and for keeping up musical instruction, showing that this part of public worship was much encouraged by the people.

Rev. Mr. Williams published two discourses in 1813 on the centennial of the incorporation of Lexington. They contain much valuable information regarding the early history of the settlement and the customs of the people. He gathered up many interesting facts which otherwise would have been forgotten, and he deserves grateful remembrance for the service thus rendered to historic knowledge. His health seems to have been feeble, and frequently he was unable to perform the duties of his office. On this account, probably, there was increasing uneasiness and dissatisfaction in the parish. But, being settled for life, the connection could not be easily dissolved. Finally, in August, 1815, the town voted to pay him $615 to withdraw and bring the relation to an end. He consented, and, after a ministry of eight years, an amicable separation took place, and the parish again entered upon the experience of hearing new candidates for settlement.

The people appear to have been more difficult to please than ever, and not until February, 1819, could they unite on a new minister, when Rev. Charles Briggs was chosen by nearly a unanimous vote, and ordained in April following as the sixth minister of Lexington. Mr. Briggs was in feeble health much of

the time during his pastorate, and was occasionally obliged to give up his duties and travel for its improvement, but he continued in charge of the parish for sixteen years, when he asked to be dismissed. His request was granted, and in July, 1835, his relation with the parish came to an end. He had a peaceful and prosperous ministry. He gave much attention to the public schools, and was deeply interested in the welfare of the young, gathering a valuable library for their use. The Sunday-school was organized by him about the year 1830, but the precise date it is impossible to establish.

He appears to have been highly respected and esteemed by the town, and entrusted with important offices. The parish had been gradually changing its theological basis for some time before the settlement of Mr. Briggs, and during his ministry appears to have become distinctively Unitarian in faith and affiliation, though there is no record of any action to that effect. The old covenant was never formally disowned, but its use seems to have been silently abandoned. Rev. Jonas Clarke was probably what was called a "moderate Calvinist," though his daughter "Betty" often asserted that he was an Arminian, the name given to those of the old Congregational order who held advanced opinions regarding the extent of the atonement.

Rev. Avery Williams was evidently more conservative in his views; but after his dismissal from the ministry here the parish gave invitations to two candidates who held liberal opinions in theology, and after they declined, settled Rev. Mr. Briggs, which indicates that the parish had become decidedly liberal in faith. There is no evidence on the church records of any dissent from this position. It appears to have been accepted by all the people.

A year passed away before the next minister was chosen,—Rev. William Gray Swett, who was ordained July 13, 1836, as the seventh minister of Lexington. Up to this time there had been no separation between the town and parish, but they were one and the same. Mr. Swett was chosen to be the minister at a regular town-meeting, and his salary fixed at $700 per annum. No mention is made of a sum for a settlement. He continued in the pastorate but two years, when, at his own request, he was dismissed and afterwards settled in Lynn, where he died in 1843. Mr. Swett was a warm-hearted, genial man, but of a somewhat eccentric character. He was apparently devoted to his work and made many friends in the parish, by whom he is pleasantly remembered. After the termination of Mr. Swett's ministry the parish continued without a settled pastor for six years, in the mean time engaging a temporary supply for the pulpit for a longer or shorter period. Among those employed were Rev. George M. Rice, Rev. William Knapp and Rev. S. B. Cruft. Other religious societies had been formed in the town and they claimed that there should be a division of the ministerial fund. The members of these societies retained their connection with the First Parish as voters and sought to compel a distribution of it. A long and bitter controversy followed, producing much alienation between families and friends, and preventing the settlement of a minister. This unfortunate division and strife entered into town affairs and caused great trouble and confusion. Finally, through the patient and kindly offices of Rev. Samuel J. May, who was employed as the minister for a few months, a settlement of these difficulties was arranged by a division of the income of the fund among the existing churches, to be made annually. All parties assented to this arrangement, and the town gave Mr. May a vote of thanks for the service he had rendered, and recompensed him for the time and trouble which the settlement had caused him. In 1845 the parish was separated from the town and placed under an organization of its own, and all similar complications prevented for the future. Rev. Jason Whitman, of Portland, Me., was unanimously invited to settle over the parish at a salary of $900, and the old meeting-house, which had long been in a dilapidated condition, was reconstructed at heavy expense and made pleasant and comfortable. Mr. Whitman accepted the invitation and was installed as the eighth minister on July 30, 1845. Unfortunately the destruction of the meeting-house by fire on the night before it was to be rededicated, December 17, 1846, involved the parish in new strife and led to long and vexatious suits to determine where the pecuniary responsibility belonged. Years passed away before these matters were finally settled.

Rev. Mr. Whitman entered upon his ministry under favorable auspices. The people were united in him. He was an able and interesting preacher and he gave himself to his work with hearty devotion. He was deeply interested in the cause of temperance and anti-slavery, and firm and fearless in their advocacy. The prospect of a long and useful ministry opened invitingly before him, and the church seemed to be entering upon a period of substantial prosperity. But in January, 1848, before completing the third year of his pastorate, he was suddenly removed by death, to the great disappointment and grief of his people. Mr. Whitman was the author of several biographical and controversial works, besides a volume of sermons and many addresses and magazine articles which he published. The new meeting-house, erected after the destruction of the previous one, was completed and dedicated soon after his death.

Following the ministry of Mr. Whitman came that of Rev. Fiske Barrett, who was ordained as the ninth pastor in September, 1849, but continued only about three years, when he resigned and left. Two years later, September, 1854, Rev. N. A. Staples was ordained as his successor—the tenth minister of the parish. He entered upon his duties with much enthusiasm and devotion. The people were heartily

united in his support, and his ministry, of a little more than two years, appears to have been prosperous and peaceful. In November, 1856, he resigned to accept an invitation to the pastorate of the Unitarian Church in Milwaukee. Here he remained until the beginning of the War of the Rebellion, when he was chosen chaplain of the Sixth Wisconsin Regiment, Col. Lysander Cutler's, and entered the service in the Army of the Potomac. The severe exposure of the field brought on a long sickness, which compelled him to withdraw from the army. He resumed his profession, and was settled over the Second Unitarian Society in Brooklyn, N. Y. But his health was never restored, and after a few months he was utterly prostrated and died February 5, 1864.

Rev. Leonard J. Livermore succeeded Mr. Staples, and was installed in October, 1857. During his ministry of nine years he was active and self-sacrificing in his work. He succeeded in paying off a heavy indebtedness which had hung over the parish like a mill-stone from the losses incurred in the burning of the old church. He labored earnestly for the prosperity of the public schools, and, during the war, for the aid of the soldiers in the field and the sick and wounded in the hospitals. A man of fine scholarly tastes, and gentle, loving spirit. In September, 1866, he resigned the pastorate and closed his connection with the parish at the beginning of the new year. Subsequently, Mr. Livermore was settled over the Unitarian Church in Danvers, where he remained for nearly twenty years, greatly beloved by his people. He died in Cambridge, after a long illness, in June, 1886.

Mr. Livermore was succeeded by Rev. Henry Westcott, who was installed June 26, 1867, the twelfth minister of the parish. During Mr. Westcott's ministry a spacious and pleasant chapel was added to the meeting-house, containing Sunday-school and library room, and a large parish parlor, for the accommodation of the sewing society and for other uses. In the basement a supper-room and kitchen were constructed for social occasions, and all arrangements made for the purposes of a working religious society. Mr. Westcott labored faithfully for the prosperity of the Sunday-school and the church. He was deeply interested in the organization of Cary Library, and was one of the committee appointed by the town to take the necessary steps for establishing and opening it to the public. During the fourteen years of his ministry he acted as one of the trustees, and devoted much time to the selection of books and the management of its affairs. To him and to Rev. Mr. Porter the town is deeply indebted for this valuable library. In June, 1881, Mr. Westcott resigned his pastorate, and shortly afterwards was installed as pastor of the Unitarian Church in Melrose. His pastorate there was a peaceful and prosperous one, but was suddenly terminated by his death July 14, 1883. His loss was sincerely mourned by his people, who had become warmly attached to him in his brief ministry.

The present pastor, Rev. C. A. Staples, was installed October 31, 1881. During his ministry the meeting-house has been remodeled, newly carpeted and painted, the organ reconstructed, new furnaces put in and stone steps in front to replace wooden ones, at a total cost of more than $5000. The meeting-house is now in thorough repair, and is a substantial and pleasant edifice. There are connected with the parish about 110 families, and the services of worship are fairly well attended. The Sunday-school contains twelve classes, numbering one hundred and twenty-six scholars, including a primary-class of eighteen, and two classes of young men and women. There is a temperance society connected with it of fifty-eight members, holding meetings once a month, and a Christian Union of young people for religious improvement and charitable work. The Ladies' Sewing Society has from twenty to thirty members engaged in working for destitute families and for children at home and abroad. The Lend-a-Hand Society of young ladies is engaged in work for hospitals and benevolent societies. There is also a Women's Branch of the Unitarian Auxiliary Society, numbering about thirty members, holding meetings monthly for mutual religious improvement and the collection of funds for missionary work. The young people's societies have supported a student in the Tuskegee, Ala., Normal School for three years, and have contributed to support an Indian school in Montana among the Crow Indians.

Such is the history, the present condition and work of the old First Parish of Lexington. Its present meeting-house, erected in 1847, is the fourth built since the organization of the parish in 1692. The audience-room contains two large tablets, one on either side of the pulpit, inscribed with appropriate passages of Scripture expressing the faith, hope and love of the Christian church. These were presented by the late Mrs. Maria Cary. It has also a beautiful marble font presented by Mrs. Margaret Hayes in memory of her husband, Hon. Francis B. Hayes, a member of the parish, who died in September, 1884. The old pulpit Bible, presented by Governor John Hancock, in 1793, is still carefully preserved, though no longer in use. There are a large number of communion vessels belonging to the church, the gifts of deceased members through the nearly two centuries of its existence. A portion of these was given to the church in East Lexington, an offshoot of the First Parish, and are now in possession of Follen Church in that village. They are simple memorials of men and women to whom the church was dear while they lived, and who left these tokens of their love and reverence for it after they had gone to the church above.

THE BAPTIST CHURCH was the earliest organized in the town after the First Parish. There appear to

have been some people of this persuasion here for fifty years before the formation of a church. They were connected with the Baptist Church in Cambridge, and attended worship there. In 1787 Thomas Green was the pastor. These people refused to pay a ministerial tax in Lexington, as appears from the town records, but it seems to have been exacted of them by the authorities. Probably this was after a law had been passed exempting those persons from the ministerial tax who brought certificates of their connection with some church other than that of the parish where they were living, and that they were paying there for the support of the institutions of religion. Such a provision was made for the relief of the Baptists, Quakers and other dissenters from "the standing order." The exaction of the tax by Lexington, therefore, was illegal, if the Baptists brought the proper certificates. However this may have been, the record states that Rev. Mr. Green made complaint of the injustice done to his Lexington parishioners, and an action was brought against the town to recover damages. The case was not allowed to come to trial; the authorities, probably, finding themselves in the wrong, a settlement was made with the Baptists in the following year (1788), and they were no longer compelled to pay for the support of a church in which they did not believe. Services of worship were probably held by them occasionally, and the rite of baptism by immersion was performed, but they were chiefly connected with the Baptists in Cambridge and Waltham up to 1830, when regular preaching was commenced in the town. In 1833 Rev. T. P. Ropes became the pastor, and in the same year a church was organized and a meeting-house erected on Main Street, a little south of Vine Brook, where, with extensive additions and repairs, it still remains. The site for the meeting-house was generously given to the society by Benjamin Muzzy. In 1835 Rev. O. A. Dodge was ordained and settled over the church, and under his ministry it was prosperous and many additions were made to its numbers. But after a ministry of five years he died in May, 1845, and was succeeded in the following year by Rev. C. M. Bowers, who remained in charge until February, 1846, when he resigned and left. Mr. Bowers is remembered as an ardent temperance advocate, and by his advanced opinions on the subject awakened much opposition. In the autumn of 1847 Rev. Ira Leland became the pastor, and continued in the service of the church for ten years. He was deeply interested in the public schools, and gave much attention to their welfare as chairman of the School Committee, and is remembered in the town as a devoted pastor and a useful citizen. After Mr. Leland left, in 1857, the society had no permament pastor for many years, but the pulpit was supplied by various persons, for short periods of time, until Rev. Dr. Pryor came to live in the town, when he was employed as the preacher and pastor, though he was never settled over the society. This arrangement continued for ten years, when he withdrew, owing to his declining health and the lack of success in the work. At this time the society had become very much reduced, and the idea of selling the meeting-house and abandoning the enterprise was seriously considered. Happily, through the protestations of one of the members—Mrs. Charles Tidd—the proposition was given up and the organization preserved for new growth and usefulness. Through Mrs. Tidd's influence, Rev. Russell H. Conwell was called to the pastorate, in the hope that he would revive the church from its languishing condition by his bold and aggressive spirit. The hope was speedily realized. He entered into his work with great enthusiasm, and his popular manners and style of preaching drew in numbers of new families and gave the society much additional financial strength. He began at once the remodeling and enlargement of the meeting-house. It was completely transformed without and within; a church parlor was added, a spire constructed in place of the old square tower and a bell procured; windows of colored glass were put in, and the handsome and commodious audience-room furnished with comfortable seats, and also a baptistery, making it substantially a new building. At the rededication a large congregation from the town and from sister churches in other places assembled to join in the services and express their hearty interest in the revival of the society's prosperity. Mr. Conwell's novel methods and style of preaching attracted large congregations, and his pulpit ministrations proved very acceptable to the people. In the two years of his ministry he certainly wrought a great change in the affairs and prospects of the society. At the end of this time he received a call to a Baptist Church in Philadelphia, which was accepted, and in that new and larger sphere his success appears to have been equally extraordinary. The church building and the revived prosperity of the society are due to his persistent labors and his executive ability—a monument to his zeal in the cause of denominational growth and up-building. Succeeding Mr. Conwell came Rev. Charles L. Rhoades, a man of marked ability and of sincere Christian conviction and faith. He toiled earnestly for the prosperity of the church, and made many devoted friends, both within and beyond the bounds of denominational lines. But the contrast between him and his predecessor was too great to secure the interest and appreciation of the people; and, after a ministry of about a year, he left to take charge of a church in West Acton. His withdrawal from the church produced some alienation and loss of members.

Rev. Wm. P. Bartlett followed him in a ministry of a single year, when he left for another field, finding it difficult to secure co-operation and harmony.

The present minister is Rev. Leonard B. Hatch, who was installed over the church in 1887. The society is now enjoying a good degree of harmony and pros-

perity. Many new families have been added to the congregation and new members to the church. A valuable organ has been purchased and placed in the audience-room beside the pulpit, adding much to the attractiveness of the service. An earnest, religious spirit pervades the church, and frequent prayer and conference meetings are held. A warm and hearty social life is also maintained. The number of families represented in the congregation is about seventy. There is a flourishing Christian Endeavor Society of sixty-two members connected with the church and a Sunday-school of 124 members with eleven teachers. The ladies' sewing society is large and active in good works. Thus the ministry of Mr. Hatch has been peaceful and prosperous.

THE SECOND CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY.—The village of East Lexington and that portion of the town lying south and west of it, being remote from the First Parish meeting-house, naturally desired a place of worship more convenient of access. As early as 1833 they began to agitate the formation of a society in that village, and for this purpose they asked for one-half the income of the ministerial fund. The town refused to yield it and the demand was made and refused many times during the next ten years. Finally it was determined to try the experiment of establishing preaching in the east village. A hall was engaged for the purpose and a subscription opened to pay the expenses for one week. The first sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Charles Follen, on April 5, 1835. The subscription was again circulated for means to supply another Sunday's preaching and again for a third; at the end of three weeks the people were so much encouraged that they made a subscription for six months and voted to employ Dr. Follen for that period. In this way the preaching was continued for a year, and after that from one year to another by a new subscription, Dr. Follen, Ralph Waldo Emerson and J. S. Dwight, being the ministers. In the mean time an organization was formed called "The Christian Association," for the maintenance of religious worship, and in 1839 a meeting-house was built costing about $4000. Dr. Follen was chosen as their minister and was active in securing the means to erect the building and place the society upon a permanent basis. He was an able and fearless preacher, yet of a mild and gentle spirit. Driven from his native land for his devotion to liberal opinions in government and religion, he became an earnest advocate of the cause of the slave in this country and encountered great prejudice and opposition for that reason. But the people of East Lexington were heartily united in his support, and his influence in the village and town was steadily growing. Before the dedication of the new meeting-house Dr. Follen spent a few weeks in New York, where his wife was detained by sickness. On the night of January 5, 1840, while on his way home to attend the dedication, he was lost on the Sound by the burning of the steamer "Lexington," that fearful disaster in which so many helpless people perished. It was a severe blow to the young society, by whom he was sincerely beloved. The event cast a deep gloom over the village and the town, and indeed over all this portion of the State, where many of the lost were well known. It was a long time before the society recovered from this calamity. No attempt was made to settle another minister during the next three or four years, but services of worship were maintained regularly by different ministers; among these were Revs. Mr. Burton, Charles Sewell and Samuel J. May, the latter at that time principal of the Normal School. After the division of the income of the ministerial fund among the four churches then existing in the town, "The Christian Association" organized as the Second Congregational Society, and proceeded to settle Rev. Thomas H. Dorr as their minister. His installation took place on the 2d of July, 1845, and he remained until August 1, 1849. Mr. Dorr labored earnestly for the prosperity of the society, but it was difficult to raise the sum required for current expenses, and he felt that his salary was too heavy a burden for the people, as well as an inadequate support for his family. Accordingly he resigned and left. In November of the same year William F. Bridge was ordained and settled as his successor, who also left after a ministry of two years. The pulpit was again supplied by a variety of preachers employed from Sunday to Sunday, until 1855, when Rev. E. P. Crufts became the stated supply. In 1860 Rev. Caleb Stetson took charge of the society and continued as their minister for three or four years, when Rev. William T. Stowe was employed.

THE FIRST UNIVERSALIST SOCIETY of Lexington was organized in the east village in the year 1845; but worship had been maintained for several years before this, and a meeting-house was erected as early as 1840. Rev. James M. Usher was the first minister, continuing about five years. He was succeeded by Revs. C. H. Webster, W. B. Randolph and J. A. Cooledge. The society, finding it difficult to raise the means for maintaining religious worship, was obliged to depend on a temporary supply of the pulpit, and finally united with the Second Congregational Society in the settlement of Rev. Mr. Stowe. A new organization was formed under the name of "The Church of the Redeemer;" the Universalist meeting-house was sold, extensive repairs were made upon the meeting-house of the Second Society, and both congregations united in worshiping there. These arrangements were finally consummated by an act of the Legislature in 1865, consolidating the societies. Under the ministry of Rev. Mr. Stowe the Church of the Redeemer was prosperous, and the attendance upon worship larger than ever before. Many new families were brought in, and there was a substantial increase of financial strength. In 1869 Rev. Mr. Stowe was called to the pastorate of the Unitarian Church in New Orleans, and the society reluctantly

accepted his resignation after a ministry of seven years. He was succeeded by Rev. W. C. Gannett, who was employed until 1873, when Rev. E. S. Elder was settled, who continued to minister to the society with acceptance until 1880. The relation was harmonious, and Mr. Elder won many friends outside his parish, and rendered good service to the public schools. He resigned to accept a call to the Unitarian Church in Franklin, N. H. After this the pulpit was supplied by various ministers, among whom were Rev. C. J. Staples, of Reading, and Rev. Mr. Gray, of Arlington, who held service in the afternoon. In Oct., 1885, W. H. Branigan, a student from the Divinity School of Cambridge, was called to the pastorate and ordained on the 14th of that month. He remained for two years, and was succeeded by Rev. Thomas Thompson, who came from Andover, N. H., and is still in charge. In 1886, by an act of the Legislature, the name of the organization was changed from the "Church of the Redeemer" to that of "Follen Church," in grateful remembrance of the noble Christian man who was the first minister. May it always bear that honored name, and prove by its good works and its earnest spirit a worthy monument to his memory!

Hancock Congregational Church. — This church was organized May 20, 1868, with twenty-four members; fourteen families being represented in the congregation. The old Academy building was purchased by the church, remodeled and fitted up as a place of worship, making a neat and pleasant meeting-house. Mr. Edward G. Porter was employed to supply the pulpit during the summer. His ministrations proved so acceptable that in the autumn following he was invited to become the pastor, and on Oct. 1st was ordained and installed in that office. For the first four years the church received some pecuniary assistance in defraying the expenses of worship, but in the fifth year it became self-supporting. It has steadily grown in numbers, in financial strength, and in benevolent and missionary activity. The contributions of Hancock Church to various denominational organizations, outside of its own expenses, have been extremely liberal, and up to Jan. 1, 1890, amounted to $6761.65, an average of more than $300 per annum during the twenty-two years of its existence. The membership now numbers 169, and seventy families are included in the congregation. The system of weekly offerings has been in operation in the church for some time, and has proved very successful in raising funds for missionary and benevolent work. Connected with the church there are three ladies' societies engaged in home and foreign missionary enterprises. An active and flourishing Society of Christian Endeavor is also connected with it, having a membership of thirty-five. The Sunday-school contains sixteen classes, with a membership of 130 scholars. Many adult members of the congregation are connected with it as teachers or scholars. The church is now about commencing to build a new meeting-house, having outgrown its present accommodations. A site has been purchased on Monument Street, opposite the Common, and a large subscription made towards the erection of a handsome and commodious edifice. The location is a prominent and beautiful one. It is designed to build of stone, and the structure will undoubtedly be a credit to the church and an ornament to the village. Hancock Church has been fortunate in retaining the same pastor through all the years of its history—Rev. E. G. Porter. He has faithfully ministered to its people now for nearly a quarter of a century, and has been the leader in all its enterprises. And not only in the work of the church, but also in all matters pertaining to the welfare and progress of the town, the schools, the Public Library, the Historical Society and other organizations for the improvement of society. In many ways he has proved a patriotic and valuable citizen. His relations with Hancock Church have been harmonious and his ministry successful.

Church of our Redeemer.—The last of the Lexington churches to be organized was the Episcopal. There had been families of this faith in the town for some years before religious services were held. They worshipped with the other churches, or with the Episcopal Church in Arlington. But at length, after several accessions to their numbers from new families moving into town, it was thought advisable to begin services of worship. Accordingly the Town Hall was opened for that purpose, and the first service held there on April 8, 1883. The meetings were continued in the same place for a few Sundays, when, feeling much encouraged by their success, the congregation hired a hall on Main Street, near Vine Brook, and fitted it up for their use. After two years it was resolved to erect a house of worship; a lot was purchased at the corner of Merriam and Oakland Streets, and work commenced on the foundation in November, 1885. The building, a neat and attractive edifice handsomely furnished, was completed the following summer, and the first service held in it on the 24th of June, 1886. The cost of the building was about $5000, including the site, and was paid for in full by the generous contributions of the people and their friends. It was formally dedicated by Bishop Paddock, June 16, 1887. The building is of wood, and has a seating capacity of about 150. The first organization as an Independent Mission was effected in April, 1884. Subsequently the members of the congregation organized as a corporation according to the laws of the state under the name of the "Parish of the Church of our Redeemer." This was effected on October 15, 1885, and the following officers were elected, viz.: Senior Warden, Robert M. Lawrence; Junior Warden, Albert Griffiths; Clerk, Alexander S. Clarke; Treasurer, George S. Jackson. The Rev. Wilford L. Robbins was ordained and installed as the first rector June 22, 1884. He remained in office

above three years, and resigned November 27, 1887, to accept an invitation to become the dean of the Episcopal Cathedral at Albany, N. Y. Mr. Robbins labored earnestly to build up the church, and was regarded as a man of rare gifts as a preacher and of fine culture.

The Rev. Gustavus G. Nicolls succeeded Mr. Robbins, and remained in charge until April 1, 1889, when he left. Since that time the church has been without a pastor but services of worship are maintained regularly, the pulpit being supplied from Sunday to Sunday by young men from the Episcopal Divinity School in Cambridge. Various organizations for charitable and social purposes are connected with the church, and a Sunday-school is maintained. The congregation is considerably enlarged during the summer and autumn months by transient residents in the town, many of whom are of that faith.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.—The preaching of this faith appears to have been established in Lexington nearly twenty-five years ago, or about 1865. At first, services were held in private houses, by Father John Qualey, now of Woburn. The movement was organized as a mission annexed to the church in Arlington, and ministered to by the priest of that parish. When the Universalist meeting-house in East Lexington was sold, it was purchased for the use of the mission and worship was held there until the erection of a church building at the central village in 1876. The mission steadily grew in numbers and activity under successive priests, among whom was Fr. Harkins, now Bishop of Rhode Island, who was greatly respected and beloved by the people,—and Fr. Sheehan, his successor. In 1886 the mission was detached from the Arlington Parish and organized as a church under Fr. P. Kavanaugh, who was ordained and placed in charge that year, and who still ministers to this people. At the same time a mission in Bedford was organized and attached to the Lexington Parish, to which Fr. Kavanaugh, also ministers, holding services in both places each Sunday. The church edifice in Lexington is a large wooden structure, of Gothic architecture, substantially built, in the basement of which the services have been held The audience-room above is now being finished and will be spacious and handsome, with a seating capacity of 700. The church building occupies a pleasant and prominent site on Monument Street, a little west of the Common, and has large grounds around it. Near it is a parsonage erected in 1885, and occupied by Fr. Kavanaugh. The church numbers about 160 families, and the congregation is undoubtedly the largest and the most regular in attendance of any in town. A temperance society is connected with it which holds its meetings on the first Sunday evening of each month. The church has been very active in various enterprises to raise money for the completion of its meeting-house, and its people have been most generous and successful in their efforts. They cherish the expectation of being soon rewarded with an attractive and commodious place of worship.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

LEXINGTON—(Continued).

MISCELLANEOUS.

INDUSTRIES.—Lexington has always been chiefly engaged in agriculture. At the beginning it was known as The Farms, and it has remained almost exclusively a community of farmers until within the last twenty years, during which time a considerable addition has been made to the population of people engaged in business in Boston and other cities, who now make it their home. The products of the farms are chiefly hay, vegetables, fruit and milk. In the production of milk it stands among the highest, if not the highest in the United States, as shown by the census of 1880, when it reached a total of 721,000 gallons. A large quantity is sent from the railroad station in the central village to Boston. Some of this, however, is gathered in from the adjoining towns. But the number of men and teams engaged in collecting milk from the farms and retailing it to customers in Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, Woburn, Newton and Waltham, is very large. Indeed, it may be said to be the most prominent industry of the town. On some of the farms there are from twenty-five to fifty cows, kept for making milk. The extensive production of milk, of course, causes a large consumption of hay and grain, and much of this is brought into the town from other States. It is a branch of farming which continually enriches and improves the land, preparing it to yield more abundant crops of hay and vegetables. Considerable quantities of fertilizer are used, and the manure wagons are running half the year bringing the product of the city stables to increase the fertility of the fields. Lexington farms, on the whole, are well tilled, and rank among the most productive in Middlesex County. What profit is received from this industry in our town it is impossible to say. Few farmers keep accounts of receipts and expenditures in a manner which makes it easy to form any estimate of the balance. But it is not difficult to see that the profit is small and uncertain. The higher wages paid farm laborers, the large increase of taxes, the severe competition with the farms of the West and the vegetable gardens of the South, bear hard on the farmers of New England and reduce their profits to the minimum. Yet it is evident that the farmers are living in better style than ever before; their dwellings are more comfortable, their stock is better housed and cared for, their tools and vehicles

are more costly and convenient, their fields more productive and their life more enjoyable than that of the farmers of a hundred or even fifty years ago. This is especially true in the vicinity of cities and large towns. They may not be growing rich as rapidly as some others, but their condition is certainly improving, and their life probably has in it as much freedom and happiness as that of any class in the country.

There has never been much manufacturing in Lexington. No doubt this is due to the fact that it has very little water-power; none, indeed, that is permanent and reliable. In the early history of the town we find that saw-mills and grist-mills were built on Vine Brook and Munroe Brook, and for a long time were maintained there. A saw-mill was erected near East Lexington as early as 1650, probably by Edward Winship, who owned large tracts of land in that vicinity, a portion of which is still owned and occupied by his descendants. It must have been one of the earliest saw-mills erected in this part of the country. The privilege was occupied by a mill or a shop of some kind until quite recently, when the construction of the Arlington waterworks rendered it no longer available. Other mills for simple mechanical work have been built in various parts of the town. Near the Burlington line, on Vine Brook, is a privilege used for a long period to run a grist and saw-mill; but all these have been abandoned, and now there is no mill in Lexington of any kind run by water-power. In the east village formerly an extensive business was carried on in the dressing of furs. Mr. Ambrose Morrill was engaged in it for about forty years, employing many people, and Mr. Eli Robbins carried on the same business for a time. The tanning of leather on a small scale was likewise established in that village, but was long since given up. None of these industries now remain in the town.

The principal manufacturing establishment in Lexington now is that of Mr. Matthew H. Merriam for making strip or ribbon trimmings. His manufactory is on Oakland Street, a one-story building, 200 feet in length, erected in 1882. The business was originally established in Charlestown in 1857, where it was conducted for more than twenty-five years under the firm style of Merriam & Norton. After the death of Mr. Norton, in 1880, Mr. Merriam purchased his interest, and, erecting a convenient building for the purpose, removed the business to Lexington, which had previously been his home for some twelve years or more. The articles made at this establishment embrace a great variety of goods adapted for use in the manufacture of boots and shoes and articles of clothing, and are auxiliary to many other industries. They are made from fancy leather, morocco and textile fabrics of various kinds. The establishment is said to be the largest and best equipped of its kind in the country. Its goods find a ready market not only throughout the United States, but also in foreign countries. The warehouse for the sale and distribution of these goods is located on High Street, Boston. From thirty to thirty-five hands are employed in this establishment at the present time. About half a million square feet of fine leather and morocco, and two hundred thousand yards of cotton cloth, including enameled cloth, silesia and fine cambric, are used in this manufactory annually, producing about eighteen million yards of goods. Mr. Merriam has associated with him in the management of the business his two sons, N. H. and E. P. Merriam. The work in the factory is light and pleasant, and many women and girls are employed who make excellent wages after learning to do it.

The Lexington Gear Works, belonging to Mr. George B. Grant, have been recently established in a building on Fletcher Street, erected for the purpose. This establishment manufactures all kinds of iron and brass gearing, from that having a diameter of an inch to that of six feet. The business requires a large amount of costly machinery and the best skilled labor. Mr. Grant is an educated and practical mechanic, and has built up an extensive business in Boston, where his works were originally established, and where the larger portion of them still remain. The plant in Lexington is now doing well, and he is receiving constant orders from many other departments of machinery business. He makes it a specialty, and the manufacture of gears is brought to a high state of perfection. It is designed to gradually enlarge the business by adding a foundry for the castings and other branches to make it more complete. It bids fair to bring considerable business to the town and add many skillful mechanics to the population.

The Lexington Grain-Mill of Mr. B. C. Whitcher is located near the central railroad station, and does a large business in preparing all kinds of grain and feed for market. This business has been established for several years, and has been steadily enlarged until an extensive trade has been built up in supplying the surrounding country. A steam mill was erected a few years since, and large quantities of grain are ground and retailed to the farmers of this and the adjoining towns.

Near the grain-mill is the lumber-yard of Mr. George E. Muzzy, where all kinds of lumber and building material are kept on sale. This business has been steadily growing, until it has become quite extensive and prosperous. It has stimulated building enterprises in the town, bringing the frames of houses and barns directly from the mills of Maine and New Hampshire, and rendering their erection more expeditious and economical. A large amount of building has been done in Lexington during the last few years, and Mr. Muzzy has been prompt and earnest in meeting the wants of builders. The outlook for continued and enlarging prosperity in his business appears most encouraging. He has recently associated with him as

a special partner Mr. J. W. Skillings, of Winchester, a man long engaged in the lumber trade, and bringing to the business valuable experience.

In the central village of Lexington there are three retail grocery-stores, two dry-goods and notion-stores, two tin and sheet-iron shops united with a general plumbing business, one dealing in furnaces and stoves, two meat-shops, also running peddling carts, one harness and hardware-store, one boot and shoe store, with a newsdealer's department, and one drug-store, two wheelwright-shops and two blacksmith-shops. These comprise the chief business establishments of the place. In East Lexington there are two retail stores, two blacksmith-shops, a meat market and a post-office. In the east village there is a population of several hundred. They are engaged in gathering up and retailing milk, in raising vegetables and fruits for the city markets, in the cultivation of plants and flowers, and in such industries as have been already mentioned. Several of the neighboring farms and residences are the country-seats of men doing business in Boston. The diversified and picturesque scenery of this section of the town makes it desirable for summer homes or for permanent residences.

The Hotels of Lexington.—Three-fourths of a century ago, when the travel was by stage-coaches and all transportation of freight by teams, the taverns of this town were numerous and well patronized. The principal thoroughfares were liberally planted with them, and elderly people call to mind no less than twelve, where good cheer was provided for man and beast. In all these, of course, spirituous liquors were sold, and also at the grocery-stores, numbering five or six. But the old taverns were obliged to pull down their signs and close their doors soon after the whistle of the locomotive was heard in our land.

Lexington now has but four places of public entertainment, viz.: the Willard House, in East Lexington, and the Russell House, the Massachusetts House and the Monument House in the centre village. Three of these,—the Willard, the Russell and the Massachusetts House—are chiefly patronized by summer visitors, of whom there are considerable numbers during the season. They are well kept, and families from the city often come here for a quiet country home many years in succession. People in feeble health, or exhausted by over-work, find the atmosphere pure and bracing, and a residence of a few weeks often proves wonderfully invigorating. To sickly children especially the Lexington air and life is stimulating and healthful. Thus the hotels are generally well patronized, and are sometimes filled to overflowing with guests. The Massachusetts House receives that name from the fact that it is the identical building erected by the State at Philadelphia for the accommodation of its officials and people at the Centennial. It was purchased of the State by Mr. Muzzy, taken down and brought to this place, where it was re-erected and fitted up as a hotel. It remains, however, very much as it was originally, both without and within, and with an adjoining house affords pleasant rooms for many guests. If the old taverns have disappeared, so also have many of the old customs associated with them. Spirituous liquors are no longer sold under the protection of law in Lexington. A strong public sentiment is in favor of no license, and at the last municipal election it gave the emphatic majority of 200 votes.

Lexington Savings Bank.—This institution was incorporated in 1871. It began in a small way and has been steadily gaining in favor among all classes of people. The management from the start has been of the most economical and conservative character. Its officers have served the depositors for the most part without compensation. Mr. George W. Robinson, the president from the beginning, has devoted much time to its affairs and always declined to accept any compensation. The treasurer has been paid a small salary, but the whole cost of management for 1889 barely reached $500, with 785 open accounts and deposits, including the guarantee fund of $200,000. The institution has paid two and one-half per cent. semi-annual dividends for many years, besides steadily adding to the guarantee fund. The investments are chiefly in mortgages on real estate in this and neighboring towns. Many of the depositors are laboring men and girls at service in families. As a means of encouraging habits of industry and forethought, the savings bank has had a most salutary influence. In this way it has done much in helping laborers to buy land and make pleasant homes for themselves. A large proportion of the workingmen of the town possess such homes, and are sober, prosperous, respectable people. The savings bank occupies a room in the town building and is open on the afternoons of Wednesday and Saturday in each week.

Water-Works.—Town water is supplied by the Lexington Water Company, a private enterprise, incorporated in 1881. About five miles of mains have been laid in the streets running through Main Street nearly to the Arlington line. The water is taken from wells in a meadow at the foot of Concord Hill, half a mile southwest of the central village. In addition to two large wells dug for the purpose, an artesian well has recently been drilled to the depth of 185 feet, of which 175 feet is in solid rock. This has a diameter of six inches and has been tested by forty-eight hours' consecutive pumping, which drew a large number of gallons per minute without exhausting the supply. From these wells the water is pumped into a stand-pipe having a capacity of upwards of 60,000 gallons, and standing at an elevation of 143 feet above the pumping station, and giving a pressure of sixty cubic feet per square inch at the town hall, half a mile distant. The town is supplied with fifty-one hydrants for fire purposes under contract with the company, at an annual cost of about $1400. The water is taken

by about 250 consumers and 75,000 gallons are supplied daily. It has been pronounced by the State Board of Health to be of excellent quality, and stands near the top of their list for purity. The supply has been largely increased by the artesian well, and is now considered ample for the wants of the town for many years to come.

Closely related to a supply of pure water is a system of drainage. At present the drainage of the centre village is into Vine and North Brooks; but this is not sufficient or satisfactory. A competent committee has been appointed by the town to consider the subject carefully and report a system of drainage for consideration. This committee have had a thorough survey made and have examined different methods of disposing of sewage. The plans which seem most feasible are two: first, a system of disposing of it at some central point by means of purification through chemical agency; the other to make connection with the Mystic Valley sewerage system through Arlington. The first cost of the latter plan will be heavy, but in the end it may be the cheaper, for, when once completed, the annual expense of maintenance will be light; whereas the former method, though not very expensive at first, will require a considerable annual expenditure. The committee will be able soon to report the method, in their judgment, best fitted to meet the necessities of the case, and the town will be called upon to take final action upon this important matter. There is no doubt but an efficient system will be adopted and put in operation as speedily as possible. The subject is one of vital interest to a large proportion of the inhabitants.

The Gas Company.—This company was incorporated in 1874 with a capital of $20,000, taken largely by citizens of the town. The gas is made from crude petroleum by the Henlow process. It gives a gas of great brilliancy and of about thirty candle-power against eighteen candle-power for coal gas. The consumption is small and only about one and a quarter million feet are manufactured annually. The company has laid four miles of mains on the principal streets and supplies the Town-Hall, the churches, the stores, the hotels, the railroad station and about 100 families, besides eighty-five street lamps. It has not been a financial success thus far, owing to the fact that the works were once destroyed by fire, and the mains at first laid were of wood, coated with asphaltum, which proved a failure and had to be replaced with iron pipe, causing a considerable additional expense. Experiments are now being made to manufacture a gas of less candle-power, which can be furnished at less cost to the consumer. The cost at present appears to be high, but owing to its greater illuminating power it is doubtful if the actual cost is more than coal-gas affording the same amount of light.

The Post-Office.—At first the centre post-office was kept in the Merriam house, on the east side of the Common, or rather in a small room attached to the house and still standing. It remained there and in the store of the Merriams for a long period. The house being used as a tavern, and near to the meeting-house, made the place convenient for the people of the town. The post-office was open for an hour at noon on Sunday to accommodate people living away from the village. Afterwards Mr. John Davis was appointed postmaster, and he removed the office to his house on Main Street, opposite the railroad station. Here it remained for nearly twenty-five years, during which time Mr. Davis continued in charge. After his removal Mr. L. G. Babcock was appointed postmaster and has held the office up to the present time, now more than twenty-three years. Mr. Babcock was a soldier in the War of the Rebellion and saw hard service in the Western Army. He was severely wounded in the battle of Fort Donelson and remained all night on the field, his garments frozen to the ground in his own blood. His administration of the office has been satisfactory to the people, and in the political changes of these twenty years there has been no disposition to seek his removal. The office is now a third-class money-order office, and the business is steadily increasing. The number of pieces of mail matter received per month averages 15,000 through the year, and the number sent out amounts to 12,000 pieces.

The Lexington Historical Society.—This society was organized in March, 1886, for the purpose of awakening an interest in local history and preserving important matter relating thereto in danger of being lost and forgotten. It has a membership of men and women amounting now to more than 200. Regular meetings are held on the second Tuesday of the months of October, December, January, March and April, and special meetings as business may require, when papers are read by the members on subjects pertaining to the history of the town, and to families belonging to the town, with occasional papers of a broader scope. The admission fee is one dollar and the annual due fifty cents. The society has published a volume of its proceedings and of papers read by some of its members, making a book of 250 pages, with pictures of the first school-house of the town, of the second and third meeting-houses, of the old Munroe tavern, and of the old academy building. The papers contain much valuable information concerning some of the most prominent events and individuals connected with Lexington history. The large and striking picture of the battle of Lexington in the Town-Hall by Henry Sandham, costing $4000, was purchased and hung there by the society, the money being raised by subscription through the solicitation of the members. Some valuable relics illustrating the life of our ancestors and the events of our history have been given to the society and are carefully preserved; books also and pamphlets that relate to important matters. The society has held memorial

services annually on the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, at which the children of the public schools were present and lessons of patriotism inculcated. On the hundredth anniversary of Washington's visit to Lexington, November 5, 1889, the occasion was observed by a banquet at the Russell House with appropriate songs and speeches. It was an evening of great interest and was heartily enjoyed by a large company. Thus the society has done and is doing an important work in stimulating the study of local history and preserving valuable knowledge and memorials of the past that were likely to be left behind and forgotten.

THE FIELD AND GARDEN CLUB.—This organization was formed for the purpose of improving the appearance of the town by cultivating a taste for well-kept side-walks, borders, yards and lawns; planting trees along the highways, and taking care of public grounds. It has a membership of fifty men and women, who pay an annual due for the objects of the society—one dollar for gentlemen and fifty cents for ladies. The members have accomplished a good deal in various directions for village improvement, securing appropriations from the town for concrete walks and street-crossings; caring for shade-trees along the roads, and inducing people to keep their grounds in order. The care of the Common has been given up to the club by the town and appropriations made annually to be expended by them in keeping it in the best possible condition. There has been a great change for the better in the appearance of the town in the last ten years, owing, no doubt, in part to the attention which has been called to these matters by the Field and Garden Club. The road-sides have been improved and much has been done in making concrete walks. A public taste has been fostered for adorning yards and grounds with flowering plants and shrubs, and this taste is constantly increasing, making the town more beautiful and attractive. The Field and Garden Club has also done a good work by contracting with nurseries for ornamental trees at wholesale rates and disposing of them to the people of the town at cost, thus encouraging the planting of trees by everybody. It has also secured favorable action from the town in regard to the location of side-walks, so as to leave a border for grass and trees between the walk and the road-bed, adding much to the beauty of the roads. In these and other ways this organization has proved a public benefit.

There are several social and secret societies in the town which appear to be in a fairly prosperous condition.

THE HIRAM LODGE OF MASONS was formed more than a century ago and contained some of the leading men of the town. A hall was obtained and fitted up for their use in the old Munroe tavern, where their meetings were held. Owing to the death or removal of many of the members, the lodge became much weakened and was finally transferred to West Cambridge, (now Arlington), where it is active and flourishing. Subsequently the SIMON W. ROBINSON LODGE of Masons was organized here and now numbers about sixty members. It appears to be well sustained and is the means of much usefulness in the community.

THE ANCIENT ORDER OF UNITED WORKMEN, Independence Lodge, No. 45, was chartered in September, 1882. This organization has a hall where the meetings are held, in Norris Block, and numbers forty-one members.

THE LEXINGTON YOUNG MEN'S CATHOLIC LYCEUM has been recently formed for intellectual and moral improvement. They have a hall in a new building lately erected on Main Street, and a membership of thirty. It promises to be an organization of great helpfulness to the members, and has the hearty co-operation of Father Kavanaugh, of the Catholic Church.

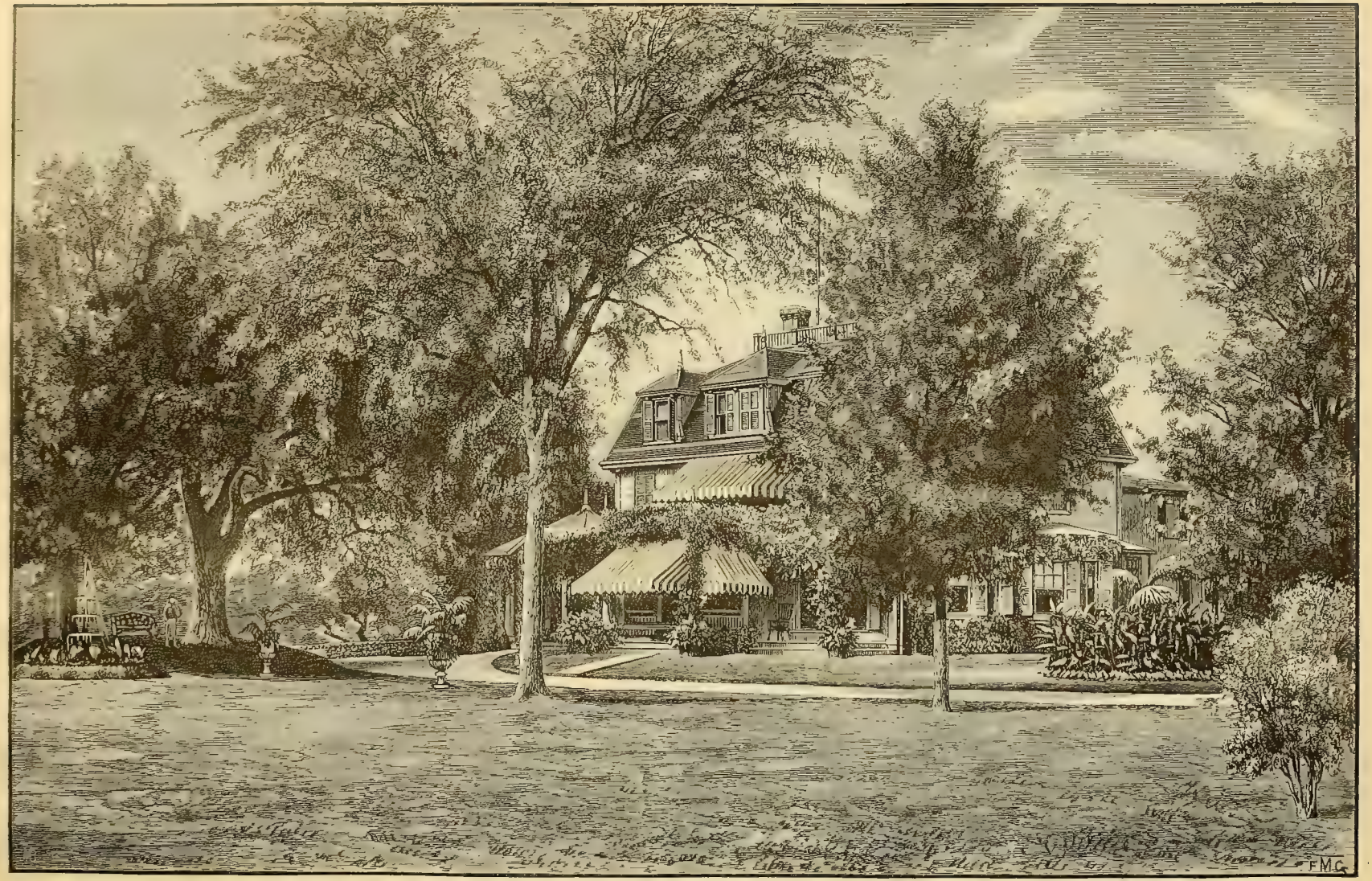
Besides these societies, there are two or three financial clubs among the young men, whose object is the saving and safe investment of their earnings. These organizations are carefully managed and have been eminently successful in their plans.

There are two book clubs, whose object is the taking of papers and magazines for the use of the members. A large number of the leading periodicals of this country and of England are subscribed for and passed from house to house each week, thus bringing within the reach of many families the best reading of the time. Women's clubs for mutual improvement, where books are read and discussed by the members, and lectures upon subjects of literary interest are given, form a striking feature of Lexington society. There are several of these organizations, and an elevating and refining influence goes out from them into many homes.

A male chorus, under the direction of a competent leader, has been maintained for several years, and many fine concerts have been given. The town contains a large amount of musical talent, both instrumental and vocal, and the male chorus has done much to develop it and cultivate an appreciation of good music in the community.

MUNICIPAL STATISTICS.—The assessor's valuation of Lexington for 1889 was $3,193,000, and the amount of tax was $42,000, making a rate of $12.70 on a thousand. Total number of tax-payers was 1233, of whom 498 paid a poll-tax only. The number of dwelling-houses was 590. Number of horses, 549. Number of cows, 1248. Marriages registered during the year, 16; whole number of births, 50; whole number of deaths, 60.

The town holds some important trust funds for charitable objects. Besides that of Cary Library, already noticed, it has a cemetery fund amounting to nearly $3000, for the perpetual care of burial lots in the town burying-grounds; the Bridge fund, founded by Samuel Bridge, amounting to $4000, for the assist-



THE CARY HOMESTEAD,

LEXINGTON, MASSACHUSETTS.



COL. WILLIAM MUNROE.

ance of deserving persons not in the alms-house. Nearly one-half of this fund, however, came from the estate of Mrs. Elizabeth Gerry, daughter of the late Dr. Whitcomb, of this town; there being no relatives near enough to claim it, the State became the legal heir, but, on the petition of people of the town, it was turned over to Lexington, and given to the Bridge fund. The Gammell fund of $500, bequeathed by the late Jonas Gammell, the income to be used for supplying additional comforts for the sick and aged at the alms-house. These funds are in charge of committees appointed for the purpose, and the income is used in accordance with the directions of the donors.

The Old Families of Lexington.—The Bridge family, long numerous, and very prominent, both in municipal and ecclesiastical affairs, is no longer represented by any male descendant of that name. The Bowman family, which, for several generations, occupied a leading position in society, and some of whose members long held the highest offices of the town, has become extinct, and the old homestead has long been in the possession of strangers. The Marrett family, descendants of President Dunster, of Harvard University, from which have sprung noted ministers, lawyers and statesmen, have no representative in Lexington to-day, and nothing but a cellar-hole now marks the place where they lived. The Hastings family has no one representing that name, long honored with the confidence of the people, though the old homestead is owned and occupied by Miss Alice B. Cary, daughter of Maria Hastings Cary, who did so much for the improvement of Lexington. The Tidd family was among the earliest settlers, and, for a long period, maintained an honorable position in the town, and rendered good service to the schools and churches, but it has wholly disappeared, and the house which they occupied for 200 years has fallen to decay. The Chandlers were formerly numerous and influential, both in political and military affairs, but only a very few persons bearing the name now remain among us. Thus, two and a half centuries have witnessed great changes; many families becoming extinct, and the descendants of others removing to the new States and cities of the West, spreading far and wide throughout the country.

Other families of the early inhabitants are still strongly rooted in the soil, though sending out shoots that have become vigorous and fruitful in distant places. Among these are the Munroes, the Cutlers, the Browns, the Reeds, the Harringtons, the Lockes, the Wellingtons, the Muzzys, the Parkers, the Fiskes, the Smiths and others who, in the two centuries and more of our history, have maintained their position in the town, and are still strong in numbers and vigorous in activity.

Many new families have come in during the last twenty-five years to make good the places of those who have disappeared, and the intellectual and moral character of the people has suffered no deterioration by the infusion of new blood into Lexington society; on the contrary, the enterprise of its people, their interest in learning, their concern for the good name of the town, their devotion to its historic associations, their readiness to reach out the helping hand to those in distress, and their fidelity in the support of civil and religious institutions, were never more earnest and hearty than they are to-day. And we may confidently look forward to a future of permanent growth and substantial prosperity. The coming generations are sure to be imbued still more with the spirit of the fathers, and do no discredit to the old historic town.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

COLONEL WILLIAM MUNROE.

Colonel William Munroe was a direct descendant in the fourth generation from the emigrant, William Munroe, who settled in Lexington (then Cambridge Farms) about 1660, and who came to this country from England in 1652. The family was of Scotch origin, and, taking up an extensive tract of land in the eastern portion of the town, where for generations they resided, the district came to be known as Scotland, a name which it retains to this day. Colonel William was born in 1742, and received the name of his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, a name which has been perpetuated in the Lexington family down to the present time, a period of two hundred and thirty years, by men living within a mile of the original settler's home. Much of the land taken up by the first William still remains in the possession of his descendants, showing how firmly rooted the Munroes have been in Lexington soil. Colonel William was orderly sergeant of Captain Parker's company of minute-men. On the evening of the 18th of April, 1775, he was placed in command of a guard of eight men at the house of Parson Clarke to protect Hancock and Adams who were spending the night there. After the alarm of Paul Revere he conducted them to a place of safety about two miles distant and returned in season to form the line of minute-men on the Common before the British attack. He was actively engaged in the subsequent events of the war, at Cambridge on the 17th of June, in the siege of Boston and in the northern army which captured Burgoyne, where he was lieutenant in a Lexington company. After the conclusion of peace he became prominent in town affairs, occupying the position of selectman for nine years and representing Lexington in the Legislature for two years. He was appointed colonel in the Middlesex Militia, and marched his regiment in pursuit of the rebels during Shays' Insurrection. In 1822 Colonel Munroe personated Captain Parker in reacting the

battle of Lexington, forming the line of minute-men where he formed it on that eventful evening forty-seven years before, and using the words of Captain Parker to the men, which are now inscribed on the boulder placed on the spot where he stood.

Colonel Munroe kept the old Munroe tavern, long known and popular as a place of public entertainment. Here General Washington and his attendants were received in November, 1789, while the President was on his northern tour, and provided with a sumptuous dinner. The venerable house still remains in posession of his descendant, William A. Munroe, a grandson, and is little changed from its appearance a century and a half ago. It was used as a hospital by the retreating British army on the 19th of April, after coming within the lines of Percy's reinforcements, and before leaving it they piled up the furniture in the bar-room and set it on fire. Happily our men were able to extinguish the fire before much damage was done.

Colonel Munroe lived to the advanced age of eighty-five years, dying October 30, 1827, and leaving an honorable record of service to his native town and country.

HON. FRANCIS B. HAYES.

Mr. Hayes was a native of South Berwick, Maine, where he was born in 1819, when the State was still a district of Massachusetts. He was the son of Judge Hayes, of the York County Probate Court, a graduate of Dartmouth College and a lawyer of extensive practice in that portion of the State. The family of Judge Hayes consisted of twelve children, six sons and six daughters, all of whom lived to adult age. The mother was the daughter of Hon. John Lord, a family some of whose members were long connected with Dartmouth College. Thus Francis was born and grew up under conditions favorable to literary tastes and social refinement. He attended the academy in his native town, and completed his preparatory studies at Exeter, New Hampshire, entering Harvard at the early age of sixteen and graduating at twenty. He commenced the study of law in his father's office, and after completing the usual course was admitted to the Suffolk County bar of Boston. Here he acquired a reputation for industry and ability in his profession and secured an extensive and lucrative practice before reaching his thirtieth year. Being employed to investigate the affairs of an embarrassed railroad, he was so successful in unraveling its difficulties and placing it in a sound and prosperous condition that his reputation as a sagacious business man was established and he was much sought after in similar cases. Great confidence was placed in his judgment in railroad building and management. Large enterprises, involving the expenditure of many millions, were placed in his hands. He was wonderfully successful in the construction of new roads in the West, and in reorganizing those which had become embarrassed and unremunerative through unwise management. Mr. Hayes became deeply interested in the colonization of Kansas with Free State men when that territory was organized and opened to settlement. He was an active worker in the organization known as the Emigrant Aid Society, which accomplished much in saving that State from the control of slaveholders, and consecrating it to freedom. In 1873 he was elected to the Lower House of the Legislature from Boston, and in the following year to the Upper House. He was instrumental in carrying through a bill for reducing the hours of labor in the factories and shops for women and children to ten hours per day, and other legislation to protect them in manufacturing establishments from overwork and abuse. Mr. Hayes was identified with the Republican party from its organization, and received the nomination for Congress in the caucus of the party for the Fifth District in the election of 1884. He would undoubtedly have been elected had not death snatched him away from the honors that seemed so near.

In his Lexington home Mr. Hayes took great delight and pride. He bought originally a few acres of the old Hancock-Clarke farm and gradually added to it by additional purchases until it became a magnificent estate of more than 400 acres. For twenty years he was buying piece after piece of adjoining land, laying out fields and pastures, planting gardens and orchards, and bringing together there every species of plant, shrub and tree fitted for the soil and climate. He showed fine taste, and he spared no expense in adorning the grounds with whatever is rare and beautiful in nature from every part of the world. Under his care and skill the place became a paradise of gardens, lawns and groves.

For several years and up to the time of his death Mr. Hayes was president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and at its exhibitions his roses, rhododendrons and azaleas won many prizes and much well-deserved admiration.

During the last year of his life he was engaged in erecting a noble mansion built out of the field stone on his estate for his permanent residence in Lexington. This was nearly completed at the time of his death, and is undoubtedly one of the most tasteful and sumptuous dwellings in Massachusetts. His death occurred after a brief illness on the 21st of September, 1884, at the age of sixty-four years. In many ways he was a great benefactor to the town, not the least of which was in opening his extensive and beautiful grounds to the people, thus providing a public park for their instruction and enjoyment.

DAVID HARRINGTON.

The ancestor of the Harrington family in this country appears to have been Robert Harrington, who settled in Watertown about 1642. From his thirteen children have descended branches that are



Francis B. Hayes



"OAKMOUNT."

RESIDENCE OF THE LATE HON. FRANCIS B. HAYES,

LEXINGTON, MASSACHUSETTS



now scattered throughout New England and indeed throughout the United States. When his grandchildren or great-grandchildren, Robert and John, came to Lexington it was impossible to determine; but their names are found upon the town records as early as 1713. They were cousins, and from them have descended a large number of families in this and the adjoining towns. Indeed, the name on the town and church records of Lexington is one of the most numerous of all. Nor is it a name unknown to honorable events and notable characters in the history of the town. Eleven Harringtons were on the roll of Captain Parker's company of minute-men, and two of them, Jonathan and Caleb, were killed in the memorable encounter on the Common, April 19, 1775.

David, the subject of this notice and the son of Solomon, was born in this town January 2, 1790. He married, December 10, 1810, Elizabeth Francis, by whom he had two sons, Sylvester and Charles, and one daughter, Mary, who became the wife of Charles J. Adams, for a long time keeper of the House of Correction at East Cambridge.

"Uncle David," as he was familiarly called, learned the business of dressing furs under the direction and in the employ of Ambrose Morrill, who had an extensive establishment at East Lexington. He became an expert in the preparation of furs for market, and his services were highly prized by his employer. Here about thirty years of his life were passed, and when Mr. Morrill retired from business, "Uncle David" began the manufacture of peat in the Great Meadows, near the village. In the belief that wood in New England was being rapidly exhausted, and that a substitute for it must be found, peat was regarded as an important article for fuel. Accordingly great preparations were made for digging and preparing it for market, and much swamp land was bought up for this object. Happily people's fears proved groundless, and coal ultimately took the place, to a large extent, of both peat and wood. The manufacture of peat was a losing business, and the Great Meadows at East Lexington were finally abandoned to the town of Arlington, for their water-works supply. "Uncle David" and the other proprietors were thus driven out of the old swamp, where for a long period they had been producing this kind of fuel.

David Harrington was well known in Lexington, all through his life, as a man of sterling honesty, and was much respected by his friends and fellow-townsmen. He was gathered to his fathers in a ripe old age, and is still pleasantly remembered in the places that once knew him, but will soon know him no more forever.

CHAPTER XLIX.

STOW.

BY REV. GEORGE F. CLARK.

THE town of Stow is situated in the west part of Middlesex, and adjoins Worcester County. It is about twenty-five miles a little north of west from Boston, and nearly eight south of west from Concord. It was originally noted for two quite conspicuous hills, known as Pompasittacutt and Shabbukin, which are now respectively within the bounds of Maynard and Harvard. There are, however, within its borders, at the present time, four hills from which most charming views can be obtained, viz.: Spindle, Marble, Birch and Pilot Grove, all within about a mile of the centre; and the last, formerly called "Strong Water" Hill, lies northerly, and in close proximity to the centre meeting-house, and is crowned with a cluster of beautiful pines. There is a lesser hill at the south-easterly part of the town known as "Boone's" Hill, taking its name from the first settler who located near it. The principal stream of water is the Assabet River, rising in or near Westboro' and flows through the southerly part of the town, and joins the Sudbury River at Concord. Assabet Brook, sometimes on the old records called "Elzabeth," rises in the northwest part of the town, near the corners of Harvard and Boxboro', and flows southerly around the southern slope of Spindle Hill, thence northerly and easterly, and empties into the Assabet River, near the line of Maynard. Heath Hen Meadow Brook rises in the south part of Boxboro', flows southerly near to the northern slope of Pilot Grove Hill, thence northeasterly into Acton, forming a sort of ox-bow. What was formerly known as "Strong Water" Brook flowed from the northerly side of the little pond at the centre of the town towards South Acton. But many years ago Rev. Mr. Newell dug a trench on the southerly side of the pond and drained its waters into Assabet Brook. The only other natural pond is Boone's, near which the first settlement was made.

There are three villages in the town, viz.: The Centre; another about a mile easterly, called the Lower Village, where the first meeting-house was built; and Rock Bottom, at the southerly part of the town, near the border of Hudson, which is the largest of the three.

By the incorporation of Concord, Sudbury, Marlborough, Lancaster and Groton, there was left in 1660, surrounded by these towns and the Indian plantation of Nashoba, (now Littleton), quite a large tract of land called Pompasittacutt by the Indians. It extended from Sudbury on the east to what is now Lunenburg on the west, and from Groton on the north to Marlborough on the south.

It is now bounded north by Boxboro' and Acton,

east by Maynard and Sudbury, south by Hudson, and west by Bolton and Harvard. Its area is 11,021 acres; valuation in 1885, $955,721. The population in 1880 was 1015. A few years ago it was reported to be the third town in the State relative to healthiness. The Marlborough Branch of the Fitchburg, and the Central Massachusetts Railroad pass through its southern border.

The earliest known settler upon the original territory was Matthew Boone, about 1660, near to Sudbury and Marlborough. He is said to have come from Charlestown. About the middle of February, 1676, he was killed by the Indians, as appears from an inventory of his property taken April 3, 1676. His wife's name was Ann. We have learned nothing more about him. About three years later John Kettell is supposed to have settled in the west part of the town, near Lancaster line, or "Nashaway," as it was originally called. He is believed to have previously resided at Gloucester. There is, however, some doubt as to his identity. There were two men of the same name who were contemporaneous, both of whom were "coopers," and by different writers both have been declared to be the settler at Pompasittacutt. The second of the name was from Charlestown. The evidence, on the whole, seems to favor the man from Gloucester as being the settler. The traditional story of his being killed by the Indians February 10, 1676, appears to have no foundation in point of fact. His wife and two daughters were taken prisoners with Mrs. Rowlandson at that time. While they were captives an Indian sent a letter to John Kettell saying, "Your wife and all your child is all well, and all them prisoners taken at Nashaway is all well." This shows that Kettell was living some time after he is said to have been slain. Furthermore, he died at Salem October 12, 1685, and the inventory of his property was taken November 10, 1685, wherein his farm "near Nashaway of 300 acres" is mentioned. His wife was Elizabeth Allen, of Salem, who married her second husband, Samuel Corning, in 1688.

There were "layed out unto the worshipful Majr Eleazer Lusher," in 1665, 500 acres of land at Pompasittacutt, west of Sudbury, and bounded northerly by what is now Acton. The same year 500 acres more were assigned to Capt. Daniel Gookin, bounded northerly by Nashoba, and southeasterly by what is now Acton. Some three years later, 150 acres were set apart to Richard Heldridge (Hildreth?), bounded northerly by Gookin's land, southeasterly by Acton. Probably about the same time some 200 acres were apportioned to John Alcocke, on or near Assabet River, doubtless just above Rock Bottom, which, June 6, 1671, was confirmed by the General Court to his orphan children. It is presumed that none of these persons ever settled upon their farms. There were doubtless others who had taken up land in this unincorporated territory previous to 1670.

INCORPORATION.—The first direct action looking to the incorporation of Pompasittacutt as a town is embodied in the following petition to the General Court, of John Hayward, George Hayward, John Hayward, Sr., Richard Heldredge, Jos. Lampson, John Law and others, of Concord. They say, "having observed a certaine tract of land environed with the bounds of Concord, Sudbury, Maribury, Lancaster, Groaton and Nashoby, within whitch is certaine farmes . . . whitch we judge may be convenient to make a plantation, wee therefore yor petitionrs request the favour of this honoured Court to appoint some persons to set the bounds of townes and farmes, that thereby yor petitionrs may see what incouragemt they may have to make farther addresses unto this honoured Court for accommodations for themselves, famlyes being at the present much wanting therein." This petition had no date. But the General Court, on the 13th of October, 1669, appointed "Left. Wheeler, of Concord, Deacon John Haynes, of Sudbury, James Parker, of Groaton, John Moore, of Lancaster, & Wm. Kerby, of Marlborou," or any three of them, to view the premises mentioned, and "make report to this Court of the qualitye and quanty thereof, . . . whether it be capable (if the farmes belonged to it) to make a village." On the 12th of May, 1670, George Hayward, Joseph Wheeler, Thomas Wheeler, John Hayward, William Butterick, Sydrack Habgood, Stephen Hall, Joseph Newton, Edmund Wigley and Richard Heldredge, inhabitants of Concord, Chelmsford and Sudbury, sent a petition to the General Court relative to this territory. But it is so mutilated and defaced on the record-book that its full import cannot be stated. It seems to be desired that the land may be granted to them and assistance rendered, probably for the support of a minister, "that the neglect of God's laws may be prevented, & the Gospel of Jesus Christ be preached and encouraged." The committee appointed by the Court reported May 31, 1670, saying they had viewed the land petitioned for, "and find it, by estimation, as followeth, viz.: ten thousand acres of country's land, whereof five hundred acres of it is meadow, the greatest parte of it is very meane land, but wee judge there will be planting land enough to accommodate twenty famelyes; also there is about four thousand acres more of lands that is taken up in farmes whereof about five hundred acres of it is meadow. There is also the Indian plantation of Nashoby, that doeth border on one side of this tract of land, that is exceeding weli meadowed, and they doe make but litle or no use of it." The Court then granted "yt tract of land . . . unto George & John Hayward, Joseph Wheeler, Sydrack Habgood & the rest of the petitioners, wth others that shall joyne to it wth them to make a village, provided that the place be settled wth not lesse than tenn famelyes wth in three years, & that a pious, orthodox and able minister be mainteyned there." Capt. Daniel Gookin, Mr. Thomas Danforth and Mr. Joseph Cooke, or any two of them, were

appointed a committee to order and regulate the settling of the village, in all respects, until further orders. No immediate steps towards a settlement seem to have been taken; but as the Court required that ten families should be settled thereupon within three years, the committee in charge chose, December 4, 1672, another committee "to lay out in the most convenient places Twelve Lotts, containing fifty acres of Land as neare together as may be." The petitioners and their associates were to cast lots for these homesteads, provided they should "be men of good and honest conversations and orthodox in religion . . . and Engage according to their ability to contribute towards the maintenance of a godly minister amongst them, and alsoe doe Setle upon, Build & Improve said Lotts within two years from the beginning of May next," or their lands would be forfeited and assigned to others. These homestead lots were probably soon drawn. But some of those securing lots forfeited them by not complying with the conditions. The proprietors therefore make complaint to the committee in charge, who, April 30, 1675, order that all persons claiming any rights in the Plantation should meet at Cambridge, at the ordinary, on the 17th day of May, at eight o'clock, to make answer for their neglect; and if they did not appear at the time and place they were to be considered as utterly relinquishing their claims. What was done in May we do not know. But June 1, 1675, the committee issue further directions relative to the occupancy of these lots. The alarm caused by the breaking out of King Philip's War stayed further proceedings until the return of peace. How soon the inhabitants returned does not appear. We find no definite record of action until October 4, 1680, when Stephen Hall, Boaz Browne, Samuel Butterick, Ephraim Heldreth, John Butterick and Jonathan Prescott make an agreement with John Hayward, of Boston, who was equally interested with them in the plantation, that he should have a lot of land laid out and secured to him, where he should choose, with a full share of the first division of upland and meadow, he paying his full share of the ministerial charges, etc. From a document dated 1681 we learn that the following persons were owners of the twelve original lots drawn by the proprietors: No. 1 was for the minister; 2, Boaz Browne; 3, Gershom Heale; 4, John Butterick; 5, Ephraim Heldreth; 6, Thomas Stevens; 7, Stephen Hall; 8, Samuel Butterick; 9, Joseph Freeman; 10, Joseph Dawby; 11, Thomas Gates; 12, Sydrack Hapgood. All these except Thomas Stevens, Joseph Freeman, Thomas Gates and Sydrack Hapgood are believed to have come from Concord. Hapgood was killed by the Indians near Brookfield, August 2, 1675, in Philip's War.

These homestead lots were on the northerly and southerly sides of the old road laid out in 1646, between Lancaster and Sudbury, passing by where Francis W. Warren now lives, and over the river beyond the almshouse. The most westerly of these farms was that of Thomas Gates, where Charles A. Whitney now resides, and two of them, belonging to Joseph Dawby and Sydrack Hapgood, were over the river near Sudbury. Besides those having the foundation lots, just named, the following persons had lots granted them at the dates given. Those in *italics* were from Concord: John Wetherby, December 18, 1779; Richard Whitney, Sr., June 3, 1680; *James Wheeler*, April 8, 1681; Moses Whitney, April 8, 1681; Henry Rand, January 13, 1682; *Isaac Heald*, January 13, 1682; *Israel Heald*, March 13, 1682; Benjamin Bosworth, August 7, 1682; Benjamin Crane, December 23, 1682; *Joseph Wheeler*, April 19, 1683; *Jabez Brown*, June 15, 1683; Richard Whitney, Jr., June 15, 1683; Jabez Utter, June 15, 1683; Thomas Stevens, Jr., June 17, 1684; *Boaz Brown, Jr.*, June 17, 1684; *Samuel Hall*, June 17, 1684; *Thomas Daby*, June 17, 1684; Mark Perkins, January 1, 1685; Richard Burke, Sr., March 1, 1685; Roger Willis, March 1, 1685; Thomas Williams, March 1, 1685; Stephen Randell, March 10, 1686.

As the plantation increased in numbers, the inhabitants soon felt able to manage their own affairs; and the court's committee might have desired to be relieved, in some measure, from their supervisory duties, and hence, on the 11th of October, 1681, at the request of several of the proprietors and inhabitants, the committee appointed Thomas Stevens, Boaz Browne, Thomas Gates and Stephen Hall as overseers of the place, with the powers of selectmen, subject, however, to instructions from the court's committee. The following year the population had so increased that it was deemed advisable to have a record of the proceedings kept. And on the 24th of April, 1682, the committee appointed John Hayward, of Boston, scrivener, town clerk, to record all orders of the General Court and committee referring to the plantation; and all persons concerned were to bring to Mr. Hayward all orders and grants to be recorded. The committee also ordered, with the general consent of the inhabitants, that each one should contribute towards all public charges in proportion to the number of acres allotted them, and that no second division of lands should be made until forty lots had been settled upon, and no person was to have more than fifty acres of upland and fifteen of meadow. It was also ordered that as Mr. John Hayward had been at considerable expense in obtaining the grant of land, he should be abated the charges that would arise for the coming seven years, excepting those for the minister and the meeting-house, on condition that he keep the register of the town until further orders.

Prosperity seems to have attended the plantation, and the people became anxious to manage their own affairs, and take their place among the towns of the Colony, and that the clerk of the proprietors should be a resident of the plantation. Therefore they bring the matter before the court's committee,

who, on the 9th of April, 1683, chose Mr. Thomas Stevens clerk, and Mr. Hayward's record-book was to be delivered to him. The inhabitants were also directed to meet and choose five selectmen and a constable to order and manage their town affairs for the ensuing year.

The people were ready and abundantly willing to obey the order of the committee, and on the 19th of April they met and chose Sergeant Benjamin Bosworth, Thomas Stevens, Stephen Hall, Boaz Browne and Joseph Freeman, selectmen, and Thomas Gates, constable. As Thomas Stevens had been previously appointed town clerk, it was deemed unnecessary to choose another. Subsequently the selectmen appointed John Wetherby and Gershom Heald, tithingmen. The preliminary steps towards the organization of the town having been taken, and as the General Court was soon to assemble, it was decided to make immediate application to them, through the committee, for an act of incorporation. Early in May a consultation was held and a petition was prepared and forwarded to the prudential committee, and Benjamin Bosworth and Stephen Hall were empowered to present it. The document is quite long and refers to many matters. Among other things they say, "We are sensable enough of o^{r} want of yo^{r} wisdom to help advise us, & are sory y^{t} aneything of o^{r} weeknesse should seem to discoridg you, and looking upon o^{r}selves something to yong to be cast of . . . wee doe in all humility returne yo^{r} Hono^{ros} all possible thankfulness wee are able for all yo^{r} care & time & paines bestowed upon us, . . . & whereas many things lye upon us & presseth us hard, by sundry Knotts y^{t} remaine yett to bee untied, & many great Disburst^{mts}, . . . about settling an able & pious minister & other Church work relating thereto, making bridges & other unavoidable heavye secular matters y^{t} will sorely pinch a poore people in soe yong a plantation where they can not yet raise competent, ordenary food & Raym^{nt}, our prayer is that wee, yo^{r} poore petitioners, might have accesse unto you for advise in some emergencies & y^{t} yo^{r} Hono^{re} will please still to patronize us so ffarr as to bee a means by y^{e} Hon^{red} Gen^{ll} Court at their next sessions to free us from Country publick Charges & Rates a while Longer till wee becom more Tollerably able to doe o^{r} duty therein, in o^{r} measure as all other Towns in this jurisdiction are, & y^{t} you will not please wholly to cast us of till you have alsoe procured for this plantation some suitable, comly English name."

The General Court, satisfied that the people could act for themselves, on the first day of the session, May 16, 1683, old style, or May 26th, new style, decreed that the place should become a town, and allowed the choice already made of selectmen and constable, etc., and gave the name of *Stow* to the new town, and freed the inhabitants from the country rates for the next three years. We have no record of any public celebration of the event by the people, though they doubtless rejoiced that they were of age to act for themselves.

INDIANS.—There is no doubt that Indians frequented the territory of Pompasittacutt, and that some of them laid claim to lands within its bounds. Indian arrow-heads and hatchets have been found in different localities. Soon after the incorporation of the town it was decided to extinguish, if possible, all the Indian claims to land. Hence, December 26, 1683, the town "ordered yt Stephen Hall & Boaz Brown, who have Treated with Benn Bowhugh or Piphuh, Indian, in deferance to ye purchasing of all his Rights in lands, meadowes, swomps lying within this plantation, and have agreed with him, are ordered and Impowered by ye Town to Ishue yt matter in ye Town's behalf. The purchase and other charges to bee defrayed by ye proprietors." It was further ordered "yt ye above^{sd} Stephen Hall and Boaz Brown shall Indever to find out all those Indians yt pretend to any right of land in this plantation, & to treat with them" relative to the purchase of their rights. A rate of four pounds was made to pay Benn Bowhugh for his lands. In the following February a five-pound rate was made "to pay for y^{e} Lands purchased of James Speene, Ben Piphue and y^{e} rest y^{t} clame a right to lands in Pompasittacutt, . . . the whole purchase being Tenn pounds." March 6, 1703–04, a committee was appointed "to Defend our land purchased of Benn Bohow, Lying on y^{e} south side of y^{e} River . . . against any persons that may pretend to have rights in y^{e} lands." It does not appear what was the result, nor do we know what was the fate of "James Speene and Benn Bohugh." But, February 8, 1715–16, it was voted to sell "the Indian planting land" upon the river below Zebediah Wheeler's.

During King Philip's War the hills and swamps of Pompasittacutt were doubtless the rendezvous of his warriors when about to make a raid upon Sudbury or other neighboring places. Tradition—a very unreliable authority—says that the Indians held a consultation upon Pompasittacutt Hill, overlooking Concord and Sudbury, as to which of the towns they should attack. One of the chiefs said: "We no prosper if we go to Concord. The Great Spirit love that people. He tells us not to go. They have a great man there. He great pray." This was an allusion to Rev. Mr. Bulkley, the minister of the town, who seems to have been known to the Indians as a distinguished man, and they feared his influence with the "Great Spirit." Hence Concord was spared and Sudbury suffered.

ECCLESIASTICAL.—The first settlers of the town, like most of those who peopled the State, were pious men and women who believed in the abiding presence of an Almighty Ruler of the universe, to whom they were even more accountable than to the civil magistrate. Hence they deemed it all-important to provide for the stated worship of God, that their children might "enjoy the means of grace." We have seen

that it was required of those to whom land was allotted, that they should be of "good and honest conversations and orthodox in religion." Every precaution possible was taken to exclude from the settlement all who were heedless violators of the laws of God and man. Being thus of good repute, the inhabitants, as soon as the management of all matters came into their hands in a corporate capacity, began to look around for an able and pious minister of the Gospel. Doubtless there had been occasional preaching, perhaps by the Concord minister, before the town was incorporated. Be this as it may, on the 20th of June, about six weeks after they were made a town, a five-pounds tax was voted to defray the minister's charges for what had been already expended, and also for Mr. Green, who had "given some encouragement to be helpful to us on ye Lord's days as his ocations may pr mitt." The rate was to be paid a quarter part in money, and three-quarters in such corn or other grain or provisions that would be acceptable to Goodman Hall for what was past and for the future.

This "Mr. Green" was undoubtedly Percival Green (H. C. 1680), son of John and Ruth (Mitchelson) Green, of Cambridge. He preached for a time in Wells, Me., in 1683, but died July 10, 1684, aged twenty-five years. He was never ordained, and could have preached in town only a short time. Nearly two years elapse before any reference is made to another minister. A rate was made "June 5, 1685, to pay what ye town are indebted to Mr. Parris for his pains amongst us." He was not, probably, invited to settle, for on the 21st of August, following, it was voted that Mr. Parris should have fifteen shillings for every Lord's day he had preached, except the first three days, and a tax was made and ordered to be collected and forthwith paid to Mr. Parris, who probably soon after left town. This was Rev. Samuel Parris, who afterwards took a very conspicuous part in the Salem witchcraft delusion. In the latter part of 1685 Mr. James Minot (H. C. 1675) commenced preaching. He seems to have supplied for about one year. At first he was paid 12*s.* and 6*d.* per Sunday in money, and a contribution was to be taken up every Lord's day. It was voted in July, 1686, to pay him ten pounds per quarter, half money and half corn and other provisions, or all in money, if he would accept the same salary as he had been previously paid. Mr. Minot belonged to Concord. There were, at this time, only thirty-seven ratable polls or estates in town.

John Butterick and Gershom Heald were directed, November 7, 1686, to go to Lancaster "to discorse with Mr. William Woodrop, to give him a solemn invitation to come and dwell and settle with them, and to ascertain his terms," etc. Mr. Woodrop forthwith came and preached one Sunday. Negotiations were then opened with him, and he came into the meeting and promised "to dwell and settle in town, . . . judging ye call and unanemouse concurrance of ye people to be a call from God." The town then voted to pay him forty pounds, half money and half corn and grain. A committee was chosen December 13, 1686, to report in writing what it was expedient to be done relative to the full settlement of Mr. Woodrop. The next day they report in favor of building with all speed a frame dwelling-house. They desired it to be of such a character that he could invite his wife to come from her English home and abide with him.[1] A few days later the selectmen were directed to make a written contract with Mr. Woodrop, to be signed by each party to prevent future mistakes—a very wise measure. But a sad disappointment awaited the people. About the middle of March following, Mr. Woodrop informed the town that his wife would not come to him, and hence he "concluded his call was to go to her!" Strong efforts were made to induce him to remain, but without success. He preached only a few weeks longer, and, about the 12th of July, he sailed for England, having relinquished all claims to the ministerial land.

Though disappointed at the turn of affairs, the inhabitants were not discouraged. On the 30th of May, 1687, a committee was chosen to go to Concord to induce, if possible, Mr. Minot, a former preacher, to accept a call. If he would not come, then they were to speak with Mr. Mitchel, at Cambridge, and if he refused they were to apply to young Mr. Whiting, of Billerica. But all these men declined. Soon, however, another candidate was found, and, August 8th, a rate was ordered to pay "Mr. Overton, minister," for three months. With the hope of securing him as a pastor, another attempt was soon made to build a parsonage, and have it completed in about three weeks. But as this was not done, Mr. Overton called the attention of the town to this fact. Hence, October 24, 1687, a committee was chosen to oversee the matter. Directions were given about the dimensions of the house, which was to be finished by the 1st of April, 1688. Two of the committee, from some cause, withdrew, and the other member was empowered to go on with the work. The house was erected, but either before or soon after Mr. Overton concluded to remove from town. Whence he came or whither he went is unknown. Yet these men of "good and honest conversations" still persisted in their search for a minister. In the process of a year or more a new candidate appears. His name was John Winborne. He was given a unanimous call, and had accepted t previous to August 19, 1689, for on that day a long agreement with him was concluded. The substance of it was that his salary should be forty pounds yearly, "ten pounds in money, ten pounds as money, and

[1] The house was to be "26 or 27 feete long (8 or 9 foote thereof to bee for ye chimnies), ye roome left to bee 18 foote square at least, two fireplaces to be below in ye chimney and one hearth in ye Chamber, a leanto to bee ye breadth of ye frame afforesd at ye Chimney end of ye house, to be carried out at ye cills 10 or 11 foot from ye chimney, with a Seller under ye said house."

twenty pounds in pay." He was to have all the lands allotted to the ministry, and the dwelling-house erected thereon, and other lands specified, while he should remain the minister "and live and Dye amongst them in ye work of ye ministry, except upon some special and unexpected and unavoidable providence of God." But after the expiration of five years, if he still remained, the lands and dwelling-house were to be confirmed to him and his heirs forever. If, however, he did not remain five years, the whole ministry lot, etc., was to revert to the town. If his wife should become a widow within five years she was to have the use of one end of the house for two years. Thus all things were arranged for his permanent residence in town. In about six years, however, some difficulties arose, say the records, "from himself and family which have been matter of great offence at home, besides ye noises and scandall abroad." A meeting was held June 24, 1695, and Mr. Winborne was summoned to attend, but he refused to do so, and is supposed to have soon left town. What was the trouble does not clearly appear. Though preaching for about six years, Mr. Winborne seems never to have been formally settled, nor was any church organized during his ministry. As he had remained more than five years after the terms of his settlement were concluded, he claimed the parsonage and ministry lot as his property. The town thought differently. Accordingly, December 14, 1696, a committee was chosen to demand a peaceable possession of the premises, and if this was denied they were to appeal to the courts. But holding the fort, Mr. Winborne refused to surrender. A lawsuit followed, and it is believed Mr. Winborne won the case, as the town seems afterwards to have purchased the property.

Once more the pulpit is vacant, and no active measures seem to have been taken to procure a preacher until late in the autumn after Mr. Winborne left. Towards the end of December, after one or two ineffectual attempts to supply the pulpit, application was again made to Mr. Minot, of Concord, to be helpful to them on the Lord's day, but he declined. Mr. John Woodward (H. C. 1693), of Dedham, was soon engaged. Having preached one Sunday, a committee of the town, Jan. 27, 1695–96, made overtures to him to occupy the pulpit for some months, and were willing to give him at the rate of £35 per year, although they were in very straitened circumstances. It is supposed that Mr. Woodward supplied the pulpit during the winter. He was not anxious to remain long, but the people were unwilling to give him up. Therefore on the 13th of April, 1696, messengers were sent to Dedham to urge him to return. But in case he refused they were to ask Mr. Mors, of Dedham, to occupy the pulpit. Mr. Woodward declined to come back. July 11, 1696, Mr. Joseph Mors (H. C. 1695) was called to be their minister. He came and preached for some time, but gave no answer to the call. After waiting six months he was again invited to settle, in consequence of the satisfaction he had generally given. This unanimous call did not meet with a favorable response.

Failing to secure the services of Mr. Mors, it was ascertained that a former preacher, Rev. Samuel Parris, was disengaged and might perhaps be glad to return to town. Accordingly, Nov. 29, 1697, he was unanimously requested to become helpful to them in preaching the word of God. It was decided to pay him £40 a year, if he would not take less. He is supposed to have wanted more. The people plead poverty, but are anxious to have him come, and therefore ask the General Court for help. In answer to this request the Court gave them £10 out of the public treasury towards the support of the ministry. This grant of money induced Mr. Parris to be "helpful," and his salary was fixed at £40 per year. But at the close of the year he desired an increase of pay. The town, however, did not agree to all his terms, and he doubtless left in the winter of 1668–69.

Another effort was then made to secure a resident minister. And for the third time they invite, March 27, 1699, Mr. Joseph Mors "to y^e^ worke of y^e^ ministry," but being elsewhere engaged he could not come.

It is a little uncertain at what time the next candidate for the vacant pulpit made his appearance. Most likely soon after the declination of Mr. Mors. At any rate under the date of July 24, 1689, it was "Voted and unanimously Concluded to give Mr. John Eveleth an invitation & Call to y^e^ work of the ministry in this Towne." It was also decided that he should have the use of the parsonage and ministerial lands, if he should "settle in Towne & Cary on y^e^ work of y^e^ ministry & Live & Dye with ym, then he should have and enjoy a fifty-acre Lott; which shall be his & his heires forever." His salary was to be forty pounds per annum, twenty pounds every six months, half money and half corn and other provisions, and five pounds more in firewood. It is uncertain when Mr. Eveleth accepted the call. Probably not for a year or more, and yet he continued to supply the pulpit, and some meetings were held relative to his settlement. A committee was chosen May 13, 1700, to draw up a covenant or agreement between the town and Mr. Eveleth, which was subsequently signed by him and the following citizens:

"Thomas Stevens, Abraham Holman, Richard Whitney, Senr., Tho. Foster, Jno. Wetherby, Senr., Jno. Wetherby, junr., Isaac Gates, Stephen Randall, Nathaniel Gates, Jonathan Farr, Thomas Daby, Boaz Browne, Richard Burke, Henry Rand, Jabez Brown, Mark Perkins, Simon Gates, John Holmes, Thomas Whitney, Nathaniel Hapgood, Jonathan Foster, Richard Whitney, junr., Jacob Stevens, John Stevens Samuel Hall, Edw. Browne, Isaac Heald, John Whiticur, Moses Whitney, Stephen Farr, John Gates, Ebenezer Whitney.

"In testimony of my Complyance with ye offeres of ye inhabitants of Stow, in ye above written Covenant, & of my obligations to serve them as God shall enable me, I have here set my hand.

"JOHN EVELETH."

By this agreement, Mr. Eveleth was to have £40 a year in money and thirty cords of wood, and some

assistance in the way of work upon his buildings and land. Months go and come and no formal settlement of the minister takes place, though he still resides in town and occupies the pulpit. But on the 1st of September, 1702, it was voted to keep a general fast (Mr. Eveleth was to appoint the day with two of the neighboring elders), which was in reference to the installation of the minister. Joseph Daby, Thomas Daby, Boaz Browne, Edw. Browne and Israel Heald were appointed to provide for the installation in all respects. About this time it occurred to the people that if they had an additional tract of land they would be better able to meet public charges, and especially would be encouraged about settling a minister. Therefore they ask the General Court, Oct. 12, 1702, to grant them the Indian plantation of Nashoba (now Littleton), as they already had "but a pent-up small Tract of Land and vary Little meadow." The representatives said yes to the petition, but the Council voted no; so the project failed and the town wisely concluded to go forward without the help of the General Court. In 1753 the town had a lawsuit with Littleton, relative to the bounds in which they appear to have been beaten, at a cost of over £55. In reference to the "ordination," as it was called, the town voted, Nov. 9, 1702, to provide for it "by a free contribution and voluntary subscriptions," which was done. But at what time the pastor was inducted into office, or who took part in the interesting services, is unknown. The installation, however, is believed to have occurred about the 1st of December, 1702. Thus, after years of patient effort, a permanent preacher was secured. It is uncertain whether the church was organized at the time of the installation. Mr. Eveleth either kept no records, or they are lost. Rev. Mr. Gardner, the successor of Mr. Eveleth, writing in 1767, said the gathering of the church was three or four years after the call of Mr. Eveleth, and that the number of members was about eleven.

The pastor being settled and the church organized, there is not much to record for some time. About fifteen years after his settlement it was whispered around that the minister's conduct was not altogether becoming his position as a moral and religious teacher. Finally the advice of a council of ministers was sought. They gave some directions in the matter, but we know not their import. The trouble, however, seems not to have been allayed, and a meeting was held November 14, 1717, "to consider what steps to take in reference to Mr. Eveleth's miscarriage of late amongst us." It was then voted "to stand to the 5th article in the minister's or counsel's result." A committee was chosen "to treat with Mr. Eveleth concerning the premises." Subsequently this committee were ordered to apply to some neighboring minister for advice "at this difficult time." Somewhat later a second council of ministers was called in reference to the pastor's "miscarriage." This council met previous to January 6, 1717–18, and advised the dissolution of the pastoral relations. Tradition says the "miscarriage" of the minister was intemperance. He, however, whatever was the nature of his offence, reformed and became a useful man. The records of July 28, 1719, say: "Mr. John Eveleth, upon manifestation of repentance, was restored to church fellowship and communion." In 1719 he taught school in town. There was some trouble with him about the parsonage, etc., and he was notified not to make any improvement upon the land and to surrender up the house and barn. But he did not vacate the premises, as was desired, though he was offered sixty pounds if he would do so. The matter, however, seems finally to have been amicably settled. Mr. Eveleth was born February 18, 1669–70, and was the son of Joseph Eveleth, of Gloucester. He graduated at Harvard College in 1689, and was ordained at Manchester, October 1, 1693, and was dismissed from the society there in 1695. He was subsequently, for a time before coming to Stow, a preacher at Enfield, Conn. He married, December 2, 1692, Mary, daughter of Francis Bowman, of Cambridge. After leaving Stow he preached at Arundel, and other places in Maine. He was at Arundel about nine years. The people were unwilling to have him leave, "as he was not only their minister and school-master, but a good blacksmith and farmer, and the best fisherman in town." He died August 1, 1734, aged nearly sixty-five years, and was buried in Kittery, Me. His wife died at Stow, December 2, 1747, aged seventy-five. She probably did not live with him after he left town. After leaving Arundel he is said to have become an Episcopal minister at Kittery.

The town, being without a minister, chose a committee January 6, 1717–18, to procure a candidate. On the 17th of June following, Mr. John Gardner was called "to carry on the worke of the ministry." He was to have one hundred pounds in land as a settlement, and a yearly salary of seventy pounds for five years, and then seventy-five pounds, and then to add twenty shillings a year until it reached eighty pounds, which, thereafter, was to be his stated salary, to be paid in semi-annual installments. Mr. Gardner bought the ministerial lot for 150 pounds. All the preliminaries being arranged, preparations were made for the ordination, and on the 26th of November, 1718, the pastor-elect was inducted into office, but there is no record of the services. The church at that time "consisted of fifteen males and about the same number of females." Mr. Gardner says the ordaining council "advised us to covenant anew, the foundation covenant being lost." But this new covenant is lost to us, and no one can tell what has become of it. Most of the early covenants were not so much a statement of belief as a sort of bond of union between the members

Mr. Gardner's ministry, on the whole, seems to have been peaceful and prosperous. During the latter part of his pastorate he was much enfeebled by

age and disease, so that he could not preach regularly. He was willing to have a colleague, and several candidates were heard, but for two or three years there was no unanimity of feeling or agreement upon a successor. At length, however, a candidate was chosen, and Mr. Gardner was able to take part in his ordination, but he died almost exactly three months from the day his colleague was settled, viz., January 10, 1775, in his eightieth year, and in the fifty-eighth of his pastorate.

Rev. John Gardner, son of ~~John~~ Henry and Elizabeth Gardner, of Charlestown, was born July 22, 1696, and graduated from Harvard College in 1715. He was strongly opposed to the Whitfieldian movement about 1740. He is represented as being very stern in his demeanor, so that the children greatly feared him; yet he was "a gentleman of good intellectual abilities, . . . sound in his principles of religion . . . and very faithful in the discharge of his pastoral office." He married, April 14, 1720, Mary, the eldest daughter of Rev. Joseph Baxter, of Medfield, when she was only nineteen years old. She died December 30, 1784, in the eighty-fourth year of her age. During Mr. Gardner's ministry 209 persons joined the church, and 1346 were baptized.

The seating of the meeting-house seems at times to have occupied the attention of the town, and December 5, 1722, it was "voted that in seating the meeting-house there should be respect to age and to what persons paid towards building the house, and to the minister for the present year." Other similar votes were taken in the course of years. Even as late as May 14, 1790, a committee report where certain persons not owning pews should be seated as follows:

The fore seat below.—Mr. John Randall, William Whitcomb, James Davidson, Bezeleel Hale, Benjamin Whitcomb, William Withington, Stephen How, Asa Warren, Zachariah Whitman, Oliver Gates, Francis Eveleth, Elisha Gates, John Eveleth, Thomas Wetherbee, Silas Randall, Benjamin Smith, Elizabeth Baley, Mary Gates, Mary Hale, Elizabeth Hall, Deborah Gates, Sarah Conant, Martha Skinner, Sibbel Whitney.

Second seat below.—Jabez Brown, David Jewell, Elias Whitney, Samuel Goodnow, Frederick Walcutt, John Davidson, Daniel Conant, Abel Taylor, Benjamin Monroe, Joshua Brown, Joseph Wetherbee, Abner Ray, Josiah Witt.

Fore seat front.—Abraham Randall, Josiah Brown, Abijah Warren, Nathan Putnam, Thomas Whitman, Judah Wetherbee, Josiah Randall, William Walcutt, Charles Hale, Samuel Hapgood, John Patch, Ephraim Wetherbee, Bezeleel Hale.

Fore seat side.—Jacob Whitney, Jonas Hale, Hezekiah Hapgood, James Osborn, Oliver Gates, Jr., Jonathan Gates, Augustus Cooledge, George Davidson, John Conant, Peter Conant, Asa Putnam, Ichabod Stow, Simeon Whitcomb, Abraham Whitcomb, Daniel Hooker, Oliver Marble, Hezekiah Whitcomb, Daniel Eveleth, Samuel Jewell, Israel Gates, Benjamin Brown, Isaac Whitcomb, Thomas Gates, Silas Cooledge, John Gates, Jr., Hezekiah Whitney, David Rand.

The third seat below.—Samuel Osborn, William Maxwell, Isaac Brown, Ephraim Wheeler, Simon Puffer, Timothy Taylor, Samuel Withington, Charles Brown, Israel Robbins, Phineas Taylor, Henry Cooledge, Henry Smith, Benjamin Clark.

The second seat front.—John Witt, Isaac Conant, William Morse, Israel Hale, Ephraim Hale, Benjamin Withington, Ezekiel Gates, Josiah Conant, John Hayward, Jr., Lemuel Whitney, Silas Witt, Eliab Goodnow.

The second seat side.—Abraham Ray, Samuel Sargent, Jr., Isaac Taylor, Jacob Soper, Josiah Brown, Jr., Luke Brown, Augustus Tower, Jonas Hastings, Silas Brooks, Amos Brooks, David Osborn, Daniel Brown, Caleb Gates, Thomas Burgess, William Brown, Thaddeus Goodnow, Gustin Taylor, Jonas Taylor, Silas Whitcomb, Darius Whitcomb, Jonathan Walcutt, Jacob Gates, Levi Stearns, Ephraim Taylor, Israel Taylor, Simeon Hayward, Abram Conant, Abel Brown, Charles Gates.

In May, 1773, it was voted that the women's seats in the body seats be cleared of the singers, but no "further provision of seats for the singers" was made.

Mr. Gardner having signified his willingness to receive a colleague, measures were taken to secure one.

But it was found very difficult to decide upon candidates. The town held two meetings within one week in October, 1773, relative to the matter, yet such was the excitement that nothing was done. Mr. John Marrett (Harvard College, 1763) was a favorite candidate with many; and November 29, 1773, the church, with only one dissenting voice, voted to give him a call. The town, however, December 20th, did not concur with the church, and voted not to hire preaching. But as the minister could not be settled without the votes of both parties, Mr. Marrett left and was subsequently settled at what is now Burlington. When Hancock and Adams left Lexington, on the morning of April 19, 1775, they were conducted to Mr. Marrett's boarding-house, and by him were guided to a place of safety near the Billerica line.

At their meeting March 4, 1774, the town concluded to have preaching again and chose a committee to attend to that matter. March 13th, Mr. Jonathan Newell preached his first sermon, as a candidate. Having preached six or eight Sundays, the church, on the 13th of June, invited him to settle, and on the 20th the town, by a very great majority, voted to concur with the church in the invitation to Mr. Newell to be the joint pastor with Mr. Gardner. He was to have 160 pounds as an encouragement to settle, and his yearly salary was to be fifty-three pounds, six shillings and eight pence during the life-time of Mr. Gardner. It was then to be increased to eighty pounds, to be paid to him annually while he should continue in the work of the ministry; but when he should be, by sickness or age, or otherwise, unable to supply the pulpit, then his salary should be only forty pounds annually so long as he should live in the ministry. Mr. Newell's acceptance of the call was read to the church September 11, 1774. On the 26th of the month the town voted to have "the proposed ordination of Mr. Newell observed as private as possible, agreeable to the vote of the church." Henry Gardner, Jonathan Wood and Deacon Samuel Gates were chosen to carry forward the ordination when they think proper, and to consult with Mr. Newell about the same. Colonel Jonathan Wood was requested to entertain the ordination council, and he was to be paid six pounds for so doing. The ordination took place on Tuesday October 11, 1774. Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Harvard, began with prayer; Rev. Samuel West, of Needham, preached the sermon. Rev. Mr. Gardner, of Stow, gave the charge; Rev. Mr. Swift, of Acton, gave the right hand of fellowship.

During the long ministry of Mr. Newell harmony and good will generally prevailed. On the one hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of the town he preached an occasional and interesting sermon, which was printed; yet it does not contain so much historical matter as we of this day should have desired. Fifty years from the date of his settlement he preached a sermon commemorative of that event, which was also printed. During his ministry at one time the dogs became somewhat troublesome at church, and a committee was chosen, April 4, 1796, to take care of the dogs that come to meeting on Sunday, and also to kill all "that come into the meeting-house on the Sabbath Day, if they can't keep them off without."

As the infirmities of age grew on apace, Mr. Newell, in June, 1828, proposed to relinquish one-half of his salary if the town would secure an assistant. This proposition was accepted on the 1st of September following. But three months later Mr. Newell, "on account of his declining health and increasing infirmities," asked the town "to immediately provide a preacher, agreeing to relinquish all further support as a minister." On the 22d of December, 1828, the town acceded to his request, and "voted that the inhabitants of the town and parish will hold in lasting remembrance and veneration the Rev. Mr. Newell, their pastor, for the deep interest which, during his long ministry among them, he has ever manifested in their behalf, collectively and individually; that in his late voluntary relinquishment of salary they recognize a fatherly and anxious concern that a colleague and successor may be selected and settled while he yet lives and can aid them by advice and example." A colleague was soon settled. After relinquishing the charge of the pulpit Mr. Newell lived nearly two years, dying on the morning of October 4, 1830, lacking but one week of fifty-six years from his ordination, at the age of almost eighty-one years.

Rev. Jonathan Newell was born at Needham, December 13, 1749, old style, or December 24th, new style. He fitted for college at Hatfield, and graduated from Harvard College in 1770. He studied theology with his pastor, Dr. West, of Needham, and commenced preaching in the autumn of 1773. We are told that he "was a man of a strong mind, of sound judgment, exceedingly well acquainted with human nature, benevolent and generous to the poor, almost to profuseness. He had a great deal of shrewdness and of wit. . . His passions were naturally very strong, but he kept them under control. . . His whole ministry was marked with consummate prudence." "His conduct was that of a gentleman to everybody. He was a very social companion and was universally beloved. He was remarkably fond of mechanical studies." He invented a machine for cutting nails, which proved a great success. "He was a large and well-proportioned man, and when fifty years old is said to have carried ninety-four bricks in a hod, at one time, to the top of his two-story house." At his request no funeral sermon was preached, and none but the relatives followed the body to the grave. He married, November 24, 1774, Miss Sarah Fisk, of Watertown, and there was great rejoicing when he and his bride arrived in town; but in less than two years their joy was turned to mourning, for she "passed on" from earth September 14, 1776, aged about twenty-five years. The town greatly sorrowed at her departure. "Her singular good temper and courteous conduct endeared her to all." Mr. Newell remained a widower a little more than five years. Exactly seven years from the day of his ordination, or October 11, 1781, he married Miss Lucy Rogers, daughter of Rev. Daniel Rogers, of Littleton. She survived him more than fifteen years, and died May 26, 1846, aged ninety years. During Mr. Newell's ministry 140 persons were admitted to the church, about 1100 were baptized, and 337 couples were married by him.

Rev. John Langdon Sibley, having preached a few Sundays, was, on the 16th of February, 1829, invited to become the minister of the town. He was offered $500 as a settlement and a yearly salary of $600, with twelve cords of oak or walnut wood yearly. The call was accepted April 1, 1829, and he was ordained on the 14th of May following. The introductory prayer and the reading of the Scriptures were by Rev. Mr. Robinson; sermon, by Rev. Dr. Lowell, of Boston; ordaining prayer, by Rev. Dr. Ripley; charge, by Rev. Mr. Newell; right hand, by Rev. Mr. Emerson; address to society, by Rev. Dr. Harris; concluding prayer, by Rev. Mr. White. Dr. Lowell's sermon was printed. At the close of the services the council dined at the house of Francis Conant.

Mr. Sibley's ministry was of short duration. Soon after his ordination a Universalist Society was formed, and some persons holding Trinitarian views withdrew from his support. Religious convictions were forming anew. Seeing the drift of affairs, the pastor, on the 31st of March, 1831, sent in his resignation, but it was not accepted. The people still being divided in sentiment, he renewed his resignntion in February, 1833, and it was accepted by the town March 18th, to take effect on the 1st of April. Rev. Mr. Sibley was born December 29, 1804, at Union, Me. He fitted for college at Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H., and graduated from Harvard College in 1825. After leaving Stow he preached but little. He subsequently became assistant librarian of Harvard College, and afterwards librarian. He was the editor of the *Triennial Catalogue* for several years, and published three volumes of biographical sketches of the early graduates of his *alma mater*, and was a large benefactor of Phillips Exeter Academy. He married, May 20, 1866, Charlotte Augusta Langdon Cook, and died at Cambridge December 9, 1885.

He was the last minister settled and supported by the town. In the latter part of the year the First Parish was organized, embracing all who had not withdrawn from the old church, who were known as

Unitarians. But things were still in a somewhat unsettled condition, yet preaching was maintained for a considerable part of the time. Different ministers supplied the pulpit for some years, among whom was Rev. Seth Alden, Rev. Jonathan Farr, Rev. Matthew Harding, an Englishman, and probably some others whose names are unknown.

Rev. William Homans Kingsley was installed as pastor December 25, 1839. He continued in office until the last Sunday of March, 1846. He was born at East Bridgewater May 3, 1809. He had previously preached at Ipswich, Mass., and at Hubbardston. He subsequently preached at Mansfield and Mendon, and died at the latter place, September 7, 1851.

Rev. Reuben Bates (H. C., 1829) was installed June 18, 1846, and, on account of ill health, closed his ministry October 3, 1859. He was born at Concord March 28, 1809, and had previously been settled at Ipswich, N. H., and Ashby, Mass. He died December 1, 1862. After his retirement various candidates supplied the pulpit until January 20, 1862, when Rev. George F. Clark was invited to become the pastor. The parochial year commenced March 1st. He was installed April 23d of that year, and closed his ministry on the 10th of March, 1867.

The subsequent pastors of the First Parish have been Revs. Frederick W. Webber, John F. Locke, David P. Muzzy, Thomas Weston and J. Sidney Moulton.

The first Sunday-school of the parish was organized during Mr. Sibley's ministry, June 6, 1830, and Jacob Caldwell, the preceptor of the academy, was chosen superintendent. About 125 children were connected with the school during the first year of its existence.

Universalists.—About 1830 a Universalist Society was formed and lived some twenty years, but never had a settled minister, and had preaching only a part of the time. They were granted the use of the meeting-house a portion of each year, according to the amount of money they paid.

Orthodox.—The Evangelical Church was organized May 11, 1839. It was composed of twenty-one members—six males and fifteen females. It was, indeed, an offshoot of the "Hillside Church," formed at Bolton in 1829. Rev. E. Porter Dyer was ordained pastor September 25, 1839. A chapel, for the use of the society, was built in 1840, and dedicated July 8th of that year. Rev. Mr. Dyer was dismissed January 29, 1846, and Rev. Theodore Cooke was ordained June 9, 1847. On the 1st of April, 1851, the place of worship was transferred from the centre of the town to Union Hall, in Rock Bottom Village. Several prominent members, however, withdrew in 1852, to help form a church at Assabet Village (now Maynard). This and other causes so weakened the society that it ceased to exist in the course of a year or two. The pastoral relations of Rev. Mr. Cooke were dissolved May 2, 1853. The chapel was sold some fifteen years later and removed from town.

Methodists.—The Methodist Church of Rock Bottom is the legitimate successor of the old Methodist Church of that part of Marlborough now Hudson, which was constituted in 1808 by Rev. Benjamin R. Hoyt, at the house of Phineas Sawyer, the pioneer Methodist of that village. It was composed of members from several towns. They built a meeting-house in 1827, which was subsequently known as the "Old Brick Church," where they worshiped until December 28, 1852, when the edifice was burned. A hall was then secured at Rock Bottom Village, where meetings were held. Thirteen of the Marlborough members soon after withdrew to form a new society. Those who remained decided to build a house of worship at Rock Bottom, and the corner-stone was laid July 4, 1853, and the house was dedicated November 30th of the same year, Rev. L. D. Barrows preaching the sermon. Rev. T. B. Treadwell was the first preacher in charge of the society during 1853 and 1854, Rev. G. F. Pool in 1855, Rev. William Pentecost in 1856–57, Rev. W. I. Lacount in 1858, 1859–60, Rev. J. W. Lewis in 1861–62, Rev. Albert Gould in 1863–64, Rev. J. W. Hambleton in 1865, 1866 and 1867, Rev. Augustine Caldwell in 1868–69, Rev. Burtis Judd in 1870–71, Rev. N. A. Soule in 1872, Rev. J. L. Locke in 1873–74, Rev. N. Bemis in 1875–76, Rev. G. R. Bent in 1877–78, Rev. William Full in 1879–80, Rev. W. E. Dwight in 1881–82, Rev. G. E. Sanderson in 1883, 1884–85, Rev. S. L. Rodgers in 1886–87, Rev. J. A. Day in 1888–89. In 1855 a parsonage-house was bought for $600. In 1884 a new parsonage was built at a cost of about $2200.

MEETING-HOUSES—The first settlers were well aware of the importance of having a place of worship as an inducement for a minister to cast his lot among them. Hence they early took measures to erect a meeting-house where they and their children could regularly repair for public worship. Probably the first religious services were held in dwelling-houses, and, perhaps, in the summer season, in the open air, for "the groves were God's first temples." It is pretty evident, however, that the first meeting-house was built, though not finished, in 1685, two years after the incorporation of the town. It stood at the east end of the Common at the lower village. The following votes are the first records extant relative to the building. It was voted March 1, 1685–86, "yt Thomas Ward shall bee freed from any farther Charges in reference to ye finishing ye meeting-house erected in this town." A few days later, March 10th, it was voted "that ye selectmen doe, and are hereby impowered in ye behalfe of ye town, to agree & bargain with Samuel Hunt yt he finish ye meeting-house of this town to ye turning of ye key, or at least to agree with him to doe soe much of ye s^{d} work yt may bee of present necessity." Here is the agreement in reference to finishing the house, between the selectmen and Mr. Hunt, dated March 22, 1685–86; "Samuel Hunt is to lay ye floors double in ye meeting-house,

make and hang two double doors, four windows each with three lights framed two feete and half in length with hansom munions to be despatched forthwith substantially and completely." He was to be paid for the work "ten bushels of Indian corne, good and merchantable, and to provide boards and nails." How "substantially and completely" the work was done we do not know, but evidently something more was needed. And as the following winter approached the people were reminded that the house was not sufficiently protected against the cold blasts of this rigorous climate. Therefore, "Att a meeting of ye inhabit^{nts} & Proprietors of this Town ye 5th of Octob^{r} 1686, It was voted that ye publick meeting-house newly erected in this Towne shall bee forth^{wth} filled betweene ye wall timb^{rs} and studs from ye cills to ye Jowle peices with clay and wood and lathes, to hold the crosse peices, and to hold up ye clay & yt ye same be plastered even with the studs & yt ye whole house shall be well & sufficiently every way round about und^{r} pinned, and it is agreed wth Jno Butterick and Ephraim Heldreth yt they doe arrange all ye said work to be done effectually, they providing materialls." They were to receive three pounds, five shillings, or in corn "at common price as it commonly goes from man to man." The house must have been of very rude construction and of small dimensions, having only "four windows each with three lights." But it was probably the best the inhabitants could do in their poverty, and they were content for the time being, at least. At any rate it served their purpose for a few years. But as the town grew in numbers and wealth, a larger and more comfortable place of worship was desired. Accordingly, on the 6th of March, 1709–10, the town met "to conclude something about building a meeting-house," but there is no record of anything done. June 12, 1711, it was voted "that the meeting-house shall be built and set upon the little plaine on the norwest side of Strong Water Pond, on the right hand of the country road between Moses Whitney's and Capt. Stevens' house." This was where Mr. F. W. Warren's house now stands. There was, however, some dissatisfaction with the location, and March 29, 1712, Samuel Hall, Zebediah Wheeler, Deliverance Wheeler, John Wetherby and Thomas Brown were chosen a committee to decide upon some place to set the house. The house was to be "38 foot in length and 32 foot broad." We find no further action until January 12, 1712–13, when it was voted "to set the meeting-house on the right hand of the country road on the little knowl between Capt. [Stevens'] barn and the dame at Strong Water Brook." This was about seventy-five rods easterly of the first location in 1711.

The house was to be "40 foot long, 32 wide and 20 foot between joynts." April 7, 1713, Joseph Daby, Thomas Whitney, Sr., and Thomas Brown were chosen a committee to let out the building of the house, and were fully empowered to decide how it should be finished inside and out, how the seats, doors, windows and stairs should be made, and other things "to set out the beutey of the house." February 1, 1713–14, it was ordered that pews be built in the new house "all round the body if persons desire liberty." The house was probably accepted and occupied about the 1st of May, 1714. It probably had a gallery. The old meeting-house was sold before March, 1719, and the money was used to purchase a "burying cloth." The old Common at the lower village, whereon the first meeting-house stood, was sold in 1809 to Rufus Hosmer and Jacob Soper, for $100, on condition that it always remain a Common, never to be fenced or built upon. The new house cost about £250, besides some voluntary work upon it.

The second house, like the first, was not probably a very imposing edifice. Repairs were frequently made upon it; and in the course of years it was, by some, deemed unsuitable for religious purposes. Having been used about forty-six years, a movement was started for a new house, but nothing came of it. But April 6, 1752, it was voted "that the town will build a new meeting-house." A few weeks later it was voted "to sett the new meeting-house over the old celler-place near Strong Water Brook, called Capt. Stevens' old cellar-place." The house was to be fifty feet long, forty feet wide and twenty-three feet between joints. The location of the house was subsequently reconsidered once and again, and finally, February 12, 1753, it was voted "to set the house on the north side of the county road where Shabbukin Road leads into said road." This was where the brick school-house now stands. The house is supposed to have been raised on the 27th of August, 1753. As the house approached completion the town decided, June 3, 1754, that "there shall be nineteen pews round the meeting-house, as they are in the old meeting-house, one of the nineteen exempted for the minister's pew." On the same day Mr. Samuel Gates, Mr. Jeremiah Wood, Mr. John Marble, Junr., were empowered to sell the pew ground and give title to the same. The committee were to "dignifye" the pews and sell the highest pews to the highest payers; but if the highest payer did not take the pew, then it was to be offered to the next highest payer, &c. If the pew ground was not sold by the 27th of the next January, the committee were directed to build the pews at the town's expense. On Jan. 17, 1755, all former votes relative to selling the pew ground were reconsidered, and the pews were to be sold for £100, lawful money, and whoever bought should take the spot for his seat. January 27, 1755, the pew ground was sold to the following persons:

East of Fore Door.—1, Capt. Hezekiah Hapgood; 2, Lieut. Joseph Daby; 3, Jeremiah Holmon. *West of Fore Door.*—1, Daniel Hapgood; 2, Joshua Whitney; 3, Samuel Gates. *East of Pulpit.*—1, Abraham Whitney; 2, Amos Gates; 3, John Marble, Junr. *West Door and Men's Stairs.*—John Whitman, Esq. *East Door and Women's Stairs.*—Amos Brown. *North of West Door.*—1, Capt. Phineas Gates; 2, Elisha Gates. *North of East Door.*—Samuel Sargent; 2, Widow Sarah Stevens. *Northeast Corner.*—Capt. Timothy Gibson. *Northwest Corner.*—Jonathan Wood. *Next to the Minister's Pew, West of the Pulpit.*—Stephen Gibson.

The whole sold for £91 14*s.* 10*d.* These pews were around the house, next to the walls. The space within was at first occupied by long benches, one side of the broad aisle being for the men, and the other for the women. Some of these benches were subsequently taken up, and pews built instead. The house had probably a double front-door, and also a door at each end, with a gallery on three sides of the building. The cost of the edifice was about £266. The old house was sold for £122, and the proceeds were appropriated for the support of the poor. The house was first used for religious worship in February, 1755, and the first communion service in it was on the 23d of March following.

In the course of a few years there appears to have been some irregularity in entering, or at least in leaving their seats after publick worship. Hence the town took the matter in hand, and March 4, 1771, they "recommended that the fore seats below move out first after publick service is over, and so successively till they are empty. That the people in the galleries, in leaving their seats, the fore seats clear first, and so in succession till the galleries are empty." This probably led to an orderly and decorous departure from the precincts.

As time wears on, buildings once new wear out, no matter to how good uses they are devoted. So, in 1822, a movement was made for a fourth meeting-house, but failed. In 1824 a committee report against repairing the old house and recommend that a new house be placed a little west of the old one. Another committee report in favor of a spot a little west of the Academy. This was not satisfactory to all, and, in January, 1825, the town voted to purchase land of Levi Warren, near Noah Gates' house. This vote was re-considered and another site was selected. In the course of a few months various other votes relative to the location, size and cost of the house were passed and re-considered. Finally the Gordian knot was cut December 9, 1826, by the town voting "to convey the old meeting-house and land connected, belonging to the town, to Moses Whitney, Esqr., and Augustus Tower, Esqr., and others, to their use, in consideration of their building a new house for public worship for the town, the surplus money arising from the sale of the pews to be paid into the town treasury." The house was to be completed within a year from the 1st day of January, 1827. The house was erected during the year 1827, on the site of the present meeting-house. It was dedicated on Monday, October 1, 1827. Rev. Dr. Thayer, of Lancaster, preached the sermon; Rev. Dr. Ripley, of Concord, offered the dedicatory prayer; and Rev. Mr. Allen, of Bolton, closed with prayer. October 22d the selectmen were authorized to employ some one to take charge of the meeting-house and to ring the bell on Sundays, at funerals, town-meetings, etc. The bell was presented to the town by Mrs. Abigail Evelcth, an aged lady, and it was tolled for the first time at her funeral. This fourth house, built in 1827, was burned November 9, 1847. The books, clock, pulpit and communion service were saved. The First Parish erected the present house in 1848, on the site of the one burned, and it was dedicated August 30th of that year, Rev. Chandler Robbins, of Boston, preaching the sermon.

Parsonage.—On the 30th of Dec., 1870, Col. Elijah Hale purchased a house and two or three acres of land, costing about $2000, and presented them to the First Parish, to be used as a parsonage.

Bell.—About the 1st of January, 1722, a small bell was presented to the town by a Mr. Jeskell, an Englishman, who resided at the lower village, and that year a turret was built to the meeting-house, to hang it in. No belfry or steeple was built on the house erected in 1754. The bell appears finally to have been sold in 1823.

EDUCATIONAL.—The first reference to schools, on the town-books, was made December 13, 1714, when Thomas Brown was chosen schoolmaster. We think, however, there must have been schools of some character at an earlier period than that, though perhaps not supported at public expense. Some of the settlers were probably men capable of giving instruction to the young and would doubtless do so gratuitously. It is not our province, however, to speculate upon this matter, but to record known facts. Thomas Brown probably taught one or two quarters. January 11, 1715–16, John Whitman was chosen schoolmaster for one quarter. The following May Thomas Brown was again chosen for six months, and in September of the same year Benjamin Drowet was chosen for one quarter, to teach youth to read and write, and he was to be paid five pounds, and to begin on the 29th of October. In May, 1717, John Gardner was paid £7 13*s.* 4*d.* for keeping school the previous winter. On January 17, 1718, Rev. John Eveleth was engaged to keep school for one quarter at £1 10*s.* per month. In March, 1720, Mr. Eveleth was paid £6 10*s.* for keeping school the previous year. October 24, 1721, it was voted that the school shall be kept "at ye Capt^{s} house" for the rest of the half-year. This was probably Captain Stevens' house.

February 8, 1721–22, a rate of twenty pounds was made to pay the schoolmaster. December 5, 1722, it was voted to keep a writing-school for three months, and that the school should be kept one month each at Amos Brown's, John Taylor's and Jacob Brown's. December 2, 1723, it was ordered that the school be kept one month each at John Taylor's, Daniel Gates' and Zebediah Wheeler's. The next year it was to be kept at Phineas Rice's, Daniel Gates' and John Taylor's. The first vote to build a school-house was in January, 1731–32, and the following year three school-houses were voted up. September 24, 1733, it was ordered that the town be divided into three school quarters, and three men in each quarter were chosen to locate the houses. It was subsequently decided

that the houses should be twenty feet long, sixteen wide and seven feet from the top of sill to the top of the plate. A streak of poverty came over the town, so that on August 22, 1734, they petitioned the General Court for a grant of land to support the schools. They seem to have been indicted for not having a school. December 18, 1734, voted to so far accept the school-house lately built nearest the meeting-house, as to order the school to be kept in it for four months. The following February voted that every part of the town should have their part of schooling according to their pay, and should choose their own schoolmaster; that every school should be free, and that every quarter should build their own school-house by subscription, etc. October 9, 1749, a committee was chosen to answer for the town at the next Inferior Court. This had reference to a grammar-school, as one had not been kept according to law. A great innovation upon the established order of things occurred in March, 1750, when it was voted to provide a "School Dame," and that the school should be kept six months in the summer season, and forty pounds, old tenor, was granted for that purpose. In October of that year it was decided that the school should begin at "Shabican," and then at the east end, etc. It was voted not to keep a grammar-school in 1752, and in 1758 the town was indicted for not having one. The same year it was voted to build a school-house at the meeting-house—all within two miles were to help build the house, all outside of two miles were to have as much schooling as they were taxed for. The house was not probably built, for in March, 1763, a similar vote was passed, the limit being a mile and a half. The house was to be eighteen feet square exclusive of the chimney-place, seven feet stud; the inside to be well ceiled, the chimney of brick, the house underpinned and well glazed. March 3, 1766, forty pounds, lawful money, were raised to build three school-houses in the out divisions of the town, but they were not speedily built. In 1771 a committee was chosen to provide schools; this had previously been done, but sometimes the matter was intrusted to the selectmen. Six months of a man's and six months of a woman's school was provided for. April 19, 1779, a committee reported that the middle of the town should have twelve weeks and two days of schooling, east end thirteen weeks and one day, west end sixteen weeks, north end ten weeks and four days.

Forty-seven pounds, ten shillings, silver money, were appropriated to build a school-house near Silas Randall's. It was arranged in 1788 that every quarter should draw their own pay and keep their own schools for the future. The Legislature of 1789 ordered that the towns should be divided into school districts. The town had already five school-houses, and it was therefore divided into five districts. Liberty was given May 12, 1794, to the "Squadron" in the middle of the town to hang the town's bell on their school-house, and to set a school-house at the east end of the meeting-house on the town's land, but not nearer than the white oak trees. The same year £300 were appropriated to build and repair school-houses. Rev. Mr. Newell, in March, 1795, gave the proprietors of the centre school-house the privilege of erecting a house on his land, southerly of the Great Road, so long as it was used for school purposes. In 1803 a committee was chosen to re-district the town, and in 1811 there appear to have been eleven districts. For some years previous to this a School Committee had been chosen in each district to look after the schools. This year Rev. Mr. Newell and seven others were chosen to visit the schools at the opening and close of the same. A similar committee was chosen for two or three years following. In 1814 the south and southwest districts were united. In 1826 a law was enacted requiring all towns to choose a superintending school committee, and since then, with two exceptions, such a committee has been yearly chosen, the number varying from three to nine. In 1829 the town was divided into five districts. The prudential school committee, for many years, was chosen by the town, but in 1842 the several districts were allowed to choose their own committee. In 1869 the district system was abolished and the whole supervision of the schools devolved upon the superintending committee. Many of the towns, however, clung with great tenacity to the management of their own district affairs. Much of the time since the town assumed control of the schools a superintendent of schools has been chosen by the committee who has looked after their interests. Among the famous teachers of the past may be mentioned Mr. Francis Eveleth, son of Rev. John Eveleth, who for many years was a prominent instructor of the young, and died November 23, 1776, at the age of seventy-four years. Of late years probably no one has taken a higher rank as a teacher and disciplinarian than Mrs. Susan M. Lawrence, who for twenty-five years has been almost constantly employed in that capacity and is still employed.

Academy.—On the 13th of October, 1823, twenty-seven of the prominent inhabitants of the town met to consider what could be done to improve the educational advantages of the town, especially as related to greater privileges for their children than were then furnished by the public schools. The result of the conference was the formation of an association for the establishment of an academy, where the languages and the higher branches of English studies should be taught. Under the existing state of things it was a wise movement, and reflects great credit upon its projectors. A building spot was soon purchased and a contract for the erection thereon of a suitable edifice was made. The grounds were graded by voluntary labor, and the house was ready for occupancy the following spring. The services of dedication took place on the 31st of May, 1824. Rev. Mr.

Newell, the minister of the town, delivered a very appropriate address. The school was immediately opened under the direction of John M. Cheney (Harvard College, 1821) as preceptor. In order to give some degree of permanency to the institution, at the outset the proprietors gave their notes, with sureties, to the board of trustees chosen for that purpose, to an amount sufficient to pay the salary of a preceptor for five years. But these notes were never paid, for the very good reason that the school at once became self-supporting, and continued to be so for a considerable number of years. In fact, the school was a decided success. So popular was it that pupils came from many neighboring towns, as well as from New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Maryland, Louisiana and the Province of Canada. At one time, indeed, the school was so thronged that the proprietors kept their own children at home to accommodate students from abroad. In the process of years, however, the prosperity of the school began to wane. The necessity of a frequent change of teachers had a deleterious influence, and the increase of similar institutions in the neighborhood led to a considerable reduction in the number of pupils. Perhaps the improved condition of the common schools had its influence in rendering the school less popular than at first. So after a life of about twenty years it ceased to be.

High School.—Some years after the academy became defunct, the need of something to take its place was felt, and in 1851 the project of a high school was debated in town-meeting, but an adverse vote was given. But the town, April 19, 1852, appropriated over $320 for the support of such a school, and for a few years it was sustained, perhaps somewhat reluctantly by many of the voters. In this state of affairs a public-spirited and wealthy citizen of the town, Col. Elijah Hale, came forward in 1871, and proposed to give the town $5000 as a fund towards the support of a high school, on condition that the town also appropriate an equal sum for the same object, and should never abandon the school, but if they did so, the money was to revert to the donor or his heirs. Hon. John W. Brooks offered $1000 and his father, Henry Brooks, $100 in addition, and on the same terms. The town met on the 24th of May in that year to consider the propositions. They then voted with great unanimity "that the offer of Col. Elijah Hale, Henry Brooks, Esq., and Hon. John W. Brooks, of means for the creation and support of a High School be accepted on the part of of the Town." It was then "voted, That the Town Treasurer give the Town's note for five thousand dollars with interest, payable semi-annually to the Trustees, and pay the interest to them as it shall become due." The trustees were to "give a bond in fifteen thousand dollars, to be kept by the Town Treasurer, for the faithful performance of their trust, who shall keep the fund well invested, . . . and make annual report of the amount and condition of the fund to the Town." "Voted, That the old Academy building and grounds be appropriated for the use of said School, and that it be under the care of the School Committee, and be put in order by them." Seven trustees were then elected by ballot, namely, Edwin Whitney, Theodore Cooke, A. C. Livermore, Charles W. Gleason, Francis W. Warren, Henry Gates and Micah Smith. Finally "Voted, That the thanks of the town be presented to Col. Elijah Hale, Henry Brooks, Esq., and to Hon. John W. Brooks, for their generous donations for the creation and support of a High School for the Town of Stow." The school was opened about the 1st of the following September, and is still in a flourishing condition.

Miscellaneous.—The Rock Bottom Library Association was formed July 15, 1880, and has about 1000 volumes of books.

The publication of *The Stow Sentinel*, a weekly newspaper, was commenced May 19, 1883, and the first number contained a full report of the proceedings at the Bi-Centennial Celebration on the 16th of the same month.

Graduates from College.—We here give the list of graduates, so far as we have learned. Very likely some may have escaped our notice. In regard to the name of Silas Randall, we are not quite sure he was a native, yet we have but little doubt. H. C. means Harvard College; D. C., Dartmouth College; T. C., Tufts College, and B. U., Brown University. The first three names are the sons of Rev. John Gardner, the second minister of the town.

Samuel Gardner, H. C., 1746; Henry Gardner, H. C., 1750; Francis Gardner, H. C., 1755; Jeremiah Barnard, H. C., 1773; Phineas Randall, H. C., 1792; Abraham Randall, H. C., 1798; John Randall, H. C., 1802; Silas Randall, B. U., 1804; Jonathan Newell, H. C., 1805; Augustus Cooledge, D. C., 1813; George Newell, H. C., 1823; Charles Newell Warren, H. C., 1834; Eben Smith Brooks, H. C., 1835; Jonathan Newell, H. C., 1838; Silas Webster Hale, H. C., 1867; Francis Eugene Whitney, H. C., 1872; Edward Prescott Reed, H. C., 1878; Charles Henry Murdock, T. C., 1888; George Frederick Murdock, T. C., 1888; Eugene Burtt Lawrence, T. C., 1889. In addition to these we give the name of Galen Alonzo Clark, H. C., 1871, who was a resident of the town when he entered and while in college. Abraham Garland Randall Hale graduated from Harvard College Law School in 1871.

Military and War Operations.—Under the circumstances wherein they were placed, the early settlers of the town felt compelled to arm themselves, and thus be prepared to repel any attack that the Indians should make upon them, and also to provide some fortified place or places to which they could flee in case of any hostile invasion. Hence, on the 16th of May, 1698, it was "voted y^t y^e selectmen are hereby empowered to make a rate for ye repairing ye Garrison about ye ministry

house for ye securing ye same, every inhabitant having Liberty to worke out their rate, and if any shall neglect or refews to worke out their proportion they are to pay it unto ye selectmen theire due proportion, and in order to ye Carring out ye s[d] work ye foote Company are apoynted to meet or appeare next Munday." The ministry house, being doubtless the most central, was selected for the garrison. We are also informed that there was a fortified house towards the southerly part of the town, near the river, above Rock Bottom Village. And there might have been another towards the western end of the town. Doubtless, as soon as possible after the settlements were made one regular military company was organized, and then another, who met occasionally for drill, etc. We find allusions to these "military exercises" as early as 1706. Thomas Stevens was probably the first, or at least one of the first, commanders of the militia, for he is sometimes alluded to as if he were "Captain" *par excellence*. There are few records, however, relative to early military matters. For many years after 1693 the towns were required by law to keep a supply of powder, ammunition and other military stores, to be drawn upon in case of an emergency. These materials of war were sometimes kept in the loft of the meeting-house, and later a special building or "powder-house" of brick was erected for their safe keeping. As late as 1814 such a house was built, and we infer that it stood in the cemetery near the brick school-house, for the town, Oct. 22, 1849, authorized the selectmen to sell the "powder-house," and have it removed from the burying-ground.

As the population increased, two infantry companies were formed, one at the north, the other at the south part of the town. There was also a cavalry company, composed in part, we presume, of men from other towns, as was often the case. We find quite early an allusion to "Cornet" Joseph Daby, which designates him as a cavalry officer. These military companies continued down to quite a recent period, and, with other towns forming a regiment, were required to meet for an annual "muster," as it was called, when they were reviewed by the "staff officers," on which occasions the town was accustomed to bear some portion of the necessary expenses. So on the 18th of August, 1800, the town voted to find the soldiers at the Concord muster (27th and 28th of August), "four rations a man and 2 barrels of cyder." Forty dollars were appropriated to provide "for 56 men of the Troop and North Company, and a like proportion for the South Company, being 60 men." The days of total abstinence had not then arrived.

French and Indian War.—During the French and Indian War, from 1755 to 1763, the town furnished soldiers for the army at Fort William Henry, Crown Point, Canada and Nova Scotia. Sometimes, when the soldiers were on the point of leaving for the seat of war, religious services were held by the resident minister. Thus, on the 23d of June, 1755, Rev. Mr. Gardner preached "at the desire of Capt. William Pierce, being the day he began his march with his company for Albany, in the expedition against Crown Point." Samuel Preston was a captain in the army in 1756. In Capt. Pierce's company, Michael Law was sergeant, John Law was corporal. Jonathan Farr was drummer, and Nathan Whitney, Solomon Taylor, Josiah Wetherbee and Jonathan Pierce, of Stow, were privates. Ephraim Powers was sergeant in Capt. Preston's company, and Ezekiel Davis was in another company. May 22, 1758, Ensign Jabez Brown and others of Stow, whose names are unknown, started to join the army destined for Canada. And in April, 1760, others started for Crown Point. The following Stow soldiers went to Canada in 1760: Joshua Brown, Jonathan Farr, Phineas Fuller, Amos Gates, Simon Gates, Abraham Gates, Paul Graves, Solomon Savcas, (?), a servant of Mary Hapgood. None of the Stow men were killed in the army during this war, so far as we can learn, but the following are known to have died while in service or from diseases contracted in the camp, viz.: Capt. Ephraim Brown died Jan. 4, 1756, a few days after his return from the army; July 23, 1758, Ebenezer Gates died at Lake George; May 24, 1760, Abel Ray died at Shrewsbury, on his march to the army; Nov., 1760, Isaac Taylor died at Crown Point, and Nov. 23, 1761, Stephen Houghton died while returning from Crown Point. It is proper that these men should be remembered, as well as those of a later day who gave their lives in defence of their country.

Ante-Revolution.—The Stamp Act and other arbitrary measures of the government of England alarmed the people, and they came together October 21, 1765, to consider the state of affairs, and to choose a committee to give instructions to their representative, Henry Gardner, Esq., relative to the imposition of duties or taxes upon the Colonies by Parliament. The committee presented their instructions giving reasons why the taxes should not be imposed upon the Colonies, and recommended that their representative "should use the strictest care and the utmost firmness to prevent all unconstitutional draughts upon the public treasury." March 7, 1768, voted that the town will use their utmost endeavors to encourage economy, industry and manufactures within this Province, both by example and every other legal method;" also that "the town will by every legal way and manner discourage the importation into this Province of any foreign superfluities, or any articles that at present may be avoided;" also to "use their utmost endeavor to encourage the manufacture of paper in this Province, and to this end the sd town will do everything proper towards supplying the paper mills at Milton with materials for carrying on said manufactures."

Henry Gardner, Esq., was chosen, September 22, 1768, to meet with others at Boston, and another committee was appointed to take the state of public affairs into consideration. As the arbitrary measures of England increased, the spirit of resistance seemed also to increase, and, January 25, 1773, the proceedings of the town of Boston on the 20th of November, relative to the situation of affairs, was approved, and Dr. Charles Whitman, Henry Gardner, Esq., Solomon Taylor, Captain Phineas Taylor, Captain Jonathan Hapgood, Samuel Gates and John Marble were directed to report at a future meeting "what may further be necessary to be done thereon." The committee, February 8, 1773, report a letter to the Committee of Correspondence at Boston, wherein they express their satisfaction "of the care and vigilance of the town of Boston to preserve our happy constitution from infringement and violation;" and they further say, "as we are solicitous of handing down to Posterity the Privileges, both civil and religious, obtained by our Ancestors at the Expense of their Lives and Fortunes, we shall at all times and on all proper Occasions endeavor to preserve the Constitution from Infringement, and obtain a Redress of Grievances where the same is violated in a loyal, manly and discreet way and manner." These were brave and noble words. They show the spirit that actuated the patriotic citizens of the town at a time "that tried men's souls." Such men seldom fail in their opposition to despotism. On the same day these men express their great concern that Parliament had assumed the power of legislation for the Colonies, and were collecting a revenue; also with uneasiness they notice the unreasonable extension of the power of the Courts of Vice-Admiralty, together with many other grievances.

A committee, consisting of Henry Gardner, Solomon Taylor, Samuel Gates, John Marble and Captain Taylor, was chosen "to correspond with the several towns within the Province respecting our rights and privileges as British subjects, men and Christians." Henry Gardner, the representative, was directed, September 26, 1774, to oppose the late acts of Parliament. January 16, 1775, it was "voted, that Henry Gardner, Esq., Lieut. David Jewell and Capt. Phineas Taylor be a committee to take effectual care that the association of the Continental Congress setting at Philadelphia in September last, and the agreements of the provincial Congress referring thereto, be carried into execution, according to the true intent and meaning thereof. Voted that this town will, on all occasions, use their influence, both publickly and privately, so far as they can consistent with the principles of our Constitution, to carry into execution the said association of the Continental Congress, and the resolves of the provincial Congress referring thereto, and will aid the committee aforesaid in all their endeavors therefor." Thus again they show their "manly and discreet" determination to uphold their liberties. They also requested the assessors and the constables to pay the public moneys to Henry Gardner, Esq., who had been chosen treasurer by the Provincial Congress, and not to Harrison Gray, the royal treasurer, and that these officers should be held harmless at the town's expense, for so doing. This was an open act of defiance to the constituted authorities. But the time had come for such action.

Revolution.—The raid upon Lexington and Concord aroused the patriotism of the people to the highest pitch. "Starting from their beds at midnight, from their firesides and from their fields, they took their own cause into their own hands." Without discipline and almost without orders, they rushed forth to meet the foe.

Anticipating the attempt to seize the military stores at Concord, a large quantity of them, with some cannon, were sent to Stow, and concealed in the woods northerly of the lower village, and not far from the residence of Henry Gardner. Some of the citizens were in the fight at Concord, and Daniel Conant was wounded. We are told that "the two military companies, under Captains Hapgood and Whitcomb, marched for Concord at noon, passed the North Bridge," where Davis and Hosmer had fallen earlier in the day, "and arrived at Cambridge at sunset." Nearly forty of Stow men were in the battle of Bunker Hill, where they did valiant service. And all through the war, at various places, the town was represented by its soldiers.

May 29, 1775, it was voted not to take any notice of Governor Gage's orders for representatives, but, instead, chose Henry Gardner to represent them in the Congress at Watertown. And not for a moment during the entire war did their patriotism flag. In every possible way they aided the patriot army.

It was voted, January 15, 1776, to give the men that delivered two tons of hay at Cambrdge, for the army, £2 13*s.* 4*d.* July 1, 1776, while the question of independence was debated in Congress, the town voted, as their opinion, "that a government independent of Great Britain might be formed, if the Government of this Colony and the Continental Congress shall think such a measure expedient." And five days later it was voted to raise £6 6*s.* 8*d.* for each soldier that should go to Canada in the Continental service, to the number of twenty-four.

In May, 1777, it was decided to provide "ten good firearms to those persons who cannot get them for themselves." In November of the same year voted to hire one man more for three years' service or during the war. January 19, 1778, voted to pay "£550, being a part of the State's money which is their due to pay." Also, at the same time that the whole of the ammunition that was drawn out of the town stock at the Concord and Bunker Hill fights, and last summer, when men were drafted to go to Rhode Island be returned in again. January 23, 1778, a commit-

tee of eleven was chosen to consider the matter of a confederation and practical union between the States. The committee recommended that the confederation and union "take place as soon as convenient." They also urge the representatives to see that the army was provided with clothing, and faithful men see to it, that "they may not be so shamefully neglected," but what they may be willing to defend us from our cruel enemies, and that "this should be seen to before any other business is done." This shows how solicitous they were for the men in the army. March 26, 1778, they show their interest in the soldiers by voting to find clothing for them, and that the selectmen shall do something for the soldiers' families when needy. In May, 1778, £180 were raised to pay six men for the army. A few days later £100 were offered per man, for six, to go to Fishkill; three days later £60 bounty each to five men to go to the North River for eight months. August 2, 1779, chose two men to sit in convention at Concord on the first Wednesday of October; also a committee of seven was chosen to see that all the resolves of the said convention are strictly observed and put in execution. August 30th voted to apply to the Honorable Council to know what should be done with the prisoners that were in town. In September it was decided that some of the prisoners should be sworn, viz., "the Dutchmen and the Brittons and the Scotchmen." Where these prisoners came from is not stated. June 15, 1780, chose a committee to hire the eleven men called for, and soon after to hire thirteen men for three months' service. September, 1781, raised £40 to clothe the army and £106 for beef.

In 1782 £300 were raised to pay the three years' men in 1781. Thus all through the war the town failed not to do its duty to those who went forth in defence of human rights. Up to 1779 there had been in the army at different times 305 men, whose term of service was from three weeks to three years, at an expense of £3833 9*s.* 8*d.* Some of the men are counted two or three times, having enlisted for short terms of service. The exact number of different men is not known. After March, 1779, probably some fifty men or more were in the army at a cost of £500. This is a very liberal supply of men and money for a town of about 1000 inhabitants.

While it is believed that none of the Stow soldiers were killed on the battle-field during the Revolution, the following are known to have died in the country's service, viz.: John Gordon, of Captain Joshua Parker's company, died in camp at Cambridge June 19, 1775; Daniel Gates, of Captain Joshua Brown's company, died January 20, 1778; Ephraim Gates, of Captain Whipple's company, died March 19, 1778; Stephen Hale, of Captain Joshua Brown's company, died July 2, 1778; Benjamin Gates, of Captain Joshua Brown's company, died July 9, 1778. Others, we presume, were enfeebled for life by the exposures to which they were subject, and subsequently were pensioned.

The question of adopting a State Constitution came up two or three times during the war, and the town, May 25, 1778, voted against the Constitution and form of government. May 20, 1779, voted, forty-three to seventeen, not to do anything about the Constitution or form of civil government. May 29, 1780, some slight alterations in several of the articles of the Constitution were suggested, and it seems to have been accepted by a vote varying from thirty-nine to fifty-five yeas, the nays not being given.

The first votes for Governor under the Constitution were given September 4, 1780, as follows: John Hancock, fifty-nine votes; James Bowdoin, five votes. Henry Gardner had twenty votes for Lieutenant-Governor.

It was voted May 15, 1786, that the guns given out in the war to those who had none should be returned or paid for. These, perhaps, were wanted for service in the "Shays' Rebellion." We do not learn that any of the Stowites joined Shays in his rash movement; yet we presume they felt dissatisfied with the state of affairs, for a committee was chosen, Aug. 21, 1786, to attend the convention at Concord on the 23d inst., to consult about grievances and find means of redress; and in May, 1787, Charles Whitman, the Representative, was instructed to exert himself to remove the party spirit and disunion that prevailed in the State, to remove the General Court from Boston, to lighten the taxes upon land, to raise money by duties and excise upon all imported articles, especially upon wines and distilled liquors, foreign and domestic, and the luxuries of dress, the proceeds to be used for the payment of foreign debts; that the State Constitution be maintained inviolate; that the salaries of the civil list be lowered; that a paper medium be opposed, as injurious to widows and orphans, and that distilled liquors pay the duty of distilling. Whether the Representative succeeded in accomplishing all this the deponent saith not.

War of 1812–14.—We will pass now from the Revolution to the War of 1812–14. We find but little action of the town relative to the matter. The war was generally unpopular in the State, and no great zeal was manifested in most of the towns to furnish the men and the means of carrying it on. On the 22d of May, 1812, it was voted to pay each volunteer soldier two dollars down and three dollars when called into active service, and make up ten dollars per month with what the government pay them. In the following September a Committee of Safety was chosen. September 12, 1814, voted to make up the three soldiers that were detached twenty dollars per month with what the government pays them. March 6, 1815, the soldiers were to have sixteen dollars per month with what the United States pay. None of the Stow soldiers were killed in this war, and we know of none who died in service.

Rebellion War.—Immediately after the assault of the rebels upon Fort Sumter and the call of President Lincoln for volunteers to defend the attack upon the nation's life, some of the Stow boys, members of the "Davis Guards," of Acton, promptly responded to the President's proclamation, as did others at the beginning of the Revolution, and were in the famous Sixth Regiment when it passed through Baltimore on the 19th of April, 1861, just eighty-six years after the Concord fight. At once a call was issued by the selectmen for a legal town-meeting, which was held on the 27th of April, to take action in the great crisis that had arisen. It was then voted to appropriate $1000 to uniform and equip those who would volunteer into the service of the country, and also to assist their families while absent. This action induced twenty-eight men to enroll themselves for duty. Early in the fall of 1861 an appeal, endorsed by the President, was made to the women of the loyal States to furnish hospital stores for the sick and wounded soldiers. In response, a public meeting of the citizens was held, October 22d, and a committee, consisting of R. W. Derby, A. W. Nelson and Augustus Rice, was chosen to obtain and forward contributions. Previous to this a sufficient amount of cloth had been purchased to make nearly one hundred garments, which the ladies had prepared for an emergency. Following the appeal for sanitary stores, the ladies in each school district collected a large amount of articles that were forwarded to the proper authorities. In July, 1862, the town voted a bounty of $125 to the three years' men, and in August, $100 to the nine months' men. There were frequent meetings during the war to encourage enlistments, and to uphold the nation's arm. The Stow men entered twenty-five different regiments, which made it difficult to look after and assist those who were in need.

April 4, 1864, it was voted to pay re-enlisted men a bounty of $100. During that year eleven persons were bought to fill the town's quota, who were paid from $325 to $525. Quite large sums were subscribed by individuals for recruiting purposes, which were subsequently refunded by the town. There were 174 men in the army accredited to the town, who served for a longer or shorter time, including the nine months' and one hundred days' men. The record of these men was not so accurately kept as it should have been. Twenty-two more recruits were furnished by the town than were called for by the Government. Only once, we think, was it necessary to resort to a draft for a few men.

The whole amount of money expended by the town on account of the war was $15,991.70, exclusive of State aid to soldiers' families, amounting to $8000, that was reimbursed by the State. A large amount of sanitary articles were furnished by the Soldiers' Aid Society, to the value of nearly $1500. The readiness with which the people responded to these calls is shown by the fact that on the 14th and 15th of December, 1864, a fair was held to raise funds for the needy soldiers. The net receipts of the fair were $617.58. The interest taken in it by the ladies is shown by the fact that two young misses called at the grist-mill about a mile southerly of the village, and solicited a bag of meal. The young Mr. S., who was in charge at the time, said he would give it if they would drag it up to the Town-Hall. They assented to the proposition, and, loading it into a little hand-wagon, they soon accomplished the task. It may be interesting to add that Mr. S., not long afterwards, married one of the young ladies. A wheelwright gave a wheelbarrow, which was sold on shares for $17. It was then given back, and sold two or three times at auction, and netted over $46. The contributions to the Sanitary Commission, and directly to the soldiers of the town, amounted to more than $2000, which was quite a generous sum for so small a town. On the 3d of April, 1865, the joyous intelligence reached the town, late in the afternoon, that Richmond, Va., the rebel capital, was captured, and that the members of the Confederate Government were fleeing for their lives. Great enthusiasm was manifested. The bell of the village church was rung, flags were displayed, and in the evening the house of the pastor of the First Parish was illuminated. Just one week later the most welcome news of the surrender of General Lee and his army was received with every possible demonstration of delight. The church bell rung for an hour, and almost all business was suspended. In order to accommodate all parties, a general illumination of the houses was deferred until the next evening, when a most brilliant exhibition was witnessed by crowds of people. An extemporized band of musicians paraded the streets, and finally all came together in the Town-Hall and listened to some patriotic songs. Yet many hearts were sad at the recollection of dear friends whose lives had been sacrificed during the "cruel war." The following persons were either killed, died of wounds or disease, or in rebel prisons, viz.: Lieutenant Winfield H. Benham at New Orleans, La., May 18, 1863; John Brown at Point Lookout, Va., September 5, 1864; Sergeant John Alpheus Brown at Winchester, Va., December 8, 1864; Thomas Cunningham at Salisbury Prison, N. C., October 30, 1864; Edward Andrew Davidson at Baltimore, Md., November 9, 1864; William Henry Dunlap at New York January 13, 1863; Samuel Hampton in rebel prison after June 5, 1864; Albert Mardough Kingsbury at Gaines' Mills, Va., August 31, 1862; Daniel Artemas Lovering, at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, 1864; Francis William Moore at New Orleans, April 19, 1863; Albion Nutting at Washington, D. C., October 14, 1864; George Whitemarsh Parks at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863; Charles F. Perry March 18, 1863; James Rye at Vienna, Va., March 4, 1864; Abraham Foster Rogers at Baton Rouge, La., August 5, 1862; Corporal Matthew Smith at Danville, Va., December 2, 1864;

Joseph Albert Swift at Winchester, Va., October 12, 1864; Albert Walcott, April 15, 1864; George Franklin Whitcomb at Salisbury Prison, N. C., January 2, 1865; Thomas Whitman at Fair Oaks, Va., June 19, 1862; Sergeant Henry Windsor Wilder at Winchester, Va., September 1, 1864; George Willis at Chantilly, Va., September 1, 1862. Of these, Cunningham, Nutting and Rye were non-residents, but were credited to Stow.

New Towns.—About 1729 the question of forming a new town from parts of Stow, Lancaster and Groton was agitated, but the town voted, March 2, 1729–30, not to set off the lands beyond Beaver Brook, with the inhabitants thereon. This brook is in the westerly part of Boxboro'. On the 20th of August, 1730, the town, through their committee, John Whitman, John Foster and Phineas Rice, gave the following reasons why the petition of Simon Stone, Jonathan Whitney, Thomas Wheeler and others for the formation of a township should not be granted: A great part of the land was barren and incapable of improvement; the new town would take away about one-seventh of the inhabitants; that the town was poor and could hardly support their minister, nor could they bear the country charges without help from the others. But these pleas availed not with the General Court, and on the 29th of June, 1732, the town of Harvard was incorporated. This left a small strip of territory west of the Nashua River, about two hundred rods wide, belonging to the old town, but completely separated from it; and for many years it was known as "Stow Leg." But in March, 1764, the town voted that this tract of land, between Lancaster and Shirley, might be annexed to the latter place, on condition that all taxes due from the inhabitants be paid to Stow. Soon after, it became the southern part of Shirley, extending from Nashua River to Lunenburg.

Boxborough.—About forty years after the incorporation of Harvard another portion of the old town was wanted to help make a new municipality, but it met with no favor from a majority of the inhabitants. For, on the 1st of March, 1773, it was voted not to grant the request of Daniel Wetherby and others, to be set off from Stow, to form a new town, with portions of Littleton and Harvard. This vote was repeated in 1775. The chief reason given for a new town was the distance they were from the meeting-house and the difficulty of a regular attendance upon public worship. But to obviate this difficulty, while the town vote "no" relative to separation, Dec. 19, 1777, they agree to give the northerly part of the town £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, lawful money, to hire preaching with. This did not, however, satisfy the north-enders. They still ask for a separation. Twice in 1779 the town refused to be dismembered, whereupon Edward Brown and fifty-one others apply to the General Court, asking to be erected into a town, for the reason that "many of us are four or five miles distant from the meeting-houses of their respective towns, whereby it is impossible for them, with their families, to attend the worship of God, at those places, in the winter season, as they desire to do;" and also that, at great expense, they had built themselves a meeting-house, etc. Their prayer was not granted. June 15, 1780, it was voted not to provide any money for preaching in the northerly part of the town. And on Oct. 16th of the same year it was agreed to grant the prayer of the petitioners on these conditions, viz., that the proposed bounds should be somewhat changed, that those set off should take all the poor of that section and also the poor of the former inhabitants that should come back for support, and that Stow should be at no cost for roads nor any other thing. But for some reason there was a delay in the matter. Accordingly, in March, 1782, Silas Taylor and sixty-eight others again apply to the General Court to be made a town, district or parish. In about a year, after some opposition from Littleton, they were made a district, taking 154 inhabitants from Stow, and three-tenths of the valuation. It was more than three-fourths of a century before any more of the old territory was wanted for a part of another town. But when the time came, in 1866, for the incorporation of Hudson, no particular opposition was made to giving a few acres to the new town, as no inhabitants were included.

Maynard.—When it was proposed, in 1871, to take the easterly part of Stow and the westerly part of Sudbury to form the town of Maynard, seeing it was a forgone conclusion, very little opposition was made to the project, and about 2300 acres and 800 inhabitants passed into the new municipality. This leaves the old town in a much better form than when originally constituted, though with less than one-half its area.

Cemeteries.—The cemetery at the lower village, near where the first meeting-house stood, was doubtless the first spot devoted to burial purposes. The earliest allusion to it we have found was August 21, 1738, when a committee was chosen "to lay out ye Burying-place in order for to fence it." But there seems to have been no haste about the work, for on the 31st of March, 1740, forty pounds were voted to fence the ground. Yet we presume the fence was not immediately built. In his will, dated May 13, 1751, Thomas Burt bequeathed to the town £6 12*s.* 8*d.*, for the purpose of fencing the burying-ground, but provided that if it should be well fenced previous to the payment of the money, it was to be used to purchase "necessary or decent utensils for the communion table" of the church. The money did not become available until after the death of his widow, in 1762, when a committee was chosen to receive the bequest; and from a vote taken in 1763, it appears that after fencing the ground there was some money left, which was ordered to be delivered to a committee of the church. For more than a hundred years this was the only cemetery of which we have any record.

A new burial-place becoming necessary, the town voted, September 21, 1812, to take a part of the town's land near the meeting-house for a burying-ground. Thus the cemetery, situated on the southerly side of Pilot Grove Hill, near the brick school-house, came into existence. This was, however, too small a lot to last for many years. Accordingly, as additional space was needed for sepulture, the town, in the spring of 1864, purchased "Brookside Cemetery," on the Rock Bottom Road, and northerly of Assabet Brook; and it was, on the 1st day of the following October, publicly consecrated, with appropriate religious exercises, to the purpose for which it was set apart. The address was given by Rev. George F. Clark, the pastor of the First Parish.

POUND.—March 5, 1705, a three-pound rate was voted to build a pound. As early as 1698 the General Court decreed "that there shall be a sufficient Pound or Pounds made and maintained, from Time to Time, in every Town and Precinct within this Province . . . for the impounding or restraining of any Swine, Neat Cattle, Horses or Sheep, as shall be found damage-feasant, in any cornfield or other inclosures, or going upon the Common" without authority. So the town felt obliged to comply with the law. The pound was to be set "on a small Knowel, Betwixt the meeting-house & Thomas Whitney's house." It was to be "thirty foot square, seven foot high, with good white oak posts, the railes to Be Eyther sawed or hewed timber." In the progress of years a new pound was deemed necessary. Hence, October 21 1721, it was voted to "erect a good and substantial, pound, which shall be according to Law . . . on the edge of the highway between the Captns house and the meeting-house." It was doubtless maintained there for many years, perhaps until the one near the brick school-house was erected.

POOR AND WORK-HOUSE.—The first reference to a pauper was March 17, 1724–25, when widow Mary Hewes was voted to be one of the poor, and provisions were made for her support. A mulatto child was thrown upon the town, June 28, 1748, by Deliverance Wheeler, and thus we suppose he was delivered of a burden. It was voted, December 20, 1784, to build a work-house to put the poor in. It was to be thirty feet square and seven feet stud. The house was not probably built, for in 1787 another vote was taken to build a house for the poor. April 14, 1788, money was granted to build a poor-house to be set on the side-hill near the burying-place. Oliver Blood was chosen overseer of the work-house in May, 1790. In April, 1796, it was decided that the children in the work-house should go to school near Esquire Wood's, and twelve shillings were to be paid to that quarter. A committee was chosen December 1, 1828, to purchase a farm for the poor. The farm, we presume, was soon bought, and in March, 1829, it was voted that the poor-house should be a house of correction. The poor of the town are still provided for on this farm.

SLAVERY.—It is well known that several of the inhabitants of the town, many years ago, were owners, or perhaps we should say holders of slaves. Morally speaking, no man can be the owner of another man. Of course it is impossible, at this late day, to learn the names of all the slaveholders in town. Some of them are known to have been leading citizens. But the name of one man, whose moral eyes were so opened that he could see the injustice of human slavery, ought to go down to posterity as that of a philanthropist in advance of his times. We allude to Joseph Stone, who, in the early months of the Revolutionary War, recognized the inconsistency of fighting for freedom, while holding a fellow-being in bondage. On the town records the following act of manumission may be found, which we gladly transcribe:

"WHEREAS, I, Joseph Stone, did, on the 14th day of February, A.D. 1776, buy of one Nathaniel Sherman, of Boston, gentleman, a negro man named Youbel, to serve me and my heirs forever, as a servant; therefore, in consideration of his fidelity and other motives moving me, I have, and do hereby discharge and set at liberty from slavery said slave known as Youbel Stone." Perhaps it was in consequence of his emancipation that this Youbel Stone served forty-six months and eleven days as a soldier in the Continental Army. Soon after the close of the war, by a decision of a judge of the Supreme Court, slavery ceased to exist in the Commonwealth.

TOWN-HOUSE.—For a long period the town-meetings were held in the meeting-house, as there was no other suitable place. On the erection of the fourth meeting-house it was thought best not to use the auditorium of the building for the transaction of town business; and therefore, October 22, 1827, it was decided to finish a town-hall under the meeting-house, and meetings were held there until the house was burned. Then, on the 20th of December, 1847, it was voted to build a town-house; and soon after land was purchased of Francis Conant for $125, whereon to erect the building, which was to be finished within a year, and is the one now used for town purposes.

TEMPERANCE.—For many years there was a great amount of travel to and from Boston, through the town, and there were two or three taverns within its limits for the "entertainment of man and beast." Intoxicating liquors were kept in these houses and freely sold to all calling for them. It was customary for some of the townspeople, especially in the evening, to resort to these places for a social time with the guests; and much drinking was often the result. The excessive use of liquor in those days was no uncommon thing, and quarrels were sometimes the result. Hence the town, March 4, 1771, ordered that the law respecting idle and disorderly persons be observed and carried into execution.

Again, in May, 1796, it was voted to put the law in

force to stop those persons who are spending their time and estate at public-houses, which indicates the town's desire to maintain good order and good morals. In accordance with a later law the town, in 1819, declared that they would support the selectmen in doing their duty in respect to those frequenting "the taverns and grog-shops, to the damage of themselves and families," by posting up their names in public places. And, in 1823, a committee was chosen to "enforce the law against bowling alleys and other complements of gaming." No decided temperance movement was inaugurated here until about 1829, when we are told that the late Deacon Calvin Hale was one of the first to "sign away his liberty," as it was called, by affixing his name to a pledge against the use of ardent spirits or distilled liquors. It was not until about 1838 that the pledge against the use of all alcoholic liquors was adopted. The Washingtonian crusade followed in 1840, and aroused a new interest in the reform. On the 23d and 24th of August, 1841, Dr. Charles Jewett gave temperance lectures, which awakened so much interest that a meeting, of which Jonas Warren was chairman, was held on the 25th to consider the matter of forming a temperance society. It was decided to organize an association, and two pledges were adopted, one against the use of all intoxicating liquors, but the other allowed the use of cider. The following pledge, however, was soon made the basis of the society, viz.: "We, the undersigned, mutually pledge ourselves that we will not use as a beverage any intoxicating liquor." The *Stow Total Abstinence Society* was formed September 1, 1841, with Rev. William H. Kinsley as president, and H. W. Robinson secretary. In the course of two or three weeks nearly all the officers, for some reason, resigned their positions, and others were chosen. There was a grand temperance celebration on the 25th of August, 1842, when a *Cold Water Army* of 200 members was enrolled. At the close of the first year 262 names were attached to the pledge—111 males and 151 females. After a year or two meetings were held very irregularly, sometimes almost a year intervening between them. Lectures were given occasionally, and committees chosen to induce the rum-sellers to quit their business. The last record of a meeting was October 16, 1852. Up to that time 266 men and 299 women had signed the pledge. The interest waned after the passage of the prohibitory law, in May, 1852, and little was done in the cause until February 16, 1863, when Protector Lodge of Good Templars was organized, composed of some of the most respectable citizens. For about ten years it exerted a very beneficent influence, when it ceased to exist. Gleason Dale Lodge, at Rock Bottom, was instituted June 3, 1867, and lived about seven years. Eben Dale Lodge was formed December 20, 1886, at Rock Bottom, and is the only temperance organization in town.

LAFAYETTE.—One of the red-letter days of the town was September 2, 1824, when the Marquis de Lafayette passed through from Concord to Bolton. It was nearly sunset when he left Concord, and quite dark when he arrived at the lower village, where he was met by a military company, commanded by Capt. Pliny Wetherbee, and by a large concourse of citizens. Rufus Hosmer, Esq., was chief marshal of the occasion. For an hour or so there was a general reception at the hotel. Bonfires were kindled, flags were unfurled and the booming of cannon resounded among the hills as the distinguished friend of America and the intimate confidant of Washington was escorted on his journey beyond the limits of the town.

HOMICIDE.—In the year 1844 a trouble arose between William Goldsmith and George Hildreth, about grass which both claimed. Early in September Hildreth passed Goldsmith's house, while the latter was using an axe near his residence. The old quarrel was renewed, and it is supposed, in self-defence, Goldsmith struck his opponent with the axe, which proved a death-blow. Without knowing the result, Goldsmith entered the house and called for his best hat and coat, saying he "must be off from the place immediately," and left. The selectmen offered a reward of $100 for his arrest. Having become weak and exhausted from travel and hunger in a day or two, he started to return, when he was met in Wilton, N. H., and recognized by a man who had learned of the reward offered, and he was taken into custody without resistance, and brought back. He was tried and convicted of manslaughter, and sentenced to the State's prison for seven years. But before the expiration of his sentence he was pardoned, and remained a very quiet and inoffensive citizen until his death.

BUSINESS MATTERS.—The principal employment of the citizens has, from the first, been agriculture. At one time considerable attention was given to the raising of hops, but nothing in that line has been done for many years. Besides other farm products, about 194,000 gallons of milk, worth $18,250, some $2000 worth of butter, and nearly $8000 worth of apples have been sold some years. The aggregate value of all the agricultural products in 1885 was $144,332.

A tannery was started a hundred years ago, or more, near where Mr. F. W. Warren now lives, and was subsequently operated by his father, Mr. Jonas Warren. Having had their tannery destroyed by the bursting of a reservoir, at Ashburnham, in May, 1850, Mr. Peter Fletcher and Nehemiah A. Newhall removed to town and established the tannery business, which they maintained for about twenty years, at the site of the old grist-mill, just below Brookside Cemetery. Sometime previous to 1853 Rufus Temple, Cyrus Brigham and Theodore Pomeroy carried on the shoe business at Rock Bottom. In 1853 H. Brigham assumed the ownership. Mr. Brigham and A. Rice were in partnership from 1862 to 1864.

Mr. S. A. Gleason, with Mr. Brigham as a silent partner, managed the business from 1865 to 1867. The large shoe-shop built in 1862 was burned in 1875, which put an end to this industry in that village. The first allusion we have found to a mill was about the year 1700, when a road was laid out through Israel Heald's house-lot to the corn-mill. This mill was probably on the Assabet River, just above the present village of Maynard, and the road must have started from near the old cemetery at the lower village. Andrew J. Smith built a saw and grist-mill on Assabet Brook, not far from his house, in 1856. He sold them to Micah Smith in 1864. They were subsequently owned by A. Priest and B. F. Folsom, and are now operated by E. F. Wheeler. Other small mills are alluded to later, but their exact locality we have not learned.

Rock Bottom Mills and Factory.—From some reference to him, on the town-books, we presume that Ebenezer Graves had a saw and perhaps a grist-mill, on the Assabet River, at Rock Bottom, as early as 1735. On the 19th of February, 1770, his heirs sold these mills to Timothy Gibson, who six years later deeded them to Abraham Randall. They were on the east side of the river, about five rods below the present factory dam. Mr. Randall died in 1815, and in a few years his sons sold the premises to Joel Cranston, Silas Felton and Elijah Hale. A factory for the making of cotton yarn was erected on the west side of the river, in 1813, by Silas Jewell and Joel Cranston, drawing the water from the Randall mill-pond. Some two years later Jewell sold his half of the factory to Messrs. Felton and Hale, and the firm then assumed the name of the "Rock Bottom Cotton and Woolen Company." The origin of the name Rock Bottom is a little uncertain. This is the first mention of it. Mr. Felton disposed of his interest to Messrs. Cranston and Hale in 1823, and then the firm was known as the "Rock Bottom Manufacturing Company." In the financial crash of 1829 the firm became insolvent. Mr. Benjamin Poor soon became the owner, who built a new dam above the old one, and erected a new brick mill and introduced improved machinery. The "Rock Bottom Company" was incorporated in 1836, consisting of Mr. Poor, Charles Bradley, John A. A. Laforest and associates, with a capital of $100,000. The company was not successful and became substantially bankrupt in 1849. The mortgage on the property was then assigned to Benjamin W. Gleason of North Andover, and Samuel J. Dale, of Ware, and they took possession February 14, 1849, Mr. Gleason becoming the managing partner of the firm of "Gleason & Dale." Prosperity attended them, and in 1850 an addition to the factory and other improvements were made. But on the 9th of May, 1852, the mill was burned. A new brick mill, 125 feet long, fifty feet wide and four stories high, was completed in 1854. Mr. Dale died March 1, 1853, from the effects of a severe cold taken at the time of the fire. His brother, Ebenezer Dale, then became a partner in the firm of "B. W. Gleason & Co." His connection, however, was little more than that of a silent partner, and agent for the sale of goods. Soon after the death of Mr. Dale, December 3, 1871, Mr. Gleason became the sole owner of the property, and on the 1st of June, 1872, received into partnership his three sons, and the firm took the name of "B. W. Gleason & Sons," and so remained after the death of the senior member, and until November, 1887, when Stillman A Gleason retired from the firm, and it is now entitled "C. W. & A. D. Gleason," who continue the manufacture of all-wool flannels, turning out over a million yards per year, and giving constant employment to eighty persons. "The systematic organization of the business, the well established reputation of the firm, and the experience of several years under the supervision of their father, have enabled the sons to maintain both the prestige and substantial prosperity of the concern."

PERSONAL NOTICES.—*Hon. Benjamin Whitney Gleason* was born at Petersham, Mass., October 12, 1806. He was descended, in the seventh generation, from Thomas Gleason, who was an early settler of Watertown, Mass., having located there previous to 1640, when his second child and oldest son, Thomas, was born. The latter removed to Sudbury in 1665 and thence to Framingham, Mass., in 1678, where he died, July 25, 1705. The fourth child and second son of this Thomas was Isaac, who, on arriving at manhood, removed to Sherborn, Mass., where he married Deborah Leland, the great-granddaughter of Hopestill Leland, who settled at Weymouth in 1624, and removed to Sherborn in 1653. The oldest son of Isaac and Deborah Gleason was also named Isaac. In early manhood he removed to Framingham, and thence, in 1757, to Petersham. His eighth child and fourth son was Joseph, who always, after the removal of his father thither, resided at Petersham, where he died in 1814, at the age of seventy-one years. He married, August 14, 1766, Sarah Curtis. His second son and eighth child, also named Joseph, was born in Petersham, April 7, 1781, and married, October 24, 1802, Susan Whitney, daughter of Benjamin Whitney, a descendant, of the sixth generation, from John Whitney, who settled at Watertown in June, 1635, and became one of the most influential citizens, and is supposed to have been the ancestor of all, or nearly all, of the numerous family of that name in the country. The Joseph Gleason last named, the father of Hon. Benjamin W. Gleason, was a farmer by occupation, and died when the subject of this sketch was but two years old. Consequently the young lad was deprived of paternal care and influence during his childhood and youth, and he had only the meagre opportunity for an education then afforded by the common schools of a small hill-town of Worcester County. Mr. Gleason was therefore dependent for his honorable career upon his na-



B. W. Gleason

tive talent and great strength of character, together with such self-discipline and culture as he was able to secure in a life characterized, especially in its first forty years, by repeated changes of business and location. He was emphatically a self-made man. When about fourteen years old he entered an establishment, in his native town, to learn the trade of cabinet-making, and served through the whole term of his apprenticeship with great fidelity, gaining an expertness in the use of tools and a general acquaintance with mechanical operations, which were of great value to him in his subsequent life.

Soon after reaching his majority he went to Grafton, Mass., and obtained employment in a cotton factory, at New England Village. He remained there about five years, working in the wood department of the machine-shop, which, as was usually the case at that time in cotton and woolen mills, was connected with the factory. Some portion of his work was the making of shuttles.

From Grafton he removed, in 1833, to Worcester, where he obtained employment, as a journeyman, in a machine-shop devoted to the manufacture of cotton and woolen machinery, and remained there four years. Leaving Worcester, he went to North Andover, Mass., and entered the employment of George H. Gilbert and Parker Richardson, manufacturers of cotton and woolen machinery, under the style of "Gilbert & Richardson." This firm was dissolved in 1842, Mr. Gilbert removing to Ware, Mass., and engaging in the manufacture of flannels.

Mr. Gleason, on the 13th of July, 1842, formed a copartnership with George L. Davis, who had been a fellow-workman with him in the employ of Messrs. Gilbert & Richardson. The name of the firm who then assumed the business was "Gleason & Davis." The partners were both in the prime of life, ambitious and enterprising, and well adapted to work together. The previous experience of Mr. Gleason had thoroughly fitted him to superintend the construction of the machinery composed of wood, while Mr. Davis had had a similar experience in the working of iron. Their business gradually increased until 1848, when Charles Furber, who for several years had been in their employ, was admitted as a partner, the firm assuming the name of "Gleason, Davis & Co."

Soon after this change in the firm Mr. Gleason's health began to fail, and the indications of pulmonary disease became so apparent that he was advised by his physician, as the only hope of recovery and of prolonged life, to spend the winter in a milder climate than that of New England. He accordingly made preparations to forthwith leave for Florida.

At this juncture it was suggested to him by his friend, Mr. Ebenezer Dale, of the firm of Johnson, Sewall & Co., commission merchants of Boston, who, with others, were large creditors in the insolvent Rock Bottom Company, of which we have previously spoken, that he should undertake to place the business of that concern on a new and firm basis. The only apparent serious obstacle to a reasonable prospect of success was the precarious condition of his health. He, however, decided to take the risk, and, as we have before stated, entered into partnership with Mr. Samuel J. Dale, a brother of Ebenezer, above mentioned. The success attending the change of business, and the removal of Mr. Gleason to Rock Bottom, we have recorded in our sketch of the development of the water-power at that village.

In the autumn of 1875 Mr. Gleason suffered a slight stroke of paralysis, partially disabling him as to physical effort. Yet he continued in some measure to superintend his business until 1880, when his failing health compelled him at least to lay aside all business cares and responsibilities, but he continued to take an interest in the occurrences of the day nearly up to the date of his death, January 19, 1884.

While he was residing at Grafton he made the acquaintance of Miss Louisa Fessenden, of Shrewsbury, who boarded in the same family with him, whom he married, August 31, 1831. She died May 8, 1858. By her he had four sons and a daughter, one of the sons dying when about ten years old.

One of the marked features of Mr. Gleason's character, which contributed very largely to his prosperous career, was his strong self-reliance. With nothing of that vanity or arrogance usually resulting from an overweening self-esteem, he had that confidence in his own powers, and in the results of his own observation and experience, that induced him to undertake a business wherein there had been repeated failures on the part of others, and then to pursue his own course, giving his personal attention to what many would consider unimportant details, which could have been attended to by others, as well as to matters of great weight and importance. This he was able to do by his tireless industry, systematic methods and remarkable executive ability.

Again, he had great will-power, which enabled him in middle life, when his physician and others feared a fatal result, to resist and throw off disease, and so to renew his vitality that he nearly reached the allotted three-score and ten years of human life before he was compelled to abate his active labors. This enabled him, before he had placed his business upon the substantial basis of assured success, to overcome difficulties which, to a less determined spirit, would have seemed to be, and indeed would have been, insurmountable.

Again, he was remarkably shrewd and sagacious, and had a very clear and quick perception of those facts and principles whereby he was enabled to correctly decide questions of the utmost importance to mercantile success, and to the favorable management of a large manufacturing establishment. Hence he could not be duped by others, while he accorded to them all they could rightfully claim for themselves.

Once more, he was economical. Some one has said

that this is "the guardian of property, the good genius whose presence guides the footsteps of every prosperous and successful man." This most excellent trait of character, while in him it did not degenerate into parsimony, was nevertheless manifest in his preference, everywhere, in his mills, on his farm, about his home and in his numerous tenements, for the substantial and useful, rather than for the showy and merely ornamental. This characteristic, as with many other men who, beginning life without money, and dependent wholly upon their own exertions, have become wealthy, contributed largely to his success, for his early savings became the foundation of a future large accumulation.

To these innate faculties, which contributed so largely to his prosperous career in life, he added those genial qualities of mind and heart that made him a most agreeable companion and won for him the universal respect and esteem of those with whom he was more or less intimately connected.

He always manifested a deep interest in the educational affairs of the town, and especially of the village where he resided, which owes its development, during the last forty years, to the growing industry under his charge, and also in the social, domestic and personal welfare of his employés. He was also a liberal contributor to the support of the religious society in the village. Though it was of a somewhat different faith from that with which he had previously been connected, he did not deem it necessary, as too many sometimes do, to go out of town for religious instruction, but sought to build up a prosperous society at home. And to the several pastors of the village church he was ever a judicious counselor, an efficient supporter and a personal friend. He was prompt to extend sympathy, encouragement and needed pecuniary aid to his employés and others of the village, when in trouble, sickness, bereavement or other circumstances, even if they were sometimes in the fault. He was a genuine lover of law and order, a friend of the down-trodden and oppressed, and during the War of the Rebellion he was a firm and faithful supporter of the government, using his great influence in the town to secure the men and the means needed to preserve the nation's life.

Having a natural love for rural pursuits, he found his recreation in the superintendence of a large, well-managed farm, and in the rearing of domestic animals of the first quality.

Though deeply interested in public affairs at home and abroad, his engrossing personal business left him little time for such official service to the town or State as his townsmen sought to secure from him, and for which no one of the citizens was more eminently qualified. He, however, in 1859, and again in 1872, represented the town in the lower branch of the Massachusetts Legislature. He was also a member of the State Senate in 1860 and 1861.

Before coming to Rock Bottom he had become interested in other manufacturing enterprises. From 1847 until his failing health, in 1880, admonished him to relinquish some of his cares, he was a director in the Norway Plains Company, at Rochester, N. H. He then declined a re-election. In July of that year the company unanimously passed this resolution: "That the stockholders of the company have learned with regret that the failing health of Benjamin W. Gleason has made necessary his withdrawal as a candidate for re-election to the Board of Directors, and they wish hereby to express and to place on record their hearty thanks for his faithful service to the interests of the company, continued for so long a time, Mr. Gleason having served as a Director for thirty-three years." He was also, for several years, a director, and one year the president, of the Cabot Manufacturing Company, at Brunswick, Me. At the meeting of that company, October 20, 1880, it was voted that "the stockholders desire to place on record their sense of the long and valuable service which he has rendered to that Company, and his constant devotion to their interests." These resolutions clearly indicate how highly he was appreciated by the business men with whom he had been associated. From 1871 to 1880 he was one of the directors of the Worcester Manufacturers' Mutual Insurance Company. Thus by his efficient management of a large and growing industry, and his remarkable success in that department, together with his unwavering fidelity in all the positions he occupied, Hon. Benjamin W. Gleason most completely established his claim to an honorable place among the representative textile manufacturers of the United States.

John Green.—One of the most notable residents of the town, in its early history, was John Green, who, after some years' residence in Charlestown, returned to England, and, being a man of much ability, was in high favor with the famous Oliver Cromwell, by whom he was made captain of the guard at the dock-yard at Deptford, and clerk of the Exchequer. Upon the restoration of Charles II. he returned to New England, and finally came to Stow with his sister Mary and her husband, Thomas Stevens, to whom was assigned one of the original twelve foundation lots. Mr. Green remained here until his death, and was buried in the old cemetery at the lower village. His will was dated September 4, 1688, and he probably died soon afterwards, as his will was probated February 21, 1688–89. He was evidently a man of wealth, owning much real estate in Sudbury. His library alone was valued at twenty pounds, and was an unusually large collection of books for those times.

Hon. Henry Gardner.—Probably the most distinguished native of the town was Hon. Henry Gardner (H. C. 1750). He was the son of Rev. John Gardner, and was born November 14, 1731. He represented the town in the General Court most of the time from 1757 to 1775. He was a member of the Provincial



Edwin Whitney

Congress that met at Salem, October 7, 1774, and was chosen treasurer of the Province by that body October 28, 1774, which office he held until the adoption of the State Constitution in 1780, when he was chosen the first treasurer of the Commonwealth, and continued in that office until his death, October 7, 1782, aged nearly fifty-one years. He was also a member of the Provincial Congress that assembled at Cambridge, February 1, 1775, and also at Watertown, May 31st of the same year. He was chosen councilor May 30, 1776, and was re-elected until the Constitution rendered him ineligible. He was a justice of the peace throughout the State, and for some years was one of the judges of the Common Pleas Court for Middlesex County, and he was one of the original members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. On announcing his death, the papers of that day spoke of him as "a courageous, uniform, industrious patriot, and a discreet, humane and upright judge." He removed from Stow about the year 1778. He married, September 21, 1778, Hannah Clapp, of Dorchester, and was the grandfather of ex-Governor Henry J. Gardner.

Hon. Edwin Whitney, the subject of this sketch, was born at Harvard, Mass., Oct. 2, 1812. He was the son of Cyrus and Mary (Whitney) Whitney, grandson of Isaiah and Persis (Randall) Whitney, great-grandson of Isaiah and Elizabeth (Whitney) Whitney, and undoubtedly descended from John and Elinor Whitney, who settled at Watertown, Mass., in 1635, though, on account of the loss, or perhaps more properly the neglect of records, that fact cannot now be clearly established. He was born on the old homestead occupied by his ancestor, one of the first settlers of what is now the town of Harvard, and which has remained in possession of the family down almost to the present day. Having grown up on a farm, he was early inured to manual labor. While residing at the family estate he attended the common schools of his native town until he was prepared to enter those of a higher grade, when he went to Brattleboro', Vt., and became a student of the academy of that place. Here he applied himself with great diligence in preparation for the study of his chosen profession of law. About the year 1834 he commenced the reading of law in the office of Judge Cheever, of Albany, N. Y., where he remained two or more years. From thence he went to New York City and completed his course of professional studies with Judge Morrell, of that city. Having been admitted to the bar, he at once became associated with Judge Morrell in professional business. For some years he was constantly employed as a public administrator of the city, in which position he was quite successful. But, at the solicitation, as we are informed, of Col. Elijah Hale, he left New York in 1844 and removed to Stow, where he continued to reside during the remainder of his life. He soon became one of the most prominent and respected citizens of the town, always desirous and ready to do what he considered for the best interests of the community. Though a man of unassuming manners, he was nevertheless possessed of those sterling qualities of mind and heart that prepared him to take a leading position in the community where he resided. He was gifted with a good degree of public spirit, so that for nearly forty years he was a constant and efficient promoter of those measures calculated to advance the prosperity and development of all those interests conducive to the general welfare of the town and the intelligence of its inhabitants. For a series of years he was an active member of the School Committee, and a portion of the time was also the efficient superintendent of the schools, in which he was deeply interested; and in various other positions he proved himself a faithful servant of the people among whom he lived. Not only in secular matters, but also in religious, his interest was strong and unwearied. He was an active and most devoted member of the First Parish Religious Society, which for a long period he served as one of the standing committee and a prominent supporter. To whatever was conducive to the welfare of the church of which he was a communicant, or of the cause of temperance, which found in him an unfaltering friend, as well as in everything calculated to promote sound morals and good citizenship, he was ever ready to lend a helping hand and bid it a hearty God-speed. Not only was he desirous of furthering every project designed to advance the progress of universal education, general morality and practical religion, but he also could inspire others to aid in the promotion of those noble objects. He was largely instrumental not only in inducing his friend, Col. Elijah Hale, a man of wealth and yet childless, to present to the First Parish the parsonage-house and grounds now owned by them, but also to give the generous fund of $5000 to establish and help support the High School, which bears the honored name of the donor. All this most unmistakably shows how thoroughly he had the best interests of the town at heart. Few towns have found a truer or more loyal adopted son than he.

For some years previous to May 16, 1883, when occurred the two hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of the town, he was active in collecting material which would serve to illustrate the progress of the town during the two centuries of its existence. In previous years he had served as chairman of many important committees, and he was made chairman of the committee of fifteen, chosen by the town, April 3, 1882, to arrange for the approaching bi-centennial celebration, and was also selected as the president of the day, and for nearly a year was untiring in his efforts to make the occasion one of credit to the town. Though overruled by a majority of the committee in some of his plans, he still labored with unflagging zeal to make the celebration a success. But he was not destined to see the long-looked-for day; for on the 7th of March, 1883, a little more than two months

before the celebration was to take place, after an illness of a few days of pneumonia, he passed from the mortal to the immortal sphere.

The committee in rendering their report of the celebration to the town, in 1884, speak of Mr. Whitney in these words: "His long and minute acquaintance with the history of the town, together with the large amount of statistical, biographical and other valuable information which he had gathered, made his death a great loss to the committee and the town."

While he practiced law to a considerable extent after his removal from New York, the duties of his profession were somewhat subordinated to the management of a large farm that devolved upon him, and to the care of other extensive real estate of which he was the owner.

Though originally identified with the Democratic party, he earnestly espoused the anti-slavery movement that resulted in the formation of the Republican party. During the War of the Rebellion he was among the foremost of his townsmen in the support of those measures that led to the triumph of the great principles of freedom and equality embodied in the Declaration of Independence made by our Revolutionary fathers.

He represented the town in the lower branch of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1846 and 1847; and again, the district of which Stow was a part, in 1879. He was a member also of the State Senate for the year 1850.

He married, October 26, 1841, Miss Lucia Mead Whitney, daughter of Moses and Lucy (Gates) Whitney, of Stow, who still survives. She is a lineal descendant of Thomas Gates, one of the original twelve settlers of the town, and was born on the farm that he occupied. They had no children.

In addition to those already mentioned who have held important positions in public affairs, either natives or residents of the town, may be added the name of Hon. Rufus Hosmer, who was a member of the Governor's Council in 1839, and died at Boston, April 19th of that year while in office.

John Witt Randall, son of Dr. John (Harvard College, 1802) and Elizabeth (Wells) Randall, granddaughter of Samuel Adams, the great patriot of the Revolution, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, November 6, 1813. He received his preparatory education at the Boston Latin School, in company with many who were afterwards his classmates in college, by whom his peculiar and marked originality of character is well remembered. Though among them, he was not wholly of them, but seemed to have thoughts, pursuits and aspirations to which they were strangers. This was also the case after he entered college, where his tastes developed in a scientific direction, entomology being the branch to which he especially devoted himself, though heartily in sympathy with nature in her various aspects. The college did little at that time to encourage or aid such pursuits; but Mr. Randall pursued the quiet tenor of his way till he had a very fine collection of insects and extensive and thorough knowledge on that and kindred subjects, while his taste for poetry and the belles-lettres was also highly cultivated. He studied medicine after graduation, but his acquisitions as a naturalist were so well known and recognized that he received the honorable appointment of Professor of Zoology in the department of invertebra animals in the South Sea Exploring Expedition (called Wilkes), which the United States were fitting out about this time.

In consequence of the wearisome delays and jealousies which occurred before the sailing of the expedition, Mr. Randall was led to throw up his appointment. Since that time he has led a quiet and retired life, devoting himself to his favorite pursuits, adding to these also the collection of engravings. His collection is one of the most rare and original in this country. He has also devoted much time to the cultivation and improvement of an ancestral country-seat at Stow, Massachusetts, for the ancient trees of which he has an almost individual friendship. An account of his life and experiences from Mr. Randall's own pen would have been very interesting as well as amusing and witty; for in these qualities he excels. In excusing himself from giving this he writes as follows: "As for myself, my life, having been wholly private, presents little that I care to communicate to others or that others would care to know. I cannot even say for myself as much as was contained in Professor Teufelsdrock's epitaph on a famous huntsman, viz., that in a long life he killed no less than ten thousand foxes. It might have been interesting in former days to have related adventures of my foot journeys as a naturalist amid scenes and objects then little known or wholly unknown, where the solitary backwoodsman and his family, sole occupants of a tract of boundless forests, were often so hospitable as to surrender their only bed to the stranger and huddle themselves together on the floor. But since Audubon published his travels, and railroads have penetrated everywhere, such accounts cease to be original, and indeed the people themselves have become almost everywhere homogeneous. Itineraries fill all the magazines, and natural curiosities little known forty years ago have become long since familiar to the public. As for my present self, I will say no more than that for health's sake, to be much out of doors, I have been for a long time engaged in hydraulic planting, building and other improvements on my grounds, which create, it is true, pleasant occupation, but which, when compared with wild nature so varied about me, I am impressed with the conviction how inferior are our artificial pleasures to those simple enjoyments of wood, water, air and sunshine, which we unconsciously and inexpensively share with the innumerable creatures equally capable of enjoying them. As to my literary works,—if I except scientific papers on

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— subjects long ago abandoned, as one on 'Crustacea,' or in the 'Transactions of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia;' two on 'Insects,' in the 'Transactions of the Boston Society of Natural History;' one manuscript volume on the 'Animals and Plants of Maine,' furnished to Dr. Charles T. Jackson to accompany his geological survey of that State and lost by him; 'Critical Notes on Etchers and Engravers,' one volume; 'Classifications of Ditto,' one volume, both in manuscript, incomplete and not likely to be completed, together with essays and reviews in manuscript not likely to be published,—my doings reduce themselves to six volumes of poetic works, the first of which was issued in 1856 and reviewed shortly after in the *North American*, while the others, nearly or partially completed at the outbreak of the Civil War, still lie unfinished among the many wrecks of time painful to most of us to look back upon, or reflect themselves on a future whose skies are as yet obscure." Dr. Randall was never married and resides with his sister, Miss Belinda Lull Randall, in Roxbury, Massachusetts.

CHAPTER L.

BURLINGTON.

BY MRS. MARTHA E. (SEWALL) CURTIS, ASSISTED BY W. R. CUTTER.

INTRODUCTION.

BURLINGTON was originally a part of Woburn, and much of its history has been already included under the history of that town elsewhere. Previously to 1800 the section was an important portion of the older town, when the older community was merely an agricultural one, and farms were the principal property of the inhabitants. From 1730 to 1799 the town of Woburn contained two parishes. The First, or Old Parish included the portion now covered by the present towns of Woburn and Winchester, in general terms; and the Second Parish—otherwise known at that day as the West Parish, or Woburn Precinct—comprised the part known as the present town of Burlington, and a small section of Burlington afterwards set off to Lexington. Burlington was incorporated as a separate town in 1799. The Second Parish or Precinct of Woburn was incorporated September 16, 1730, and the meeting-house, yet standing, though considerably altered, was built in 1732. One of the most important events connected with the history of this house was the loss, in 1777, of near half of the roof by a hurricane. Cotemporary chroniclers state that "near half of the roof was taken off through near the middle, and the gable end of the west side was taken off."[1] Esquire Thompson, of the First Parish, states:

"Past the middle of August, 1777, a hurricane occurred that tore off about half the roof of the Second Parish meeting-house, and part of sundry other buildings were destroyed—Mr. Joshua Jones' barns and some others. The wind tore up a great many apple trees, and blew down and turned up by the roots many large and strong trees, blowing almost all the limbs off some; their naked trunks still standing, five or seven, eight or ten feet high, more or less. The hurricane reached two or three miles in length, but not a quarter of that in width."[2]

There is extant an old list containing the names of the preachers and texts in this parish meeting-house, from the day of the ordination of Rev. John Marrett as minister, December 21, 1774, to July 16, 1775, and with this list are preserved other papers of interest, from which it is learned that the people of the parish donated £2 11*s.* 2*d.* for the Revolutionary sufferers of South Carolina and Georgia, 1782, and the sum of £1 15*s.* 10*d.* to assist in rebuilding a meeting-house in Charlestown, in 1783—burned by the British, June 17, 1775.

Another interesting local occurrence was the dark day of 1780, the following description of which is taken from an interleaved almanac of 1780, kept by Rev. John Marrett, then minister of the parish:

"1780, May 19. *Mane* [in the morning], thunder and rain, an uncommon Darkness from ½ 10 clk. A. M. to ½ past 1 P. M., so Dark yt I could not see to read common print at ye window, nor see ye hour of ye clock, unless close to it, & scarcely see to read a Bible of large print; abroad, ple. [people] left off work both in ye house and abroad; ye fowls, some of ym [them] went to roost; it was cloudy, wd [wind] S. W.; ye heavens looked yellowish and gloomy; wht [what] ye occasion of it is, unknown; ye moon fulled yesterday morn'g; many persons much terrified; never known so dark a Day; ple. lit up candles to see to dine! May 20. Some cloudy and some fair, wd. W.; last night, extraordinary Dark, notwithstanding a moon; it was cloudy, but no rain! Could not see where ye windows of ye house were, not till ye moon was above an hour high; nor see ye hand, tho' close to ye nose, any more yan [than] if ye Eyes were Shut!"

The old parish burial-ground in Burlington is interesting for certain monuments to be found there, such as the stones of the three ministers of the parish before 1800. Here is the memorial erected to the Rev. Supply Clap, 1747,—the first pastor of the "Second Church of Christ in Woburn," who died in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and the thirteenth of his ministry. Beside it is the stone—one of the most prominent in the yard—of the Rev. Thomas Jones, 1774, "late pastor of the Second Church of Christ in Woburn," who died suddenly in the fifty-second year of his age and the twenty-third of his ministry. And here, too, is the stone of the Rev. John Marrett, the "third pastor of the Church of Christ in this place," who died in the year 1813, the last of the ministers of the former century. These three inscriptions on these memorials of the early ministers of Burlington Church

[1] Marrett. [2] Diary (copied), p. 3.

are lengthy and eulogistic specimens of mortuary literature; yet, no doubt, they satisfied the wants and feelings of the people of that generation, who desired thus to perpetuate the memory and good deeds of the worthy ministers who had spent their lives among them.

Beside the stone of the Rev. Supply Clap stands another to Mrs., otherwise Madam, Abigail Jones, who was, according to her epitaph, the "relict of Rev. Thomas Jones, formerly pastor of the church in this place, and daughter of John and Sarah Wiswall, of Dorchester." Her death occurred May 22, 1814, when she was aged ninety-two years. Beside her stone is a small gravestone of a child named Charles Pratt Marston, the infant son of John Marston, Esq., and Mrs. Elizabeth Marston, of Boston,—probably connections of Mrs. Jones, they having sought refuge in the Burlington Precinct, while Boston was enduring a siege. The child died October 20, 1775, aged two months, "while British forces held his native town," says the epitaph.[1]

Near the western wall of this yard is a respectable slate stone, erected in memory of Cuff, "a faithful black domestic of Madam Abigail Jones," who died in April, 1813, aged about sixty-seven years. He was borne to his grave by the selectmen of the town, personally, as a mark of respect to him and the families he had served so long.

In this yard also is a stone erected in memory of Madam Hannah Peters, the relict of the "late Rev. Mr. Andrew Peters, late pastor of the church in Middleton." Her death occurred, says the epitaph, "at Woburn, May XV, MDCCLXXXII, in the LXXVIII year of her age" [1782, in her seventy-eighth year]. The Rev. Andrew Peters was the first minister of the town of Middleton, ordained 1729. He was a graduate of Harvard College, and originated in Andover. He remained in the ministry at Middleton twenty-seven years, and died there on October 6, 1756, aged fifty-five years. The historian of Middleton[2] says very little is recorded there of his wife Hannah; "her name is not found on the church records." But she was buried in Woburn Second Precinct, as her gravestone intimates, and had been a resident here.[3]

There is also in this yard a large marble stone to the memory of General John Walker, 1814, father of Rev. James Walker, D.D., a president of Harvard University. On this stone is a long and ably-written inscription.

It would be easy to allude to the stones of others less distinguished, but one inscription among the others should not be missed. It is as follows, and explains itself:

"Ruth Wilson, died Dec. 3, 1871, aged 89 years. This aged lady spent most of her long life in this, her native town, respected and esteemed by her relatives and friends; and from the proceeds of money earned by her in youth, gave for the benefit of the church in this place, a fund of six thousand dollars, and to the town, six hundred dollars, to keep in repair this ancient burial-ground."

One hundred dollars for the improvement of the old cemetery was used immediately in erecting a new wall on the front side of the old burying-ground, and five hundred dollars was invested as a fund to keep the yard in repair.

Names of occupants or possessors of dwelling-houses above the value of one hundred dollars, in that part of the town of Woburn now known as the town of Burlington, owned, possessed or occupied on the 1st day of October, 1798.

[From an original document in the possession of the Woburn Public Library.]

Giles Alexander, William Abbott, Isaac Baldwin, Thomas Wright, William Newell, John Radford, Josiah Blanchard, Nathan Harrington, Benjamin Blanchard, David Blanchard, James Barry, Ebenezer Cummings, David Cummings, Samuel Carter, John Caldwell, Samuel Cutler, Samuel Fowle, Nathaniel Cutler, Jr., Jonas Carter, Joshua Carter, William Carter, James Carter, Joshua J. Caldwell, Wid. Sarah Caldwell, Jesse Dean, Samuel Dean, Kemer Blackman, Josiah Flagg, Aaron Jones, Robert Homer, Rebecca Johnson, Calvin Simonds, Reuben Johnson, William Johnson, Jotham Johnson, Wid. Abigail Jones, Josiah Johnson, David Johnson, Reuben Kimball, Philip Peters, Abiathar Johnson, Josiah Locke, Thomas Locke, Ishmael Munroe, Isaac Marion, Joseph McIntire, Rev. John Marrett, Samuel Nevers, Josiah Parker, Benjamin Parker, Jonathan Reed, Jacob Reed, Jacob Richardson, Prudence Reed, Jesse Russell, Jonas Reed, George Reed, James Reed, Samuel Reed, James Reed, Jr., Nathan Simonds, Thomas Skilton, Daze Skilton, Benjamin Smith, David Lovering, Caleb Simonds, Calvin Simonds, Samuel Shedd, Solomon Trull, John Wood, Abel Wyman, Ezra Wyman, Josiah Walker, Thomas Gleason, Joseph Winn, James Walker, Samuel Walker, Benjamin Gleason, Philemon Wright, Edward Walker, Rebecca Wilson, Timothy Wilson, David Winn, Timothy Winn, John Bruce, Edward Brown, John Wood, Jr., John Walker, Josiah Walker's heirs, James Wright.

Among the owners whose houses were held by "occupants" only were: Joseph Brown, James Bennett, Benjamin Blanchard, Thomas Bartlett, Jesse Blanchard, the heirs of Micah Cutler, the heirs of Jonas Evans, Ebenezer Foster, the heirs of Joseph Johnson, Reuben Kimball, Clement Sharp, Josiah Walker, Samuel Walker, Timothy Winn and Catherine Wheeler. The situation of the houses in relation to the town, country or county roads is stated. Some are given as in the centre of the farms, and the words "public road" are once used. The area or square feet they cover, the number of stories high, the number of windows, square feet of glass, the materials of which built are stated. The materials, without exception, were of wood. An exemption from taxation was claimed for

[1] From entries recorded in Rev. John Marrett's diary, it would appear that Mr. Marston and wife and children moved from Boston to Burlington, or the Woburn Precinct, on June 10, 1775. Later, on June 16th, he is spoken of as arriving from Boston again, having escaped in a fishing-boat. On September 9, 1775, Mr. Marrett rode to Lexington with Captain Marston. On October 22, 1775 (Sunday), Mr. Marrett attended the funeral of Captain Marston's child—the one mentioned in the epitaph—and on Jan. 3, 1776, the minister visited, with Captain Marston, at Deacon Reed's. Captain Marston is again referred to, under date of March 8, 1776, as visiting the minister, in the evening. On April 26, 1776, Mrs Marston visited him.

[2] Lewis & Co.'s *Hist. of Essex Co.*, vol. i. p. 934.

[3] A memorandum among the papers of Rev. Samuel Sewall says, that Nov. 12, 1781, Timothy Winn gave notice to the selectmen of Woburn that he had taken in Mrs. Hannah Peters, from Middletown, aged 80 years. She was helpless, but he supposed had a sufficiency for her support. He offered to give bonds at the end of the year if required by the town.

one only, viz.,—the one occupied and improved by the settled minister, Rev. John Marrett. The valuation of each dwelling-house, with the lot and out-houses appurtenant thereto, is given in dollars and cents. The total number of houses, including the minister's, was eighty-three; valuation of the houses, out-houses, etc., by the assessors, $30,061.

Catalogue of papers in the Woburn Public Library relating to the separation of Burlington and Woburn. The dates covered by these papers are June 10, 1799, to March 1, 1801.

1. Agreement of the Committees of Woburn and Burlington.
2. Names of Paupers supported by Woburn and Burlington.
3. An account of the Town Stock, Weights, Measures, etc., between Woburn and Burlington.
4. An account of Articles sold at Vendue belonging to same.
5. Paupers supported by Woburn and Burlington Divided.
6. Agreement between Woburn and Burlington respecting Widow Wright.
7. Do. respecting the Pound.
8. List of Paupers.
9. Cost of the School-houses in the town of Woburn.
10. List of Paupers and their ages.
11. Non-Residents in Woburn and Burlington and how they Stand in the Single Tax.
12. Accounts allowed by the Committee of Woburn and Burlington.
13. Meetings of the Committee to Settle with Burlington.
14. Division of the West Road in Burlington.
15. Agreement respecting School-Houses Divided.
16. Do. respecting James Thompson, Jr.
17. Meetings of the Committee on the West Road in B.
18. Settlement of accounts between the towns of Woburn and Burlington.
19. Agreement respecting old Orders and Notes.
20. Last division of the West Road.
21. Report of the Committee of Woburn and Burlington.
22. Outstanding orders against the town of Woburn.

Note.—The Woburn Public Library has also many other papers relating to that section of Woburn afterwards set off as the town of Burlington, among them the alarm list of the military company there, 1776; returns of the training soldiers of that precinct, 1776, including those that were in the Continental service in the year 1775; a list of the draft of soldiers destined for Canada, etc., and the equipage of the alarm list of the same company. Also, there are similar rolls of the same company for 1777, 1780, 1781 and 1782, and records of company meetings 1777–80.

Population of Burlington in 1800.—From a copy of the census preserved in the Woburn Public Library, taken in that year. The original contains a list of the heads of families, and the statistics pertaining to each. A summary of these is the following:

Free white males, to 10,	63
to 16,	39
to 26,	48
to 45,	47
to 45, etc.,	44
Males	241
Free white females, to 10,	71
to 16,	43
to 26,	41
to 45,	55
to 45, etc.,	59
Females	269
Total Males and Females	510
Negroes	2
Total in the town of Burlington	512
Adding Samuel Fowle's and Robert Mullet's families and Sarah Johnson, making	13
Gave an additional total to Burlington of inhabitants at the opening of the century.	525

The houses in Burlington, according to this enumeration, were 74. Of the negroes, one African, male, belonged to the family of Abigail Jones, and one African, female, to the family of James Reed.

CHAPTER LI.

BURLINGTON—(*Continued*).

CIVIL HISTORY.

In the interleaved almanac or diary of Rev. John Marrett, for 1799, we find the following notes regarding the incorporation of Burlington:

"February 28, fair and moderate, *Dmi* [Domi], this Day an act for corporating this Parish into a Township was completed by y^e^ General Court.

"March 11, fair & cold. *Dmi*, p. m., attended first town-meet'g in Burlington to chuse town officers.

"March 18, very cold, w'd N. & Snowy, went to an Entertainment at Capt. Wood's, be'g a general meet'g of men & y^ir^ wives, & rejoicing on acc't of this Parish being Incorporated into a Town."

Among the papers left by Mr. Marrett, there is still in existence a yellow and time-worn but well preserved copy of the proceedings at this celebration. It is interesting to compare it with accounts of similar occasions of to-day:—

"The Principle Inhabitants of the Town of Burlington had a general & Social Interview at Capt. John Wood, Jun's., *Social Hall*, and, after partaking of a Sumtuous Dinner, the following Toasts were given:

"1. The United States of America—may forrieng Influence and Domestic faction be discountenanced by every Citizen.

"2. The President of y^e^ United States—may the wise, firm, pacific & energetic Measures which have marked his Administration insure to him the Love, Esteem, Confidence & Support of every American.

"3. George Washington, Lieut. Genl. of the Armies of the united States—If that Illustrious Character shall again have occasion to draw his Sword in the defense of his injured and insulted Country, may it never be returned until Complete Satisfaction be made.

"4. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts—the first to assert its Rights; the last to Surrender them.

"5. His Excellency, Increase Sumner, our worthy and Meritorious Governor.

"6. The Legislature of Massachusetts—the protection of the weak, the Relief of the oppressed, and the watchful Guardian of all our Rights.

"7. The Secretaries of State, of the Treasury, of the Navy and of War—wise as a Serpent, harmless as a Dove, Swift as an Eagle, and terrible as an Army with Banners.

"8. Our Infant Navy—may it increase in proportion as y^e^ Exegencies of our Country & Commerce may require.

"9. The Army of y^e^ United States—may it Combat with none but our Enemies, and then may it prove invincible.

"10. Our Ambassadors to all foreign Courts—may they maintain y^e^ Dignity of their Station & be faithful to our Country's cause.

"11. The town of Wbn. [Woburn]—Altho' a part has been taken off, yet may y^e^ remainder increase in number, wealth & Beauty.

"12. The Inhabitants of Burlington—may they unite like a Band of

Brothers, & increase in wisdom, strength & virtue, and may no private animosity or local prejudice ever annoy their future prosperity.

"13. The American fair—may they be faithful and cover this good Land with their own Sons, and let the first Lesson which they teach them be love to God & their Country.

"14 Agriculture & ye Mechanic Arts—may we enjoy ye sweets of our own Labour, uninterrupted by forriengners.

"15. Rational Liberty & happiness to ye whole family of Adam.

"16. A speedy, honourable & perminent Peace to all ye Nations of the Earth.

"The company all rose & heartily joined hands."

The author of these sentiments is unknown, but it is safe to conclude that they were composed by Rev. John Marrett, since very few persons, in those days, except ministers or college graduates, held the pen of the ready writer. The patriotism shown in many of them was characteristic of the brave clergyman, whose name headed the "Alarm List" of Woburn Precinct in Revolutionary times.

The house in which the celebration was held is still standing in the centre of Burlington. It is now owned by the heirs of the late Charles Caldwell, and its original form is mainly preserved, although, in the change from a tavern to a dwelling-house, the "Social Hall" has been divided into chambers.

The first book of the records of the town is a well-preserved, leather-covered volume, inscribed on its title page, in a legible hand, "The Commencement of the Records of the Town of Burlington."

To this book we are indebted for many facts regarding the early town history.

The first town-meeting was called by John Caldwell, one of the principal inhabitants of the town of Burlington, in obedience to a writ served by John Walker, justice of the peace. It was held March 11, 1799. The town officers chosen were a town clerk, five selectmen and overseers of the poor, three assessors, a town treasurer, a constable, three surveyors of highways, two fence-viewers, two surveyors of lumber, a sealer of leather, two measurers of wood, a clerk of the market, a sealer of weights and measures, two "hog reefes" and three field-drivers. A motion to dissolve the meeting was then passed "in the affirmity."[1]

At the next meeting, held April 1, 1799, the vote for State officers was taken, and certain articles relating to the appropriation of money and other town affairs were considered. True to the spirit of the fathers, the first vote of appropriation was "to raise two hundred fourty-eight dollars and ninety cents for the Rev'd John Marrett's sallery, ye present year."[2]

The next vote was "to raise one hundred and fifty dollars for shooling."[3]

In Rev. Mr. Marrett's diary of 1800 we find the following account of the service held in commemoration of the death of Washington:

"Feb. 22. The Day appointed by Congress to be observed in respect to the Memory of Gen'l Washington, deceased. We had an Exercise at ye meet'g-house and procession to the meet'g-house."

In 1810 the population of Burlington by the United States census was 471, a decrease from the number in 1800; but in 1820 it was 508, and in 1850 it had increased to 545.

Those who are now familiar with the town must not think that the marked difference we see to-day between rural Burlington and the city of Woburn existed between the old and new towns at the beginning of the century. Then the inhabitants of both places were largely engaged in agricultural pursuits. Many farmers of substantial means lived in Burlington, and it was no small loss to the mother town to be deprived of their tax money. Burlington was on the stage-route from Boston to Concord, N. H. The coming and departure of the stage-coaches brought a certain stir of life into the village several times each day and furnished the most convenient means of communication with the outside world known at that time.

During later years the Marion Tavern, still standing, in the centre of the town, became noted as the "Half-way House" between Boston and Lowell. Here the horses were changed and the passengers sometimes took dinner.

When the Lowell Railroad was built, in 1835, its course was turned aside from the direct route to the north, and Burlington was stranded by the tide of progress. The stages ceased to run; even the mail was at last carried on the cars; and a quiet—unbroken by the merry horn or the cracking of the whip—settled over the little village. The opening of the railroad marked the close of one important era of the history of Burlington.

In the dark days of the Civil War, 1861–65, the citizens of Burlington gave abundant evidence of their patriotism. Meetings were held from time to time, money was appropriated, a recruiting committee was employed to canvass the town, and the recruits were drilled under competent instructors. The town furnished eighty-two men for the war—a number exceeding, by four, all demands of the Government. The amount of money appropriated and expended by the town for the war, not including State aid, was $10,651. This was a large sum for a town, whose valuation, in 1860, was only $328,461, with a population of 606. The women of Burlington also did a large amount of work for the soldiers, knitting, sewing, preparing lint and bandages for the wounded, and in other ways ministering to the needs of the defenders of their country.

The name of Ward Brooks Frothingham, son of the late Dr. Nathaniel L. Frothingham, and a nephew of Hon. Edward Everett, heads the list of soldiers from Burlington. In a personal communication, he gives an account of his experience in the army, which we record here:

"I first enlisted, September 6, 1861, as a corporal in Com[illegible]

[1] Town Records, vol. i. p. 3.
[2] Town Records, vol. i. p. 6.
[3] Town Records, vol. i. p. 6.

'Everett Guard,' 22d Massachusetts Infantry Volunteers. I was wounded through the left shoulder by a minie-ball, at the battle of Gaines' Mills, June 27, 1862, was taken prisoner and confined in Libby Prison. I was paroled and discharged July 30, 1862. I re-enlisted as a second lieutenant, in the 59th Massachusetts Infantry Volunteers (Fourth Veterans), April 23, 1864. I was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant for gallant and meritorious services in the battle of the Wilderness, May 6, 1864. At the battle of Spottsylvania Court-House, May 12, 1864, I was shot through the hat, and, on June 17th of the same year, in an assault on the enemy's works, my canteen was shot away. I was wounded in the right leg at the battle of Pegram's Farm, September 30, 1864. In the attack on Fort Steadman, March 25, 1865, I was captured, and, after giving up my sword, marched to Richmond and Libby Prison. I was paroled for exchange April 2, 1865, and, returning home, was 'mustered out' May 15, 1865, my services being no longer required.

"I served in the Army of the Potomac, and all the engagements in which I participated were in Virginia. Nine years after the war I was most agreeably surprised by having my sword and belt returned to me, by the rebel captain to whom I surrendered. He says in a letter to me, which I still have with me, 'I trust the sword will never be drawn again except in defence of our common country.'"[1]

When the centennial anniversary of the Battle of Lexington was celebrated by that town, April 19, 1875, an invitation was sent to the citizens of Burlington to join in the exercises of the day. At a town-meeting, held March 25, 1875, it was voted to accept this invitation and to raise a sum of money to defray the expenses of the day. It was also voted to form a company of cavalry to join in the procession. This company consisted of forty-six citizens of the town and four honorary members. The officers of the company were Captain, William E. Carter; first lieutenant, George L. Tebbetts; second lieutenant, James Graham; quartermaster, George W. Austin; orderly sergeant, Nathan H. Marion. They were dressed in neat uniforms, and presented a fine appearance. They carried a handsome flag and a banner bearing two views of the "Retreat of Hancock and Adams, April 19, 1775," now the residence of Samuel Sewall, Esq., of Burlington. The cavalry escorted two carriages occupied by the honorary members and four aged citizens of the town. On their way to Lexington the company stopped to pay their respects to the "Retreat of Hancock and Adams," which was appropriately decorated for the occasion, and also to give a salutation to one of the descendants of Paul Revere, who was, at that time, an inmate of the dwelling. The 19th of April, 1875, was a day long to be remembered in Burlington.

The citizens of Burlington have always been public-spirited and liberal, according to their means. This is shown by the neat appearance of their public buildings. The Town Hall, built in 1844, was enlarged and greatly improved in 1879. Beside a commodious hall for town-meetings, lectures and social entertainments, the building now contains a convenient room for the selectmen, and a room for the post-office and town library on the lower floor, and above a well-fitted dining-hall.

There are five school-houses in town, all in good condition. Four schools are kept throughout the year, and one additional during the winter months. This year, 1890, the town, for the first time, employs a superintendent of schools, in conjunction with several adjoining towns.

The public library of Burlington was established in 1858. It now contains 2058 volumes. The circulation, 1889–90, was 1000 volumes. The library is free to all inhabitants of the town over twelve years of age.

The late David Simonds, a wealthy resident of Boston, who was born in Burlington, recently left by will a fund of $1000 for the town library. The library-room is adorned by a portrait of the late Col. Leonard Thompson, of Woburn, presented by his son, Leonard Thompson, Esq. Colonel Thompson was born in this town. He was a wise and public-spirited man, who achieved a high reputation for benevolence and justice to his fellow-men. In his will he left a generous gift to the Sunday-school library of Burlington. Previous to the establishment of the town library in Burlington a social library was formed. The proprietors met Aug. 30, 1816. The number of proprietors was twenty-two. Shares were sold for two dollars each, the holders being subject to an annual assessment of twenty-five cents, with fines for neglect in returning books. The records of this library are very interesting. The library was commenced with less than ninety volumes, but increased to two hundred and fifty. These books were well selected and the list of them, still extant, shows that the popular taste of those days was certainly not inferior to that of our own times. This library, for lack of interest, and perhaps other causes, was given up, in 1842, and the books divided among the shareholders. Rev. Samuel Sewall was the librarian.

In 1880 a new almshouse was built, on the town farm in Burlington to replace the old house, which was destroyed by fire in the fall of 1879. There have been few inmates in the almshouse during late years, but these seem contented and happy. Kind and Christian treatment has been the rule of the institution.

In the Introduction a description of the ancient burial-ground of Burlington was given. In 1851 land was purchased and a new cemetery laid out, on the Bedford road. This cemetery was dedicated with appropriate exercises and an address by Rev. Samuel Sewall, June 25, 1851. Of late years considerable attention has been paid to the care and adornment of the cemetery. Every year a committee is elected by the town to keep the ground in order, and a sum of money appropriated for their use. Many proprietors of lots also take great pains in their improvement and adornment.

The town of Burlington is noted for the beauty of its natural scenery.

The surface is uneven and diversified by conspicuous hills, which command fine views of the surrounding country. From Bennett Hill, in the centre of

[1] Communication of Mr. Ward Brooks Frothingham.

the town, can be seen, on a clear day, Mt. Wachusett, Mt. Monadnock and other mountains of New Hampshire.

The view of the village from this hill at sunset in summer—the church tower rising above the slate stones of the burying-ground, the houses nestling among the trees, and the green fields and orchards—is one hardly to be surpassed among our New England villages.

A clear and beautiful stream of water, a branch of the Shawshine River, called Vine Brook, waters the meadows in the south part of the town.

Sources of the Ipswich River have been traced to the east part of Burlington. Situated on elevated land, the town is noted for the healthfulness of its location. Very few epidemics have prevailed here, although a letter of Rev. John Marrett to his kinsman, Rev. Isaiah Dunster, of Harwich, dated May 25, 1790, seems to hint that our modern influenza was known in that early time. In this letter, he says:

"We have not had y^e^ Measles tho y^y^ hve been all round us. It has been sickly & a time of mortality in many places this spring. with us in general healthy. The Distemper called y^e^ Influenza has prevailed.—I have been confined with it about 10 days. But now well, as we all are."[1]

His diary for that season recorded his own illness and shows an unusual number of visits to the sick.

A newspaper clipping from the *Middlesex Observer*, March 8, 1823, carefully preserved by Rev. Samuel Sewall, gives some interesting facts regarding the healthfulness of Burlington at that time. This clipping gives an abstract of the deaths that occurred in twenty towns in the county during the year 1822, with the population of each town, according to the census of 1820.

In point of healthfulness Burlington ranked second, there being one death to every 127 inhabitants. In Hopkinton, which ranked first, there was one death to every 184 inhabitants. The population of Burlington at that time was 508; the number of deaths for the year only four. A note says:

"This is an unusually small number. In 1821 the deaths were fourteen. The average number for the past nine years has been eight. The whole number since April 13, 1814, to December 31, 1822, is seventy-one. Nineteen of them were over seventy, nine over eighty, and two over ninety years of age."

Burlington is almost entirely an agricultural town. The soil is generally fertile, and, under skillful cultivation, produces good crops of grain, vegetables and fruit. There are many successful farmers in town who are daily demonstrating that farming may be a profitable employment. Some of them raise vegetables of all kinds, early and late, which are sent to the Boston market, and others are engaged in raising milk, principally for use in Woburn. Mr. John Winn, in the east part of the town, keeps a herd of fifty or sixty cows, and supplies many people in Woburn with milk.

Mr. Samuel Walker has become quite celebrated in this vicinity as a raiser of small fruits. He has a number of acres planted with raspberry and blackberry vines and sends large quantities of the berries to the Boston market every year.

Mr. Henry A. Coffin is engaged extensively in the poultry business and is the inventor of a successful incubator. There is one saw and grist-mill in town, owned by Mr. Edward Reed, and situated on Vine Brook. On the same stream there is also an establishment for block-printing.

There are two shoe stock manufactories in the centre of the town. One of these, owned by Mr. George L. Tebbetts, has a steam boiler of twenty-two horse-power, and employs, on an average, seventeen people. A goodly amount of business is done there.

The other, owned by Mr. W. E. Carter, has a boiler of eighteen horse-power and employs about the same number of hands.

There are two grocery-stores in Burlington—one in the centre, owned by Tebbetts & Getchell, and the other in the west village, owned by J. C. Haven. The people do much of their trading in Woburn and Boston.

The most extensive business in town is undoubtedly the ham business, owned and managed by Mr. Thomas I. Reed, who cures the celebrated "Reed hams," at his establishment in Burlington, and sells them in Boston and in many towns in the county. This business was begun, in a small way, fifty years ago, by Mr. Reed's father, the late Isaiah Reed, Jr., who commenced by buying a few hogs and selling pork and sausages. Some people in Woburn, who knew that Mr. Reed had an excellent recipe for curing hams, employed him to cure theirs and gradually the business grew, until, in 1872, he was curing four or five thousand in the season. In 1868 he began to buy hams for sale, and, that year, sold one hundred. In 1872 Mr. T. I. Reed, who had then begun to work with his father, bought and sold four hundred and fifty hams. This, he thought, was a very good year's work. In 1874 Mr. T. I. Reed took the business, after the death of his father. The business since then has constantly increased and the territory has grown more extended. In the season of 1889–90, from October 1st, to the middle of June, about eight thousand hams were cured for others, and forty thousand were bought and sold by Mr. Reed himself. In this business he employed a large number of men and horses. He has two ham buildings, one story and a half high, with cellars, one measuring twenty by fifty-five feet, and the other seventeen by fifty-one feet, and two smoke-houses, each measuring twelve by twenty-four feet. Mr. Reed has also a large farm, which he cultivates profitably.

The finest residence in Burlington is now owned

[1] "Henry Dunster and his Descendants," by Samuel Dunster, p. 91.

with the large farm adjoining, by Mr. Samuel W. Rodman. The mansion-house was built by Rev. Nathaniel L. Frothingham, D.D., minister of the First Church in Boston, and a noted poet and translator. Dr. Frothingham had his summer home in this town for several years, and Hon. Edward Everett, a relative of Mrs. Frothingham, spent at least one season here. During his residence in Burlington, Dr. Frothingham selected a family burial-place in the new cemetery, and there he was buried.

The Burlington Agricultural Society was organized in the fall of 1889, and held their first annual field-day and fair October 3, 1889. Large numbers of people attended, many coming from adjoining towns. There was a fine collection of needlework, vegetables and historical articles to be seen in the Town-Hall, and also a good exhibition of stock and poultry on the grounds. This society is prospering, and making active preparations for its fair to be held next autumn.

Like other country towns where few changes occur, Burlington is rich in landmarks of the past. Probably the oldest house in town is the one owned by Mr. Joshua Reed, in the north part of the town. Its exact age is not known, but it is said to be certainly two hundred years old. It was once used as a garrison-house.

In the history of Woburn an account is given of events connected with the historic house which was the refuge of Hancock and Adams and the fair Dorothy Quincy on the 19th of April, 1775. This story is one of the best of authenticated traditions. It was related to Rev. Samuel Sewall, who records it in his "History of Woburn," by two of the witnesses of the occasion—by Madam Jones, who was living when he came to preach in Burlington, and by the veritable Dorothy Quincy, afterward Madam Hancock, and, by a second marriage, Madam Scott, who was a relative of the Sewalls, and is still remembered by Samuel Sewall, Esq., of Burlington.

A very large chestnut tree near this house is supposed to be one which remained from the original forest, since no record exists of its planting, as is the case with the other trees around the house; it measures four feet in diameter.

The house of Captain James Reed, where the first Revolutionary prisoners were confined, is still owned by his descendants. The house owned by Deacon Samuel Reed, where the library and public records of Harvard College were kept in those perilous times, is still standing, although not in the possession of the family.

The Middlesex Turnpike, once a famous highway, passed through a part of Burlington. There were no gates in this town. The "Turnpike" is now one of the public roads.

The territory embraced by the town of Burlington was once the home of many Indians. Numerous relics, as stone tomahawks and arrow-heads, are still found by the farmers as they overturn the fields with their plows.

Probably the most distinguished individual born in Burlington, or in Woburn Precinct, was the late Rev. James Walker, D.D., president of Harvard University for several years. He was the son of General John and Lucy (Johnson) Walker, and born August 16, 1794. His father was a famous and influential man of his times. His mother was descended from Captain Edward Johnson, one of the noted founders of Woburn.

There has been one native of Burlington whose life was extended to the long duration of one hundred years. Mrs. Betsey Taylor, who died March 25, 1865, aged one hundred years and five months, was born in this town and spent her life here. She remembered the 19th of April, 1775, and once told the Rev. Samuel Sewall that, while it was yet dark on that eventful morning, a messenger was sent from Captain Joshua Walker, commander of the military men of the precinct, to her father, Jonathan Proctor, drummer of the company, to beat an alarm as soon as possible, as the "red-coats" were on the march towards Lexington. As she advanced in years she asked Rev. Mr. Sewall to promise that the one hundredth anniversary of her birth should be publicly celebrated, as she felt that she should live to that "great age," as she called it. This he readily promised, and the celebration was held at her home, as she was then unable to leave the house—October 31, 1864. Mr. Sewall made an address and conducted appropriate religious exercises.

In concluding the civil history of the town, we are led to inquire what manner of men were these who laid its foundations and "builded better than they knew?"

We have already spoken of their true Puritan principles and zeal for the worship of God, which led them to surmount all difficulties and endure "all manner of contradiction" that they might be incorporated as a parish, and have a place for public worship convenient to their homes. The cost of the meeting-house—$943.17—was a considerable sum of money for those days, and the addition to the taxes of individuals, each one being taxed according to his estate, was not a small burden. Certain votes and proceedings at the early meetings of the town show us that money was not plentiful, even as late as 1800. Propositions which incurred expense were often promptly voted down.

In reading these records, we must remember that our forefathers acted not from parsimony only, but from what appeared to them, in the light of their times, to be true economy and thrift.

The attitude of the people on the reforms of the day is important. Very few slaves were owned in Woburn Precinct. The most noted of these was Cuff, the servant of Madam Jones, mentioned in the Introduction. The class distinctions of his day were such,

however, that he was obliged to sit in the gallery of the meeting-house, but, as he had the care of his young mistress, the granddaughter of Madam Jones, he took her to sit with him.

It is a remarkable fact that, although liquors were extensively used in olden times, at all occasions, joyful and sorrowful, even at ordinations and church-raisings, there is no record that any money was expended for them by this parish or church.

The ordination of one of the ministers, at least, was celebrated by a ball, and it is related that the people once partly paid for the painting of the meeting-house in a similar way. The people gave strict attention to the observance of the Sabbath, which began at sunset Saturday night, and continued twenty-four hours. Travelers were not allowed to travel through the parish. A story is told of those days which shows that "one touch of nature makes us all akin." It is said that a certain drover came from the north and stopped over Saturday night at a tavern in this place. The tithingmen went to forbid his moving the herd on the Sabbath, but being received with great affability, they were entrapped into examining the herd, and the sight of one particularly fine animal tempted one of the tithingmen to ask its price, whereupon the drover called out to his men, "Let down the bars. If it's right to buy cattle on the Lord's day, it's right to drive them."

Whether this story is true or not, these traditions teach us that our forefathers were not entirely different from the people of to-day. They had their joys and sorrows, their virtues and frailties, their human affections and passions. Let us preserve all the records that remain of their family and social life, as well as the more public memorials of the transactions of the church and town.

CHAPTER LII.

BURLINGTON—(Continued).

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

OUR fathers, where are they? The worthy of old,
Whose praise and whose honor with joy we have told?
With strength and with patience they labored and prayed,
They trusted God's mercy, though often delayed,
And still on the Mighty their courage was stayed.

The walls that they builded are firm as the hill,
We meet where they met, but their voices are still.
From altars of earth, they ascended on high,
To worship our God in the courts of the sky;
Their fame and their labor the ages defy.

We stand in their places, our footsteps may tread
The path that they followed, by righteousness led.
We pray for their spirit, our work to perform,
While, faithful to duty, in shining and storm,
We gather the harvest of holy reform.

—*Hymn for the 150th Anniversary of the Church in Burlington by M. E. S. C.*

The history of Burlington, especially in early times, is vitally connected with that of the church. The distance from the meeting-house in Woburn and the strong determination of the inhabitants of ancient Shawshin, or "Shushan," as this part of Woburn was then called, to attend public worship, led to the formation of the Second Parish in 1730, and shortly afterward, to the building of the meeting-house and organization of the church. There has been but one church in Burlington, and never any strenuous attempt to form another, although a few families have always attended the churches of their choice in adjoining towns. This church is Congregational Trinitarian. It has always been liberal in spirit and doctrine, and very few theological controversies stain its records.

This church was organized October 29, 1735, Old Style, or November 8, 1735, according to our present mode of reckoning. Ten male members, including the pastor, subscribed to the church covenant. The following list of these members is given for convenience in reference:[1]

Simon Thompson, John Spear, James Thompson, Joseph Pierce, Edward Johnson, William Bruce, Supply Clap (the first minister), George Reed, Ebenezer Johnson, Samuel Walker.

The history of this church and parish from 1730 to the incorporation of the town in 1799, has been included in the "Ecclesiastical History of Woburn."

A note in the first book of church records, in the handwriting of Rev. John Marrett, states that from November 23, 1735, to December 28, 1800, 943 people were baptized.[2] In the same book, Rev. Samuel Sewall, his successor, records that the whole number baptized by Mr. Marrett, from December 25, 1774, to his death, in 1813, was 358.[3]

Later church records help to furnish the following statistics: Whole number admitted into the church, 466; present number of members, 58; whole number of baptisms, 1177.

In the description of the ancient burial-place in the Introduction, the fund left to the church by Miss Ruth Wilson was mentioned. The interest of this sum for years paid one-half of the church expenses. Of her it may be truly said, "She being dead, yet speaketh."

In the Introduction to this history reference was made to the old meeting-house, built in 1732, two years after the Old South in Boston. In 1799 this ancient house of worship was still preserved in its original form. After forty years' exposure to the wind and storms it was painted, and the diamond panes in the windows were exchanged for the square form of glass; but it had neither steeple nor bell. When the meeting-house was built there were no pews, but the floor was occupied with long seats. The men sat on one side of the broad aisle and the

[1] Records of Second Church in Woburn, vol. i. p. 1.
[2] Church Records, vol. i. fly leaf.
[3] Church Records, vol. i. p. 68.

women on the other. In those days it was necessary, according to the old custom, to "seat the meeting-house." In 1735, by a vote of the parish, the first pew lots were sold and pews built upon them, and these continued, from time to time, to replace the ancient seats, until, in 1814, the last seats were exchanged for pews. In 1824 the meeting-house suffered from the injuries done by a severe storm. The front door was blown down, and the inside of the house was considerably damaged. These injuries were repaired and by the pious care of the people; the meeting-house was kept in good condition and in its original form until 1846. At this time it was thoroughly repaired and remodeled.

Ten feet were added to its length, the porch was built and also the steeple with its bell. The inside was entirely changed and greatly improved. On the last Sunday in which the people worshiped in the parish meeting-house, before leaving it to the hands of the repairing workmen, Rev. Samuel Sewall preached a sermon from the text, "Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations; ask thy father and he will shew thee; thy elders and they will tell thee." Deut. 32: 7. This sermon is still remembered as "The Farewell to the old Meeting-House."

Its closing sentences are given here, as affording a picture of the ancient house of God and showing also the simple and genuine eloquence of the preacher:

"For myself then and for you, in your name, I will now bid Farewell to this House of Prayer.

"Farewell, ye pews, in which we and our fathers and our fathers' fathers have sought our God and listened to the instructions of his Word.

"Farewell, ye galleries, and especially thou, in which the sweet singers of our Israel, the skillful in holy song, in our days and in those which have gone by, have declared the high praises of our God, have sung the songs of Zion.

"Farewell, thou Deacons' Seat, in which the former deacons of this Church of God, now deceased, a Reed and a Walker, a Johnson and a Reed, a Winn and a Blanchard, a Simonds and a Cutler, were accustomed successively to sit; where its former pastors have stood, one after another, and blessed the memorials of the Saviour's death, and dedicated to his service with baptismal water the infant offspring of their people.

"Farewell, thou Sounding-Board; under whose shade many a venerable minister of religion in former days has stood, dispensing the Word of Life, thinking he was much indebted to thee for his power to be heard, but whose services the notions of modern times have led men to dispense with.

"Farewell, thou Pulpit, in which my predecessors and I once used to stand in performing the holy offices to which we were called. Thanks for all the enjoyment and comfort I have taken and for any good I may have done in thee: and if I or any other preacher that has occupied thee has ever abused or slighted thy accommodation, may God forgive!

"Farewell, thou House of God, in thy present form; a long, a final farewell. But, blessed be God! we hope to meet in thee again, with thy walls rebuilt and with new and better accommodations for the sacred services for which thou art designed than thou hast ever afforded. The prospect of that day we will cherish with thankfulness; we will hail its arrival with pious joy. Amen."[1]

It does not appear that the meeting-house was dedicated at the time of its erection, but, in 1846, when it was re-opened to the public, after the repairs, it was consecrated, with appropriate ceremonies, to the worship of God.

In the loft of this remodeled meeting-house could still be seen the timbers of the original frame, untouched with decay, and, as the old sexton of the parish used to remark, "so hard that no worm could eat them."

These remain to this day in the heart of the building, and stoutly resisted the carpenter's chisel in 1888.

The one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the church and settlement of the first minister was celebrated on Sunday, Nov. 8, 1885. The church was decorated with rare plants, flowers and evergreens. Noticeable among the decorations was a board taken from the meeting-house in 1846, bearing in ancient lettering this inscription:

Built—1732.
Repaired—1793.

This was sold with other lumber to Mr. William Locke, of Lexington, who had the charge of remodeling the meeting-house in 1846. By his generosity it was restored to its original place. A large audience attended and the old meeting-house was once more filled with worshipers as in the olden days, when tradition says that all the seats were occupied, on ordinary occasions, and the teller of the tale, then a boy in the parish, was obliged to sit on the gallery-stairs.

The exercises opened with the singing of "Old Hundred" by the congregation. Prayer was offered by Rev. Leander Thompson, of North Woburn. A hymn written for the occasion by Rev. Charles C. Sewall, of Medfield, was sung by the congregation, to York Tune as sung by our forefathers.

An excellent historical sermon was delivered by Rev. Charles Anderson, the pastor of the church.

His text was from Joshua 13: 1:—"Thou art old and stricken in years and there remaineth yet very much land to be possessed." This sermon gave an interesting review of the past and pointed lessons of inspiration and admonition for the future.

At the conclusion of the sermon the hymn at the heading of this chapter was sung. The sacrament of

[1] Manuscript sermon of Rev. Samuel Sewall.

the Lord's Supper was then administered by the pastor, assisted by Rev. Leander Thompson.

The ancient silver cups used in this service were presented to the church as follows: two by Dea. George Reed, in 1718 and 1734; one by Roland Cotton, 1741; one by Roland Cotton and Nathaniel Saltonstall, no date; one by Silvanus Wood, 1808; one by Rev. John Marrett, 1813; one by Timothy Winn, 1814.

On Monday evening the citizens of the town held a banquet and reception in the Town Hall. Prominent among the decorations was the sword of Rev. John Marrett. At the post-prandial exercises, addresses were given by Rev. Charles Anderson, Rev. Daniel March, D.D., Samuel Sewall, Esq., Rev. E. G. Porter and William Winn, Esq.

At this time considerable enthusiasm was aroused, among the people of the town and those from abroad who were interested in the place as their former home, or the home of their forefathers, in regard to repairing the meeting-house, which had begun to plainly show the marks of time and age.

Through the efforts of Rev. Charles Anderson the funds for this purpose were raised, generous help being given by friends from abroad. The work of repairing and remodeling was begun and completed in 1888. The steeple was removed and a new tower and porch built on the south side of the meeting-house. The interior was entirely changed and, instead of the one room with hall and gallery, now contains an auditorium for public worship, a vestry for the Sunday-school and above the vestry a parlor and kitchen, all handsomely decorated and furnished. The windows in the auditorium were given by Mrs. S. D. Warren, of Boston, as a memorial to her father, Rev. Dorus Clark, D.D., once acting pastor of this church, and to his wife, "who loved and served this people."

Before the remodeling of the meeting-house was completed Rev. Charles Anderson had resigned his pastoral charge and Rev. Charles H. Washburn was acting as pastor of the church. Interesting services of re-dedication were held at the meeting-house December 20, 1888. The sermon was preached by Rev. Daniel March, D.D., of Woburn. The Sunday-school has been for many years an important factor in the life of the church.

Rev. John Marrett faithfully performed the duty of catechising the children, as recorded in his diary. This was continued by his successor, Rev. Samuel Sewall, for a time. Mr. Sewall then formed Bible classes for the young men and women of the parish, who met at the house of the minister, to be instructed in the Scripture. The Sunday-school was organized May 4, 1827. At their first meeting Dr. Ezra Ripley, of Concord, addressed the school. A library was given by Messrs. J. B. and Nathan Blanchard.

The present superintendent of the school is Mr. Thomas I. Reed, chosen in 1871. It has been a peaceful and prosperous school, productive of great good to the young people of the town.

The Ladies' Benevolent Society, connected with the church, has always acted a prominent and useful part in charitable work among the poor and in contributing to the funds of the church. This society celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its organization by a reception and reunion of members, May 22, 1890. The president, Mrs. Mary B. Reed, has held her office for thirty-six years.

The ministers of the church in Woburn Precinct previous to 1799 were Rev. Supply Clap, ordained November 8, 1735, died January 8, 1748, and Rev. Thomas Jones, ordained January 2, 1751, died March 13, 1774.

An account of these ministers will be found in the Ecclesiastical History of Woburn.

The pastor of the church in 1799 was Rev. John Marrett, a direct descendant of the fifth generation from Henry Dunster, first president of Harvard College. He was born in Cambridge September 21, 1747, and graduated from Harvard College in 1763. He married, December 16, 1779, Martha Jones, daughter of Rev. Thomas Jones.

He was ordained December 21, 1774, and continued his ministry in Burlington until his death, February 18, 1813. The time between these dates includes a period of loving, faithful and earnest service as pastor, neighbor and friend, which left a mark on his contemporaries and influenced generations then unborn. Mr. Marrett was a fine representative of the old-fashioned clergyman—a class which has ceased to exist, even in our rural villages.

Among his manuscripts are copies of short addresses to his people which show that his ideas were in advance of the time in which he lived. In regard to admitting persons into the ordinances of the church, he says:

"I would n't [not] have y^e^ Door so large or wide as to admit unsuitable persons nor so streight or narrow as to exclude y^e^ well disposed." In the same address he recommends that when persons have any confession to make to the church it shall be before the church alone and not before the congregation.

In his time the reading of the Scripture was not usually a part of public worship, but when a large Bible was presented to the church he signified his intention of reading in it, "while y^e^ season was moderate." The last words bring manifold suggestions of the days when our fathers worshiped in unwarmed, comfortless, meeting-houses, without the modern conveniences we now think necessary to our spiritual well-being.[1]

Like nearly all country clergymen of a century ago, Mr. Marrett was also a proprietor of land and a practical farmer. Tradition hath it that he often worked in his own fields.

[1] "March 5, 1790. Began to read y^e^ S. S. in Publick."—*Diary*. "S. S." meaning the "Sacred Scriptures."

Mr. Marrett kept a diary, still in the possession of his descendants, to which frequent reference has been made in this history. Besides notes of the weather, descriptions of journeys, memoranda of parish work and farming, it contains accounts of noted public events, such as the Boston massacre, the Boston tea party and the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill. Several times, he writes, that he went to meeting "on rackets," or snow-shoes. Mr. Marrett's successor as minister of Burlington was Rev. Samuel Sewall, still remembered and revered as "Father Sewall." He was descended from Henry Sewall, of Newbury, the first of the name in this country, and son of Henry Sewall, the mayor of Coventry, England. Among his ancestors were Samuel Sewall, chief justice of the Province of Massachusetts Bay from 1718 to 1728, celebrated as one of the presiding judges at the witchcraft trials in Salem, 1692, and his son, Rev. Joseph Sewall, a noted minister of the Old South Church in Boston. Samuel Sewall was the son of Chief Justice Samuel Sewall and Abigail (Devereux) Sewall, and was born at Marblehead June 1, 1785. There is a family tradition that he was consecrated in infancy by his mother to the Christian ministry. Certainly, his parents seem to have directed his education with that end in view. Wise and thoughtful beyond his years, as his early writings show, he readily took a hold upon "things unseen," and began in youth to lay the foundations of that character whose symmetrical completion was an inspiration to all who knew him in his ripe old age. Having fitted for college in the academy at Marblehead, he entered Harvard University in 1800, when only fifteen years old, and graduated with honor in 1804. Having already decided upon his profession, he at once began the study of theology at Cambridge, filling, at the same time, a minor position in the college government.

After the completion of his professional studies he took orders in the Episcopal Church, of which his parents were members; but, after officiating in this church for a short time, in Cambridge and elsewhere, he became dissatisfied with some articles of its creed and decided to enter the ministry of the Congregational Church. He was ordained at Burlington April 13, 1814, where he preached as a candidate, after the death of Mr. Marrett. He married, January 1, 1818, Martha Marrett, daughter of Rev. John Marrett, and took up his abode in the house formerly owned and occupied by his predecessors, Mr. Jones and Mr. Marrett, the grandfather and father of his wife. This dwelling was especially dear to him on account of its associations with the past.

As a pastor, Mr. Sewall was greatly beloved by his people. His name is still spoken with loving memory at the firesides of the parish. His sermons, still in existence, are marked by their earnest purpose and vigor of thought. After twenty-eight years of faithful ministry, Mr. Sewall gave up his pastoral charge, but did not relinquish his interest in the welfare of his townspeople or his zeal in the cause of his Master. He continued to preach, from time to time, as long as he lived. He was the first minister of the church in North Woburn, where he preached for some time, and during his ministry the first meeting-house in that place was built. A memorial window in the new meeting-house, given by the church in Burlington, commemorates his faithful labors in that parish.

Mr. Sewall was a man of public spirit, and ever active in all movements for the good of the town. He filled the offices of town clerk and School Committee with acceptance for a term of years. It is a well-known fact that men of strong intellect usually cherish a favorite avocation or study apart from their business or professional cares, which they pursue with avidity in leisure hours. This chosen study with Mr. Sewall was historical and genealogical research. Certain circumstances of his life favored this choice. Descended from a family rich in traditions and memorials of the past, he was connected by marriage with another family also famous for the preservation of these valuable heirlooms.

As an antiquarian Mr. Sewall became widely distinguished. His contributions to historical literature have always been highly valued, and those who knew him best can testify to the care and faithfulness of his researches. His last and greatest work was the "History of Woburn." This was printed while its author lay on his death-bed. For himself, he said he wished to live only a few hours longer, that he might see the completion of this work, the result of years of study and toil; but this could not be. Mr. Sewall's last sermon was preached at Carlisle, Mass., August 11, 1867. The last public service in which he participated was the ordination of Mr. Alfred S. Hudson, at Burlington, December 19, 1867, where he made the ordaining prayer. Rev. Samuel Sewall died February 18, 1868. His funeral, attended by hundreds of his friends and former parishioners, was held at the Burlington meeting-house, February 21, 1868, and his remains were laid at rest beside his wife—who died several years before—in the new cemetery at Burlington.

It is impossible for us in the limits of this sketch to do justice to the historian, the author and the preacher, Samuel Sewall. Worldly distinction he never sought, and fame he never courted. He was indeed one of those whom the poet Lowell describes:

> "The bravely dumb that did their deed
> And scorned to blot it with a name,
> Men of the plain, heroic breed
> That loved Heaven's silence more than fame."

After the resignation of Mr. Sewall the church remained without a settled minister until 1849, when Rev. Harrison G. Park was called by a unanimous vote to the office of pastor. He was installed November 15, 1849, and continued in his office until May 10, 1852, when he was dismissed at

his own request. Mr. Park died several years ago. The next settled minister was Rev. Alfred S. Hudson, who was ordained December 19, 1867, and resigned his office June 9, 1873.

He is now minister of the Congregational Church in Ayer, Mass., and has achieved a worthy reputation as the author of the "History of Sudbury," his native town.

In 1873 the churches in North Woburn and Burlington agreed to unite in the choice of a minister, and, September 2, 1874, Rev. Charles Anderson was ordained and settled over the two parishes.

Mr. Anderson's ministry extended over a period of fourteen years. Possessing remarkable power as a preacher, he might easily have filled a more noteworthy position, but he preferred to remain among the people of his first choice. His self-denying devotion was richly rewarded, and his ministry was marked with signal success.

In 1887 he received a call to a professorship in Robert College, Constantinople, Turkey. As he had been a teacher in that institution in his youth, and was thoroughly acquainted with the work, he felt that this was a summons of duty, and, greatly to the regret of his people, he accepted. He was dismissed July 2, 1888, and in September sailed with his family for Constantinople.

Rev. Charles H. Washburn is the present acting pastor of the church.

Among the ministers who have, at different times, preached in Burlington, although not settled, were Rev. Nathaniel Richardson, Rev. Dorus Clarke, D.D., and Rev. Eli Moody.

Extracts from Rev. John Marrett's Interleaved Almanacs for 1775, and 1776, not elsewhere noticed.

January 1, 1775. Preached at Woburn; went from Deacon Reed's to meeting on snow-shoes.

3. Rode to Cambridge; lodged at College.

4. Rode to Boston and returned to Cambridge; lodged at College. Patty B-r-d-n married to Mr. Osgood, of Andover.

5. Returned to Lexington. 6. At Lexington.

7. Rode to Woburn; lodged at Deacon Reed's.

8. Preached at Woburn. 9. At Woburn.

10. At Woburn. Spent evening at Deacon Reed's. Sons much company.

11. *P.M.* Rode to Lexington.

12. At Lexington. Sent my goods to Woburn.

13. Moved to Woburn. Board at Madam Jones's, for 40*s.* per week, and keep my horse myself.

[15.] Sunday. Preached at home. A full meeting.

18. Spent the evening at Reuben Kimball's. Much company.

21. *P.M.* Rode to Billerica. Sunday. Preached at Billerica on exchange.

23. Rode to Woburn. Lodged at Lieut. Johnson's. Visited a number of families in West Quarter.

24. Dined at Deacon Reed's. Rode home.

25. Dined at Deacon Johnson's with much company.

27. At home. Mr. Thaxter dined here.

28. Last night, between 9 and 10 o'clock, had to visit a sick woman, Mrs. Twiss. Sunday. Preached at home.

30. *P.M.* Visited a number of families on Billerica Road. Evening, Mr. Coggin spent with me.

31. Hay brought me by Messrs. Trask and Dodge. Evening. Deacon Reed's sons and wife visited [me].

February 1, 1775. Attend Mr. Sherman's Lecture and preached.

2. Preached a lecture for Mr. Cumings.

5. Sunday. Preached at home. A full meeting.

7. Deacon Reed and Sergt. Joseph Johnson visited me.

8. Rode to Lexington. 9. Lodged at my brother's last night. Attend lecture at Lexington; a lecture on the times. I began with prayer. Mr. Cushing preached from Psalm 22: "He is governor among the nations." Mr. Clark concluded with prayer.

10. Spent last evening at John Wood's. Much company. Lodged at Deacon Reed's.

12. Sunday. *P.M.* Very snowy. Thin meeting.

13. Rode to Wilmington and return.

15. Chilly, uncomfortable. Rode to Boston and returned to Cambridge. Lodged with Mr. Gannett at College. 16. Returned home.

19. Sunday. Preached at Wilmington on exchange.

21. Mr. Clark, of Lexington, visited here.

27. Visited several families towards Lexington side—seven houses.

28. Married a couple. Visited three houses.

March 6, 1775. Prayed at March meeting. Rode to Lexington. 7. Lodged last night at Brother's. Spent day at Lexington. Attend training there. At night rode home.

12. Sunday. Preached at Lexington in exchange.

13. Parish meeting. A committee came to know if I would accept some certain sum of money in lieu of my wood, and after some discourse I told them that I would accept of £8 annually in lieu thereof, which they cheerfully and thankfully received.

14. Attend the funeral of Mrs. Sarah Johnson, widow of the late Deacon Johnson.

16. Annual fast. Preached at home, *P.M.* A very full meeting.

20. Rode to Cambridge. Dined at College. Returned home.

21. Training. Viewed arms.

25. Towards night rode to Woburn Old Parish.

[26.] Sunday. Lodged last night at Mrs. Burbeen's, and preached at Woburn Old Parish on exchange. Mr. Prentiss preached for me, and Mr. Sherman for Mr. Prentiss, and I for Mr. Sherman. Returned home.

27. At home. Bottled cider; 11 dozen and 1 bottle, and visited Messrs. Trask, Abijah Smith and Andrews.

29. My Lecture. Mr. Cumings preached from John 20 : 29. A good sermon. Mr. Edward Brooks and wife, of Medford, here.

30. Preached lecture at Billerica and returned.

April 2, 1775. Sunday. The first sacrament I have had since ordination. Lengthened the intermission during summer season two hours.

3. Visited Henry Reed, James Twist, Stearns, Gleason and McIntire.

4. Rode to Wilmington and Reading. *P.M.*, Heard Mr. Stone [of Reading] preach a sermon to the minute-men. Returned to Wilmington; lodged at Mr. Morrill's.

5. Returned home before dinner.

6. Rode to Lexington; attend lecture. Mr. Cooke, of Menotomy, preached. Mr. Cushing and Mr. Woodward there.

8. People moving out of Boston on account of the troops.

9. Sunday. Mr. Marston came up from Boston to get a place here for his wife and children.

10. Rode to Stow. Dined at Concord. Lodged at Madam Gardner's. 11. Rode from Stow to Northboro'. 12. At Northboro'; at Mrs. Martin's. 13. Return from Northboro' to Lexington. 17. Visited Thomas Locke, Newman and Welsh.

18. Attend funeral of child at Abel Wyman's.

20. *P.M.* Attend funeral of Mr. Baldwin, in Woburn town, who died of a fever; and afterwards rode to Lexington and saw the mischief the Regulars did, and returned home.

21. Rode to Concord. The country coming in fast to our help. Returned home.

22. At home. All quiet here. Our forces gathered at Cambridge and towns about Boston. The Regulars removed from Charlestown to Boston the day before yesterday.[1]

[23.] Sunday. Preached at home. Soldiers traveling down and returning; brought their arms with them to meeting, with warlike accoutrements. A dark day. In the forenoon service, just as service was ended, Doctor Blodget came in for the people to go with their teams to bring provisions from Marblehead out of the way of the men of war. Considerable number at meeting.

24. At home. A dull time. Packing up my most valuable effects to be ready to move on any sudden occasion.

25. Rode to Cambridge. Our forces very numerous there. Lodged at Richard Clark's, Watertown.

26. Returned home, *via* Lexington. Many houses on the road pillaged by the Regulars between Lexington and Charlestown.

27. Josiah Quincy arrived this week from England and died at Cape Ann.

29. Rode to Bedford. Sunday. Preached at Bedford on exchange.

[1] For entry regarding the events of the 19th of April, see Sewall's *Woburn*, 384.

May 2, 1775. Rode to ministers' meeting at Mr. Stone's. Lodged at Mr. Smith's. 3. Rode to Topsfield and to Boxford. Lodged at Mr. Holyoke's.

7. *P.M.* Preached at Old Parish in exchange with Mr. Coggin.

8. Rode to Billerica and returned. 9. To Lexington.

11. Fast Day. Preached at Reading in exchange for Mr. Haven. Rode to Medford.

12. Lodged last night at Capt. Brooks, Medford. Rode through Cambridge to Dorchester. Surveyed the situation of our forces.

13. Lodged last night at Mr. Wiswell's, at Dorchester, and returned home through Cambridge.

17. Saw about 9 o'clock *P.M.*, a great fire towards Boston. Went up a hill and saw the blaze. Just before the fire heard a great noise.

18. The fire last night was in Boston. Burnt a number of stores. It began in one of the barracks.

21. Sunday. Married Josiah Wilkins, of Marlboro', to Judith Fox, of Woburn Old Parish. They came to my lodgings.

23. Last Sabbath our people destroyed a quantity of hay at Weymouth, which the Regulars attempted to get to Boston. Some firing on both sides, but have not heard that any were killed.

26. Mr. Prentiss, of Reading, dined with me.

[27.] Sunday. Last night exceeding warm. Lay most naked. All day and in the night heard the cannon at Boston. A skirmish, I suppose, between the troops under General Gage and our forces. Heard the cannon in time of service, *A.M.*, and hear our forces have burnt a tender to a man-of-war, this morning, at the mouth of the Mistick River, and that they from yesterday, *P.M.*, to to-day, were firing at each other.

29. Catechising the children,—thirty in number.

30. Rode to Cambridge. Lodged at Dr. Appleton's.

31. Rode to Watertown. Dr. Langdon preached to the Congress from Is. i: 28. Lodged at Waltham.

June 1, 1775. Rode to Watertown. Heard Mr. Stevens preach Convention sermon. Rode to Cambridge and home.

4. Sunday. Mr. Wyeth came up between meetings and preached *P.M.*

6. *P.M.* Married Joshua Reed.

9. Went fishing at Billerica with Messrs. Blanchard and Andrews.

10. Mr. Marston and wife and children moved from Boston here.

16. Mr. Marston, of Boston, arrived here. He escaped in a fishing boat.[2]

19. Rode to Menotomy and lodged at Mr. Wellington's.

20. Rode to Watertown and Cambridge, and viewed the intrenchments of our army between Cambridge and Charlestown and returned home.

[2] For entry regarding the events of the 17th of June, see *Woburn Journal*, May 22, 1875.

21. Mr. Wigglesworth came here and lodged.[1]

24. Began to rain about noon. We have had an early and long and severe drought. *P.M.* Just heard that our army had entrenched last night nearer the enemy on Bunker's Hill, and that the enemy this morning appeared with their horse in battle array and in readiness at the bottom of the Hill by Charlestown Neck to drive our forces away; but after a while they withdrew. The heavy cannon are now playing, the firing is smart and very plainly heard.

29. In evening, married Ruth Wyman to Josiah Kendall.

July 1, 1775. Heard the firing of some cannon which were at Roxbury Neck.

[2] Sunday. A great deal of firing below. It began about daybreak and continued till 7 o'clock. Heard it was at Roxbury Neck. Mr. Prentiss, of Charlestown, preached for me, *A.M.* *P.M.* Preached myself, and attended a funeral of Jesse Russell's [wife] in the other parish.

3. Rode to Lexington and returned, and attended a funeral in the other Parish of a young man, who received his death wound by a horse's throwing him.

4. Attended Ministers' meeting at Billerica. I was admitted into the association.

9. Sunday. Mr. Prentiss, of Charlestown, preached for me, *P.M.*

10. Thermometer 92° in a shade abroad.

11. Thermometer 95° in the shade abroad.

12. Rode to Lexington. *P.M.* Great shower of rain, which extended far and wide. Rained about an hour as fast as ever I saw. I believed the water ran in brooks and stood in ponds. After shower rode to Watertown.

13. Last night lodged at Watertown, and rode to Roxbury, Cambridge, and to Prospect and Winter Hills, and viewed the forts and entrenchments, well executed and strong. Prayed in evening with Colonel Gerrish's regiment and returned home. 16. Sunday. Mr. Prentiss, of Charlestown, preached for me. 17. Great shower of hail, etc.

20. A General fast appointed throughout British America by the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. Preached at home.

21. Rode to Cambridge. Lodged at Mr. Watson's.

22. At Cambridge. At evening prayed in the army. [23.] Sunday. Last night lodged at Mr. Tappan's. *A.M.* Preached in the army. *P.M.* Some rain which prevented preaching. 24. At Cambridge.

25. Return home.

26. Very unwell. 27. Extreme sultry: hot. Rain, *P.M.*, etc. It has been a very dry time, the hay cut greatly short—English hay here 22*s.* per hundred. Indian corn looks promising. The rye very short and flax. 28. Dine at Mr. Reuben Kimball's.

30. Sunday. Attend the funeral of old Mr. Simonds; a very large funeral.

[1] For entry on the 22d, see Sewall's *Woburn*, 578; the 26th, see Sewall, 563.

August 2, 1775. My lecture; Mr. Morrill preached from Psalm 56: 3. After lecture had church meeting. Chose Mr. David Blanchard and Mr. Joseph Johnson (3d), deacons. There were 17 members present. Mr. B. had 10 votes; the rest scattering votes. Mr. Joseph Johnson, the Third, had 11 votes.

3. Evening. Married a couple.

6. Sunday. Mr. Prentiss, of Charlestown, preached all day. Sacrament.

8. Visited a sick person in the Old Parish at Capt. Brooks's. *P.M.* Visited James Johnson's son.

10. Visited Capt. Walker's son, sick.

11. Rode to Bedford and returned. On return called and prayed with Bacon's family, very sick, and also visited and prayed with Capt. Walker's son.

13. Sunday. Preached at Bedford on exchange. Returned very unwell. 14. Very unwell. 15. Do.

16. Better, but very feeble; a cold in the limbs, attended with some fever; little or no appetite. 17, 18, 19, Sunday. Unwell, at home. Mr. Wyeth preached all day for me. I am very unwell—not able to preach—the rheumatic disorder.

21. Visited Jonas Walker, very sick.

23. Rode to Deacon Reed's and returned at night. Unwell. 24. Not well. 25, 26. Ditto. 27. Sunday. No preaching nor meeting. Not well.

28. Master Hutchinson, of Boston, lodged here. To-day I rode to Lexington, dined at Brother's and returned.

29. Rainy day, at home. Took a vomit. 30. At home, unwell. 31. Better of my sickness.

September 1, 1775. Confined to house. 2. Rode, but in the *P.M.*, unwell. [3.] Sunday. Exceeding rainy, a northeast storm; abundance of rain. Mr. Brooks, of Medford, preached for me. At home; did not attend meeting; very unwell. 4. At home, confined to house. 5. Rode out in Parish. 6. Rode to Wilmington. Feel better in health. 7. *P.M.* Rode to Billerica and back. 8. Rode out in the afternoon. 9. Rode to Lexington with Capt. Marston. A short shower at Lexington and some rain at Woburn. Very warm after the rain.

11. Visited three sick persons, viz.: Old Mrs. Proctor, John Gleason's wife and Stratton's wife.

12. Rode to Cambridge, and viewed the camps and forts, and returned at night. Boston is hedged in on every side but the water.

13. *P.M.* Attend a funeral of Mr. Switcher's [Sweetser] child, of Charlestown, now living in the other Parish, and prayed with a sick woman at Dr. Hay's.

14. Attend a funeral of Bartholomew Richardson's child in Old Parish.

16. Visited Mrs. Kendall, a dying person, and who died while I was there.

17. Sunday. After meeting *P.M.*, attend a funeral of a child of Jonathan Carter's, Old Parish.

18. Visited four sick persons and attended the funeral of Mrs. Kendall. A sickly time.

19. Visited three sick persons.

20. *P.M.* Attended the funeral of Mr. *Isaac*[1] Snow, Old Parish, and on return prayed with the sick at Capt. Walker's.

21. Attended and preached Mr. Clark's Lecture. My birthday.

22. Visited Elizabeth Reed's daughter, sick.

23. Attended the funeral of Capt. Walker's child.

24. Sunday. Put on coarse, linen shirt.

25. Visited six houses where there were sick, and prayed, and two houses of well.

27. Lecture. Mr. Cumings preached. Mr. Whitney, of Attleboro', here with Mr. Cumings.

29. Visited sick at John Caldwell's and Center's, Old Parish.

30. Attended the funeral of Abraham Alexander's child.

October 2, 1775. Visited the sick and catechised the children present, 24.

3. Prayed with Center's Son and Mrs. Kendall, Old Parish. Rode to Reading, attend Ministers' meeting at Mr. Prentiss's, and *P.M.*, returned and attended the funeral of John Caldwell's child.

5. *P.M.* Attended two funerals in Old Parish and prayed with a sick person. Evening, married Jonas Evans, of Reading, to Rachel Eames, of Woburn.

6. Deacon Johnson moving my goods, I purposing to board at his house.

9. Moved myself from Mrs. Jones's to Deacon Johnson's to live.

10. Visited George Reed's and Elizabeth Reed's families, very sick.

11. Attend the funeral of Center's son, aged 8 years and 7 months. Evening, came on thunder and lightning and rain. Rained most of the night. The lightning exceeding sharp and very frequent,—more lightning than at any one time this year. A building on fire at the westward, not far distant. Set on fire, I imagine, by the lightning. Isaac Stearns's barn, of Billerica, was consumed, being struck with lightning. Barn was 85 feet long.

13. Rode to Lexington. Attended the funeral of one of Brother's children, viz., Ruth, aged seven years, and returned.

18. Messrs. Wigglesworth and Gannett dined here.

22. Sunday. Attend the funeral of Capt. Marston's child.

23. Rode to Watertown, *via* Lexington. Very sickly at my brother's. Lodged at Watertown.

24. Rode from Watertown to Cambridge, viewed the camps and returned home.

25. Mr. Burbeen dined with me. *P.M.*, visited old Mrs. Reed, being sick.

30. Visited Mr. Welch's daughter, she being sick.

November 1, 1775. Rode to Concord. Attended the Dudleian Lecture. Dr. Langdon preached from Micah 4: 5. Subject: Natural religion. Returned home.

2. Deacon Marrett, of Cape Ann, here. 3. He lodged here, weather bound. *P.M.* Attended funeral of the Widow Mary Reed. 4. Deacon Marrett went, morning. 6. Visited at Mr. Symmes's.

7. Rode to Wilmington to Ministers' meeting and returned.

9. Cannon fired much from 12 to 3 o'clock; about 400 or 500 Regulars landed on Lechmere's Point and carried off 1 cow. They were soon drove off by a party of our soldiers. We lost 1 man killed, and 1 mortally wounded. What they lost, cannot tell.

13. *P.M.* Attended funeral of one Mrs. Perry in the Old Parish, and visited Solomon Wood's wife, being sick.

21. President Langdon came here.

22. Visited Mrs. Temple's daughter, dangerously ill.

23. Thanksgiving Day.

25. *P.M.* Attended the funeral of Mrs. Temple's daughter.

28. Visited Mr. Peters's child at Jonathan Johnson's.

30. Attended three funerals in my Parish, viz., Widow Speer; a child of Abraham Alexander's; and a child of Mr. Peters's, of Wilmington, which died here; and married a couple.

December 2, 1775. *P.M.* Attended the funeral of Samuel Converse, of Old Parish, aged 40 years.

5. Rode to Cambridge and back. Hear Quebec is taken by the Provincials.

9. Attended the funeral of Mr. Sweetcher's wife,

17. Sunday. Heard several cannon fired. Our people are raising a covert way from Prospect to Cobble Hill, and the enemy endeavoring to prevent them.

18. The firing yesterday was at Lechmere's Point, our people intrenching there. A ship that had lain up the River all summer moved off this morning.

20. Fair, and the coldest day this season. At home. Heard several cannon fired.

23. *P.M.* Attended the funeral of Mr. Gardner, leather dresser, formerly of Charlestown; he died in the other parish.

25. Christmas.

27. Attended the funeral of Madam Temple, late of Charlestown, who died at Captain Johnson's; and married Josiah Locke to Elizabeth Richardson, both of Woburn Old Parish.

29. Rode to Cambridge and returned, and lodged at Jonathan Carter's. Last night our forces arranged to attack Bunker Hill over the ice on the mill pond, but the ice was not strong enough, and therefore they desisted.

30. *P.M.* Many cannon fired. Returned home, *A.M.*

January 1, 1776. Dined at Mrs. Temple's, and visited John Dix's sick child.

2. Spent evening at Shubael Johnson's.

3. Visited with Captain Marston at Deacon Reed's, and in evening married a couple.

[1] Should be Timothy, *not* Isaac Snow.—Ed.

10. Called up about break of day to visit Capt. Wood's wife, being sick.

15. Ditto.

18. Cannon fired much. Heard our army is defeated at Quebec.

21. Sunday. Preached at Old Parish on exchange with Mr. Burbeen.

22. Evening, singing meeting here.

23. Rode to Cambridge and viewed the lines, and returned home; Deacon Johnson and wife went with me.

24. Got my hay home from Caldwell's.

31. Eight men enlisted out of this parish for two months.

February 2, 1776. Heard several cannon.

4. Sunday. Fair and exceeding cold. Last night, between 11 o'clock and 12 o'clock, there was either a small shock of an earthquake or else the ground cracked, it being frozen very hard. It gave the house a sudden and smart shock and was felt in like manner at Wilmington at the same time. It proceeded from north to south.

12. Heard many cannon, supposed to be below Boston, at sea.

14. Last night the enemy burned some houses and barns on Dorchester Neck.

19. Rode, *P.M.*, to Esquire Reed's, of Lexington, and back again. Mr. Trask, of my parish, dined with me.

20. Brother Marrett and wife visited here. *Vespere*, at Deacon Reed's.

22. Visited old Mrs. Wyman, being sick.

23. Visited, at Thos. Skilton's, the widow Simonds.

28. Mr. Stone, of Reading, and Mr. Jacob Gould, of Weymouth, dined with me. Sent my watch by Mr. Gould to Braintree, to Mr. Cranch's, to be mended.

March 3, 1776. Sunday. *P.M.* Master Coggin preached from 2 Cor. 5 : 10. People in great anxiety about some important transactions speedily to take place between our army and the enemy's forces. 4. Last night, from eight in the evening till the morning, the cannon and mortars between our army and the enemy fired more or less; and to-day were firing more or less, till between 12 o'clock and one, a general battle or a very smart skirmish, ensued, as I judge, from the report of small arms and cannon. The regulars had a mock fight in Boston. Visited Lieut. Tidd's sick child. My people collecting rags, etc., for the use of the army.

5. Last night, the mortars and cannon played very fast most all night from both sides, and our army entrenched on Dorchester Hill without any molestation. Rode to Cambridge.

6. Lodged at Cambridge. Returned home.

7. Fast day. Preached at home, *P.M.* Mr. Coggin made the first prayer.

8. Evening. Captain Marston visited here. Visited Lieut. Tidd's children, being sick.

10. Sunday. Last night our forces entrenched on another hill on Dorchester Point, nearer to Boston. A smart firing ensued on both sides. We lost about 12 men. [At first we were drove off, but by a reinforcement carried on and completed the work. *Not true.*]

11. Visited Mr. Spear, being sick, and prayed at parish meeting. Hear the small-pox is at Welch's.

12. Attend a funeral of Lieut. Tidd's grandchild.

13. Attend the funeral of Mr. Robert Spear.

18. Yesterday morning, about break of day, the British troops evacuated Bunker Hill and Boston, and all the shipping moved off and lay wind bound below the castle,—whither bound, know not,—but it is conjectured to Halifax to wait on orders from Great Britain. Our forces have taken possession of all the places they have left. The Lord be praised! Last night we intrenched on Dorchester Point.

19. Dined at Timothy Winn's. *P.M.* Rode to Old Parish and attended Mr. Pool's funeral. Mr. Morrill and I prayed with the sick woman, Mrs. Pool. Hear that below the Castle the ships are arrived to the fleet of the enemy, which lies below.

20. Rode to Charlestown Ferry and viewed Bunker Hill, the works of the enemy, and the ruins of the town. The fleet lays below the Castle. Returned home *via* Cambridge. 21. A great fire last evening at the Castle, the enemy demolishing it. Rode to Old Parish to see Mrs. Pool, sick.

22. Attend a funeral of Abijah Thompson's child, Old Parish.

23. Visit James Twist's wife, being sick.

25. *P.M.* Visit James Twist's wife and Dodge's child, being sick. 28. Attend the funeral of James Twist's wife.

April 2, 1776. Attend funeral of Nathaniel Wyman.

5. Attend the funeral of Daniel Simonds and his wife, two aged persons in Lexington.

8. *P.M.* Visit old Mrs. Ditson, being sick.

14. Sunday. After meeting, *P.M.*, attend the funeral of an infant of Mr. Ranger, and visited Mrs. Ditson, being sick.

19. Rode to Lexington; dined at Brother's. *P.M.* Attended a lecture in commemoration of Lexington Battle. Mr. Clark performed the whole exercise; preached from Joel, 3d chapter, the last verses; a very crowded audience; the militia companies in Lexington mustered. Returned home.

23. Rode to Boston and returned home. First time I have been to Boston since the enemy evacuated it.

24. *P.M.* Spent at Reuben Kimball's. 26. Mrs. Marston visited here.

28. Sunday. Mr. Gannett preached for me all day, from Psalm 110 : 1, 2.

May 3, 1776. Mr. Thurston, a preacher in the other Parish, visited me. 5 (Sunday). Rode to Concord and preached on an exchange with Mr. Emerson. 6. Lodged last night at Doctor Minot's. Returned home. 7. *P.M.* Attend Ministers' meeting at Mr. Stone's; admitted Mr. French. Returned.

16. Attended the funeral of George Reed's negro woman.

17. A Continental Fast; preached at home, a full meeting.

18. Visited Amos Wyman and wife, being sick.

19. Sunday. Exchanged with Mr. Haven, of Reading, and returned.

20. Hear a large brig loaded with warlike stores was taken by us from the enemy, as she was coming into Boston Harbor.

23. Dined at Joshua Jones's.

27. Catechise the children.

29. Rode to Watertown; attend Election; Mr. West, of Dartmouth, preached. 30. Lodged last night at Mr. Meriam's, of Newton. Attend Convention; Mr. Cooke preached from 1 Thess. 2:4. Returned home in the afternoon.

June 1, 1776. Hear our forces at Quebec have been driven from their entrenchments, and renewed the attack afterwards, being reinforced, and recovered their lost ground.

3. Went to the Castle with Woburn militia to intrench.

4. Lodged last night at Roxbury. This morning sailed from Boston to the Castle; intrenched all day. *P. M.* Returned home with the militia.

5. Visited Jotham Johnson's child, sick.

6. Dined at Mrs. Wood's.

8. Rode to Needham. 9. (Sunday.) Preached on exchange with Mr. Coggin, at New Parish, in Needham.

13. Rode to Reading; Attend Mr. Haven's wife's funeral; Mr. Morrill prayed. Returned.

14. Capt. Marrett dined here.

15. Night before last, 5000 of our people went down and intrenched on an island and another place in Boston Harbor, and yesterday morning drove all the enemy's ships down below the lighthouse. A 50-gun ship was obliged to cut her cable and be towed down by boats, etc. At home. Mr. Clark was here.

16. Sunday. Preached at Lexington and returned.

17. Visit Amos Wyman, being sick.

18. Attend Training.

19. *P.M.* Set out for Boston. Lodged at Carter's.

20. Rode to Boston and returned home.

24. Visited James Thompson's wife and Reuben Kimball's wife, being sick.

25. Exceeding hot; the hottest—very dry and melancholy time. At home.

27. Wind northeast, cooler than for many days.

29. Exceeding hot and scorching, and burning sun. The land mourning by reason of the dearth.

30. Sunday. *P.M.*, 6 o'clock, came up a cloud attended with some thunder and sharp lightning, and rained for above an hour;—great part of the time exceeding fast;—abundance of rain for the time. The water stood in ponds and ran like brooks; and afterwards [it was] misty and moist. Not so much rain have we had for a month past. The Lord is gracious and full of compassion, slow to anger, and of great mercy!

July 2, 1776. Independency. 3. Lecture on account of the drought and war; Mr. Penniman preached from Psalm 39:9. 4. Attend lecture at Bedford; Mr. Emerson prayed and preached; I made last prayer. Returned home.

6. Small-pox in Boston, inoculating there. Ten men, of the fifteen, enlisted out of this parish for the expedition to Canada—5000 to be raised from this province for New York and Canada.

14. Sunday. Preached at Bedford. Mr. Sprague preached for me, and Mr. Penniman for him, at Carlisle (Concord). Five o'clock *P.M.* Preached at lecture, at home, to a party of soldiers going on the Canada expedition.

15. Visited Amos Wyman, sick in a deep consumption. [The diarist had visited him times before.]

18. *P.M.* Rode to Lexington and back; my brother and two of his sons and eighteen others inoculated last week in his own house for the small-pox.

23. Mr. Wyeth came here and tarried all night.

24. Hear the enemy's ships are destroyed by a tempest at South Carolina; two 40-gun ships, one 50-gun ship and a tender and a transport lost, and all the men perished.

25. Woburn Company of soldiers for the Canada expedition marched for Crown Point. Prayed with them at Deacon Blanchard's.

29. Visit young Mr. Nevers and Mr. Amos Wyman, being sick.

30. The moon eclipsed.

August 1, 1776. Provincial Fast. Exchanged with Mr. Morrill.

2. Evening, saw either uncommon frequent flashes of lightning in the northeast towards Cape Ann, or else flashes of cannon.

9. Prayed with Deacon Blanchard, being sick.

12. Visit Mrs. Nevers, sick. Extreme hot.

14. Attend the funeral of Zebadiah Wyman's wife, 2 o'clock *P.M.*

17. Visit Mrs. Nevers, a dying.

18. (Sunday.) Attend funeral of Samuel Nevers's wife.

23. The enemy landed on Long Island, New York.

24 and 25. Fight at New York, Long Island.

26. Visit Ditson's child, sick.

September 1, 1776. Sunday. Attend funeral of Samuel Ditson's child.

7. Hear our forces are beat off from Long Island, at New York, and that four boats full of men in coming away were taken prisoners.

12. Visited Elijah Wyman, sick.

15. (Sunday.) Read the Declaration for Independency.

20. Visit Joshua Jones's wife, sick.

25. Attend Dudleian Lecture at Cambridge. Mr. Morrill, of Wilmington, preached. Subject: Revealed religion from 1 Peter 3:15.

26. Attend the funeral of Luther Simonds's child.

October 2, 1776. Mr. Jones, candidate preaching in other parish, preached from 1 Peter 1: 12:—"Which things the angels desire to look into."

4. Attend funeral of Mrs. Nevers's youngest child.

6. Sunday. Uncle Dunster and his wife kept Sabbath here.

9. Rode to Mistick and back.

10. Visit Mrs. Burton on account of her child's death.

13. Sunday. Preached at Old Parish on exchange with Mr. Jones. Mr. Emerson, of Concord, died at Otter Creek.

17. Attended Lecture in Lexington; Mr. Cooke preached.

26. Rode to Stow.

[27.] Sunday. Preached at Stow on an exchange.

28. Rode to Lancaster and returned to Stow; lodged at Deacon Gates's.

29. Returned home. Heard [that] Mr. Emerson, of Concord, died at Otter Creek, [the] 13th inst.

November 7, 1776. Jacob Bacon, who was put into Concord Jail, for abusing his wife, this day made way with himself by cutting his throat, in jail.

15. Visit Sylvanus Woods, being sick.

16. Fort Washington taken.

19. Rode to Newton.

20. Lodged last night at Mr. Pigeon's. Visit some in Newton and rode to Cambridge.

21. Lodged last night at College. Rode to Boston and returned home.

24. Sunday. Rode to Medford and preached on exchange.

25. Lodged last night at Edward Brooks's, dined at Menotomy, and returned home.

December 9, 1776. Visited Elizabeth Reed, sick. Hear a fleet of the enemy's ships are seen off Rhode Island.

12. Thanksgiving. First snow, 2 inches.

13. Dined at Samuel Reed's, Jr.'s; General Lee taken prisoner by treachery.

14. Attend funeral of Thomas Skilton's child.

16. Visit James Thompson's wife and John Gleason, being sick. Spent evening at Mr. Grimes's.

18. General Howe marching towards Philadelphia, General Washington before, and General Lee behind.

22. Snow on level about 6 inches.

23. Visited Elizabeth Reed and Thomas Skilton, being sick, and dined at Deacon Reed's.

24.[1] In evening, married Widow Wyman to Mr. Richardson, of Billerica.

31. Visited Jonathan Tidd, Jr., and old Mrs. Thompson, being sick.

[1] 26, General Washington with 3000 in the Jerseys routed a body of 1500 of the enemy, who were stationed at Trenton. Took prisoners 919, besides what were killed and wounded, mostly Hessian troops; 6 brass pieces of ordnance, 1200 small arms, 4 stands of colors, a band of music, etc.

CHAPTER LIII.

SHERBORN.

BY ALBERT H. BLANCHARD, M.D.

Two hundred and fifty years ago the territory which now constitutes the pleasant town of Sherborn was one vast wilderness. No white face had ever been seen within its borders; only the Indian and his dusky mate trod its forest paths and plied the canoe on its fair streams. In peace and plenty they lived their rude life, contented with the products of the chase and of the lakes and rivers, the Charles on the east and the Sudbury on the west. The Nipmuck tribe, less warlike than some of their neighbors, occupied this region and that to the westward of it. They had just heard, in 1621, of the arrival on the shores of Plymouth of a band of men with pale faces, and in some manner communicated with them. This was the first inland tribe with which the English formed an acquaintance. It was independent of other tribes and powerful in numbers. Naturally peaceful, they prospered so long as they held together, and resisted the influences of the other tribes. When first known to the white settlers they were governed by a squaw-sachem, who resided near Wachusett Mountain, and they possessed most of the present counties of Middlesex and Worcester, and still more land to the north and west. But in the year 1647 they were unable to agree concerning a chief, and divided into as many as five bands, each having a different chief. Traditions appear to show that one of these bands settled in the locality which is now the southwest part of Sherborn, and erected their "stannocks" or wigwams there; hence the name by which that district was formerly known, and by which it is still called by some of the older inhabitants.

After this disunion of the great Nipmuck nation it lost its former power and prestige, and the divisions became subject to more powerful tribes. The band which settled in this locality came under the influence of Massasoit, the chief of the Wampanoags, and were induced by his son and successor, King Philip, to unite with him in his disastrous war against the English. They ultimately gained nothing by this step, their numbers being reduced in the warfare, and after the death of Philip but few were left.

While the Nipmucks dwelt in the southerly portion of this territory, another tribe of Indians had settled about five miles to the northeast of them, at the present site of South Natick. They were called the Natick Indians, and were brought thither from Nonantum by the Apostle John Eliot, who desired a more secluded place. Although the date of their removal is not accurately known, it was probably not far from the year 1650. By the time the town of Sherborn was formed, they had already a town organization and many of them were converted to

Christianity. It was a colony of Indians, founded and encouraged by Eliot; and Waban was the most prominent and influential man among them, and his name often appears in the business transactions of that day.

It cannot be supposed that land so well situated and so well watered could long remain unattractive to the English settlers. Medfield had been previously colonized, and individuals from that town had doubtless explored the neighboring Bogistow and perhaps had visited the then friendly Indians in that locality and had noticed its capabilities for improvement. Grants of land by the General Court were commenced as early as the year 1643, and were continued at intervals for thirty years, but always subject to the rights of the Indians, who received payment and gave deeds for all the land afterwards included in the township. Grants are found recorded to Rev. John Allen, Captain Robert Kayne, Richard Brown, Richard Parker, Simon Bradstreet, Captain Eleazer Lusher, Dean Winthrop, Tho. Holbrook, William Colburne, Colonel William Brown, Lieutenant Joshua Fisher, Edward Tynge, John Parker. These persons were non-residents, and at later dates conveyed their grants to actual settlers.

We are now approaching the period when an entire change is to commence in the territory which we have been considering, and in the condition of its Indian inhabitants. The white man is to appear upon the scene—the Anglo-Saxon, with his cool head, his calculating brain, and an intellect cultivated through generations of ancestors. Although entering upon the land with the fairest and kindest feelings towards the aboriginal inhabitants, still it is impossible that the latter, with their free and untrammeled life, their uncultured instincts and habits, which brooked no control and which answered a slight or an insult with the spear or the tomahawk, could long live in peace and harmony with a race diametrically opposite in character and modes of life. It has always proved true that the race that dominates intellectually, holds the land and the situation, while the inferior race, after ineffectual attempts at resistance, gradually succumbs and melts away. It was so in this instance. Had the Nipmucks held together and retained their former peaceable habits, the evil day might have been long delayed. When they lost union they lost strength. Dissensions and division into bands weakened their force and led to further dissension, by which they became a prey to the seductive voice of the able and wily Philip and were drawn into his scheme to exterminate the new race of colonists, who had come to these shores to take away the fair hunting-grounds of the red men, as they believed, and to despoil them of their birthright. An eloquent writer has described their feelings and caused them to say "Stranger, there is eternal war between me and thee." Some of the shrewd sachems, and notably Philip, of Mount Hope, had the foresight to perceive that these two races could not exist together; and, with characteristic cunning and violence which had never failed him before and which he believed would not fail him now, determined on a war which should continue until the hated pale-face should be destroyed or driven from the face of the land.

Nor can we wonder at this feeling among a people who had for centuries occupied the country and had the belief that it was their own, and that no foreign race had a right to claim what had been bequeathed by their ancestors. They knew nothing about conciliation. It had always been their habit to conquer by force and violence whatever was opposed to their wishes, and they could act in no other manner now. Although received peaceably at first, the arguments of the chiefs excited the Indians gradually against the English settlers, until the horror and desolation of a savage war was upon them.

Leaving now the native inhabitants, we come to the commencement of actual settlement by the English colonists.

The first transfer to actual settlers, of the land of either of the grantees, was made May 8, 1652, O. S., by Richard Parker to Nicholas Wood, Thomas Holbrook and Andrew Pitcher, all of Dorchester. The deed described 535 acres of meadow and upland "lying in the woods on the West side of Charles river, 3 ms. from Natick, lying between the land of Capt. Robert Kayne on the S. side, and Mr. Richard Browne, of Watertown, in some part on the S. side also; by Charles river on the E. (and a rocky point now called the Neck, running into the river); and by common woods on the W."

Nicholas Wood and Thomas Holbrook immediately took possession and commenced labors upon the land. But it is probable that Wood had resided here before this date, as he had a child recorded at Medfield as early as January, 1651. He may have settled upon the grant with the consent of the grantee, before any negotiations were completed for the purchase of the land. It is generally conceded that he was the first settler. He was a hardy, enterprising man and became one of the foremost in the new colony. He signed the first petition for the incorporation of the town, was a member of the church, and was possessed of a large property for those times, his inventory after death amounting, after the payment of debts and expenses, to £978 18*s.*, or about $5000. He erected his house very near the present site of the cider manufactory of Jona. Holbrook & Sons, and founded it on a rock, as though he intended to commence strongly and surely. Although he had no male issue which perpetuated his name, yet some prominent and highly distinguished men were descended from him, among whom were Henry Ware, Sr., D.D., and Asher Ware, LL.D.

Thomas Holbrook built his first house on his share of the grant near Dearth's bridge and near the present residence of Charles Howe. He planted an

extensive orchard there, and was so liberal in the distribution of its fruit that his buildings were secured from the torch of the Indian enemy while others near him were laid in ashes. In 1657 he petitioned for the high, rocky point east of Parker's grant, comprising the Neck before mentioned, and the General Court granted him 50 acres. He then purchased 43 acres more of the government and thus became possessor of the entire tract between the first purchase and the river. In 1666 he erected a new dwelling on the spot where the late Dexter Amsden lived, and in that year deeded 80 acres of his first purchase of Parker to his brother-in-law, Henry Layland or Leland, who had already occupied it for twelve years, having removed from Dorchester in 1654. He was a son of Hopestill Leland, the common ancestor of all the New England Lelands, who came from Yorkshire, England, about 1624, settled at Weymouth, and afterwards removed to Dorchester. He passed his last days with his children at Bogistow and died there in 1655, at the age of seventy-five. He was one of the oldest men that had then settled in New England, having been born in 1580.

Henry Leland became a man of mark in the new colony, and tradition gives him a high character for piety and kindness to the Indians. He signed both petitions for the incorporation of the town. He was chosen on a committee to provide a minister for Sherborne, and was associated with the selectmen "to grant town lots to those that were known among the inhabitants."

In 1847 a large meeting of his descendants was held in a mammoth tent on "The Plain," and the occasion was one of great interest. Mrs. Millard Filmore, whose husband was President of the United States two years later, was present at the celebration as one of Henry Layland's posterity. A granite monument to their common ancestor, suitably inscribed, was dedicated to his memory on the same day by his grateful descendants, as a part of the exercises which had been arranged. It stands at the north side of the Common.

Andrew Pitcher, the third purchaser of the grant of Richard Parker, does not appear to have settled here, but sold his land in lots or parcels to other persons.

In 1657 or 1658, Benjamin Bullard, George Fairbank, John Hill and Thomas Breck, having purchased of the executors of Capt. Robert Kayne, of Boston, a part of his grant at Pawsett Hill, removed here and settled near Bogistow Pond, south of the land purchased by Thomas Holbrook and divided their land into suitable lots, built houses and also erected a substantial fort, of which we shall hear more at a later date.

Benjamin Bullard became one of the foremost men in the colony. He signed both petitions for the incorporation of the town, was one of six brethren to constitute the church at its formation, served as tithingman and as selectman, and was chosen to the very delicate office of seating the meeting-house when the edifice was completed. At this day we have but little idea of the responsibility attached to the duty of assigning seats to the different members, in due order of precedence and dignity, so as to give to each one their just claims, as they were then considered. He was also one of the chief contributors to the extinguishment of the Indian claims, a work which had not been completed by the grantees, but was left for the settlers.

George Fairbank also took a considerable part in the business of the new town and seems to have been an orderly and esteemed citizen. One of his sons, Jonathan, was the first physician of Sherborn, and an important man in his day. He was selectman seven years and town clerk three years. He is supposed to have lived in the old stone house north of Bogistow Pond, and was drowned by falling through the ice, in crossing from Medfield in the night.

John Hill signed the petitions for incorporation, drew many lots of public lands, and was assessed the highest among the proprietors of Sherborn to extinguish Indian claims in 1686. He was therefore a man of good property.

Thomas Breck married a sister of John Hill, with whom he bought a portion of Robert Kayne's grant, which they then divided as was the custom, so that each should have suitable portions of meadow and upland, arable land and cedar swamp. In such divisions it was a matter of prime importance that each colonist should have a portion of cedar woods from which to cut posts and rails, for they had not then learned that such could be made from other kinds of wood. Breck signed both of the petitions for incorporation, and his descendants remained living in the same locality until a few years since.

Daniel Morse purchased of Simon Bradstreet, the grantee, 800 acres in the eastern part of Sherborn, and immediately settled upon it in 1658, building his house at or near the present site of the residence of the late Leonard T. Morse. The whole tract was called Morse's Farm, and afterwards "The Farm," a designation which it retains to this day. Morse was evidently a man of rank, and acted as a leader in the new colony. In all public meetings and elections, precedence was uniformly yielded to him as long as he lived. His son Obadiah was the first town clerk and representative, and also acted as a schoolmaster in the town.

These were the principal and permanent early settlers of the colony. Some others came, but removed prior to 1674. They were men in the prime of life, of strong, determined character and not easily discouraged, and most of them were men of substance. Many of their names still live in the persons of their descendants, who are found among the prominent citizens of Sherborn at this day. And they required all the energy and endurance of which man is capa-

ble, to subdue the wild lands "in the wilderness beyond Meadfield," and to protect themselves against the lurking Indian. Their farms, as has been seen, were mostly in the present southern part of Sherborn, and included a portion of the eastern portion of Medway, and the colony was known by the Indian name of Bogistow. It is perpetuated in the name of a meadow, pond and brook, which are so called to this day. In various petitions to the Governor of the Colony and to the General Court, the settlers term themselves "inhabitants of Bogistow," and "inhabitants & proprietors of lands at or near Boggestow."

As the colonists received, from time to time, accessions to their numbers, with the prospect of further additions, they began to entertain hopes of being formed into a town. Although living at a considerable distance from Medfield, and not included within its bounds, they took up privileges there and became enrolled and taxed as her citizens, and the births and deaths in their families were there recorded for twenty-five years.

But in ten years after the first settlement an effort was made by the colonists to gain recognition as a town, and there was prepared "The humble petition of several of the inhabitants of Bogistow, to be presented to the much honored General Court, 7 of 3 mo. (May), 1662," signed by fourteen heads of families. The General Court appointed "Ephraim Littlefield and Edward Jackson a Committee to view the place and return their apprehensions." The result seems to have been unfavorable, as nothing more is seen in the records concerning the petition. Of its fourteen subscribers, six removed and died before 1674. The settlement continued, however, and others were added to its numbers, both by new arrivals and by the marriage and establishment of sons of the first planters. These were men not easily daunted nor turned from their purpose when they had once determined to settle themselves in the wilderness and form new homes, and, eventually, a new town.

At length, in the year 1674, twenty-two years after the arrival of the first pioneers, the number of families amounted to twenty, and the population to about 108. Capt. Joseph Morse, a young man of great ability, had lately removed into the colony, and had married Mehetabel, a daughter of Nicolas Wood, who was the first Anglo-American child born here, the date of her birth being July 22, 1655. They settled upon a part of her father's farm and built their house where Joseph W. Barber now resides. Capt. Morse was a son of Joseph Morse, of Medfield, and a nephew of Colonel Morse, of Cromwell's army. He inherited in his father's right, with his brothers and sisters, the land on which West Medway Village stands.

In 1674 a second petition, of which Capt. Morse was the first signer, and probably the framer, was presented to the General Court October 7th, and on October 21st the Court granted the petition; "and the name of the town to be called Sherborne."

As the petitioners were not prepared to propose any name for their town, the General Court probably assigned, as in similar instances, the name of the native place of some settler or proprietor. Sherborne (not Sherborn), after which it is named, is an ancient town in the northern part of Dorsetshire, England, about 118 miles west by south from London.

This name, by usage, was gradually changed to Sherburne, by which the town was known for more than a century, and no more beautiful name could have been adopted. But in the year 1852 a petition was presented to the General Court to alter that name to "Sherborn," from a mistaken idea that such was the name of the original town in England. A most thorough search has convinced the present writer that the name of the Dorsetshire town was "Sherborne;" and the General Court in session in 1674 doubtless contained men who had lately come from the mother-country and were well-informed of the correctness of that name, which they then bestowed upon this township. Moreover, in the "confirmation" of this grant by the General Court, in 1684, "it is ordered that the name of the toune be Sherborne, and that it belongs to the County of Middlesex."

The first meeting of the inhabitants of the new town was held January 4, 1674–75, O. S., and was attended by Daniel Morse, George Fairbank, Robert Badcock, Henry Adams, Thomas Holbrook, Benjamin Bullard, John Hill, Henry Laland, Joseph Morse, Obadiah Morse, Daniel Morse, Jr., Jonathan Morse, John Perry and Jonathan Wood. "Thomas Eames is accepted as an inhabitant of Shearborn." Committees were appointed to take a view of the land granted by the General Court; to make an agreement with Thomas Thurston, surveyor, and to treat with Captain Gookin and others concerning an exchange of land with Natick.

Another meeting was held March 8, 1675, and it was chiefly devoted to the consideration of the exchange of land with Natick in order to make their township more compact and more easily accessible. They had fairly compensated the Indians for the land already possessed, and had received from them a deed of the territory. In the language of that day they "had extinguished the Indian title." But this territory was very irregular in form, extending in one direction from the Charles to the Sudbury River, and in the other from the Natick line to Hopkinton and Bellingham. And as portions of some previous grants were taken out, the land assigned to Sherborn has been compared in shape to a huge windmill whose north and west arms were joined together. Owing to interruptions which will soon appear it was more than two years before the exchange with Natick of 4000 acres of land for the same number of acres near Hopkinton was considered, and it was finally four years before that exchange was completed. These negotiations and all other business, excepting that which was

imperatively required, were soon suspended by an event of which we can form no adequate conception, and which required the undivided energies of the colonists and prevented all action for the benefit of the town for nearly two years. This was nothing less than the horror of an Indian war. The able and wily Philip, chief of the Wampanoags or Pokanokets, (not of the Narragansetts, as has been sometimes thought, although the latter tribe was drawn into the struggle by Philip, as were many other tribes hitherto friendly), had taken the war-path and was determined to effect the complete extinction of the new race. He little knew with whom he had to deal, as the sequel will show. Let us imagine, if possible, the condition of our new inhabitants, who were just becoming well established and had subdued to some extent the rough forest land. They had accomplished their long-cherished desire of receiving incorporation as a town and eagerly looked forward to the privileges which it would confer and the inconveniences which it would abate. They could now have a church of their own within a reasonable distance, and they could direct their own town business and make their own rules and regulations therefor. But now the dreaded Indian, who, when excited, knew neither fear nor mercy, had declared war against them, and not merely a common war, but a war of extermination. Philip publicly declared on a paper which he posted on the bridge between Medfield and Bogistow that the Indians " will war this 21 years if you will," indicating his determination to continue fighting long enough to cut off all the English people and exciting a corresponding consternation in their minds. As if further to harrow their feelings, he stated in the same notice that " the Indians loose nothing but their lives. You must loose your fair houses and cattle." There was much truth in these words and the settlers keenly felt the force of them and the misery of their situation was increased thereby.

As soon as they heard that the Indians under Philip were moving in this direction, they repaired to their garrisoned houses, two of which were erected at that time. The larger and better of these was situated on the farm of Benjamin Bullard, near the buildings of the late Daniel W. Bullard, at the south end of the town. The other was at the homestead of Daniel Morse, Sr. Three other garrisons were afterwards built, which it will be proper to mention in this connection. One was near the homestead of the late Captain John Leland, and not far from the ancient house now occupied by Charles Leland; one near Holbrook's mills; and another at the north of Edward's plain (probably so called from Edward West, who then owned that whole tract of land), near the house of the late Nathaniel Dowse.

The garrison-house on the land of Benjamin Bullard was carefully and systematically constructed by himself and eight neighbors who knew something of the traits of the Indians and knew that no dependence could be placed upon their continued friendship, notwithstanding that they had been treated fairly and equitably by themselves. They felt that they must be prepared for depredations and assaults. And accordingly these garrisons were built in different parts of the town according as new settlements were made; and in case of any suspicion or alarm of an invasion by the red men, whether by day or night, all the families in the neighborhoods repaired to the nearest garrison and lived there, sometimes for considerable spaces of time. These were their places of refuge for as many as two generations, and here many of their children were born. The garrison we are now considering was situated on the north shore of Bogistow Pond, on a bank having the extensive " Broad Meadows " to the east and northwest. The intervening strip of land was burned over so as to afford an uninterrupted view of the country and to cut off all shelter for the lurking foe. The house itself was built in a superior manner, and was a spacious and regular fortress nearly seventy feet long and two stories high, all of faced stone brought from a quarry about a mile distant, and laid in clay mortar. It had a double row of port-holes on all sides, lined with white oak plank, and flaring inward so as require no one to expose himself before them, while, by taking cross-aims they could direct their fire to any point of the compass, or to several points at once if needed. It was lighted and entered at the south end, overlooking the pond, where the bank was so low that enemies in leveling at the high windows would only lodge bullets in the plank chamber floor or in the roof of the fortress. The second story was set apart for the women and children, and a separate room was provided for the sick. Here, then, our southern colonists assembled, with suitable preparations for subsistence, when the news had reached them that Philip was on the war-path.

Of the other garrison-house at the residence of the venerable Daniel Morse, we have not as particular information. But it was doubtless solidly constructed and had adequate means of defence, as we do not hear that any persons were killed there by the enemy. It is believed that the only persons who sought refuge there belonged to the family of Mr. Morse, including his sons and daughters and their families; not a small number, however, as he had nine children, and some grandchildren were born before the time of Philip's war. It must not be supposed that these strongholds were not used until the invasion by Philip; for the inhabitants had been accustomed to flee to their protecting walls from the beginning of the settlement on any alarm or report of hostile Indians. This they were obliged to do for many years before and after the war, for we learn that Capt. John Golden, who did not settle in Sherborn (now in the bounds of Holliston) before 1705 was, with his family, repeatedly driven, by alarms of Indians, to the garrison that stood near the house of the late John Le-

land, Esq. In fact, the settlers were obliged to be constantly on their guard against Indian depredations for a great length of time.

A communication from Daniel Morse, probably directed to Governor Leverett, is of interest at this point of the history. It reads, "May it please your Worship, prostrating my humble service to your Worship, I made bold lately to request your help of four men to be the garrison at my house, which is for my family and my son with me, most being married men. I humbly prosecute my request that so it might be that I might have four men out of Medfield, and that Edward West and Benjamin Fisk (sons-in-law) might be two of them, they living in the remote part of Medfield next my farm and they being willing to come if liberty by authority were given that they might be imprest by authority to be ready when I shall call for them. Thus I make bold, humbly begging the everlasting blessing and constant presence of the Almighty to be with your Worship." This letter was dated "Sherborne, 26, 11, 1675–76," or February 26, 1675–76, and is endorsed, "Granted for the present." It is obviously true that Mr. Morse had previously made a similar request, and that as soon as the Indians had attacked Medfield, he renewed or "prosecuted" that request, not knowing how soon in turn he might be assaulted.

The bold attack upon Medfield was made on the 21st day of February, 1675–76, with 300 warriors. They had been in a state of continual warfare since the previous June, assaulting first the settlements in the Plymouth Colony and in Rhode Island, and then appearing suddenly and unexpectedly in various parts of Massachusetts and Southern New Hampshire. The town of Lancaster, in this State, was attacked and nearly destroyed, but eleven days before the raid upon Medfield. This latter was a daring deed, because the town was so near Boston, was well supplied with garrison-houses and 200 soldiers were quartered there. Sentinels kept a careful watch, and on Sunday, as the people were returning from public worship, one or two Indians were seen on the neighboring hills, which excited some suspicion.

At dawn of day a force of 300 Indians, led by King Philip himself, suddenly awakened the inhabitants by the unearthly war-whoop. The torch and the tomahawk were applied without mercy, and at least fifty persons were murdered and a large part of the buildings reduced to ashes.

Among the people massacred at Medfield was the respected Lieutenant Henry Adams, one of the chief settlers of the town and a considerable owner of land in Sherborn. We have thus mentioned the surprise and conflagration at Medfield, because its inhabitants were closely associated with our settlers at Bogistow, and because it is probable that the first attack on Bullard's garrison at the latter place was made after the retreat of the savages from Medfield. On the same day Jonathan Wood, a son of Nicholas Wood, the first settler, was killed by the Indians on the bank of the river, probably during their retreat; and his brother Eleazer fell at his side beneath the tomahawk, and was scalped and left for dead. He recovered, however, but was ever afterwards depressed in mind, and peculiar. The widow of Jonathan died the next day in Bullard's fortress, after giving birth to their only child, Silence. The latter afterwards married John Holbrook, and settled where Jonathan Holbrook, one of her descendants, formerly resided near his mills, on land inherited from her father. John Holbrook was a son of the original settler, Thomas Holbrook.

The garrison or block-house of Benjamin Bullard was constructed with great care and solidity, as has been seen. It is probable that all of the women and children and many and perhaps all of the men living in that part of the settlement repaired to this refuge as soon as they were informed that Indians were in the neighborhood. And it may be true that the brothers Wood, who were so violently assaulted, had gone out from the fortress for a reconnoissance, and had met the enemy sooner than they expected. Either on the same day on which Medfield was destroyed, or soon after that time, this fort was besieged by a body of Philip's warriors. But the preparations of the colonists for just such an event had been carefully made. There was no shelter for the foe. They must approach the garrison over open fields, and the unerring aim of its inmates, which, it will be remembered, could be taken at various angles, proved so destructive to the red men that they nearly gave up the assault in despair.

What should they do to reach the hated foe? What *could* they do? The solid white oak timbers of the fortress forbade successful attempts to storm the stronghold from an open approach where multitudes would be picked off by the muskets of the English. The cunning of the wily Indian was apparently foiled, when one, wiser than the rest, thought of the torch. Wood would burn, be it ever so hard and solid, and they had a device before employed, for conveying fire to a building without the direct agency of human hands, and without exposing themselves in person to the fatal gun-barrel projected through the loop-holes before them. It will be remembered that this garrison-house was placed on the side of a hill descending to the meadows which border Charles River. The plan of the Indians, which they soon proceeded to execute, was to fill a cart with flax, set it on fire, and from the top of the declivity above the fortress push it down against the doomed building, which must inevitably take fire from the burning mass. Then the colonists would either be destroyed by the conflagration, or be driven outside, when they would be at the mercy of the savages. But "man proposes and God disposes." Although a clear and open course was doubtless selected for the descent of the cart, it deviated a little from the straight track and struck a rock

which arrested its progress and there burned itself to ashes without damage to anybody. With howls of rage and disappointment the baffled savages retreated and gave up the siege, and our settlers were saved.

Then was great rejoicing and thanksgiving to God, who had mercifully interposed to shield them from a horrible form of death. Some two months later the Indians again attacked the fort, but on this occasion our ancestors sallied forth and punished them so severely that "they never dared to show their faces there afterwards." The walls of this fortress stood for more than a hundred years after this time, and with care might have been preserved to this day, had the owner of the land realized their interest and value to posterity. The rock which stopped the cart may still be seen.

For several months after the attack on Medfield, Philip and his band continued their devastating excursions in various parts of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth Colony and Connecticut. He excited consternation and terror wherever he appeared, and caused the destruction of many lives and much property. But our colonists by no means abandoned the defence, and in many cases they were victorious in the encounters. They were gradually becoming more familiar with Indian warfare, and had some noble leaders amongst their number, Col. Benjamin Church being one of the most bold and efficient. They had come to this country *to stay*, and although their numbers were decimated by this unhappy struggle, they had no thought of abandoning their settlements, but only of fighting to the bitter end. As the months passed on, their condition relative to the aborigines slowly improved.

They gained more victories, they gained some accessions from the ranks of the Indians, who were not only inclined for their individual safety to turn to the winning side, but in many cases made the change because they became disaffected with Philip. Some of the Indians began to complain that Philip had drawn them into a war from which they were not reaping the benefits promised by him, and which they expected. Although they knew that they had inflicted great damage upon the colonies, still their own condition was not improved. They were unable to plant their usual crops, and were often reduced to great straits for sufficient food. They were constantly watched and followed by the English soldiers, now well organized, and were obliged to retire to swamps and other inaccessible places, from which they would suddenly rush forth to their work of massacre and ruin, and again disappear as suddenly. In short, many of the Indians and even some tribes were becoming tired of the contest from which they reaped so little ultimate advantage.

Philip was forced by his impatient warriors to commence the war before he was prepared to do so, and before his plans were fully matured; and he suffered corresponding disadvantages in pursuing the conflict. He had also some good traits of character, as he did not forget those who had befriended him previously, and in many instances used his authority and influence to protect them. A family by the name of Leonard, of Taunton, was a notable instance of this protecting care, and as long as he lived Philip gave strict orders that Taunton should be the last town to be attacked. It is believed, also, that he did not countenance the torture and cruelty that were often practiced by his subordinates, and prevented them when possible. On the other hand, the English did not always temper victory with mercy. They sometimes beheaded and otherwise mutilated the bodies of Indians and squaws whom they had killed, in a manner that was neither humane nor politic. It was not politic because it aroused anew the vindictive passions of the red men, and led them to commit fresh atrocities. The settlers had naturally become exasperated with the murderous acts of their foes, and regarded them merely as savages and heathen for whom no treatment was too severe. In many cases they sent to the West Indies those whom they captured alive, men, women and children, and unjustifiably sold them into slavery, and thus provoked the Indians to fresh outrages.

The summer of 1676 had now arrived, and Philip was drawing toward the end of his career. His wife and children had been taken and killed or sold, his Indian allies were forsaking him, and his own band was greatly reduced in numbers. He had become disheartened. He secluded himself in forests and swamps, and his enemies were diligently seeking his life. At length an Indian whom he had offended came to Captain Church and offered to show him the place of Philip's concealment, in a swamp near Mount Hope. Captain Church disposed of his force with great skill, surrounding the swamp and also posted men in ambush in various places. In attempting to flee, Philip ran into an ambush where were hidden a white man and the Indian who had brought the information, named Alderman. The white soldier first aimed at the chieftain, but his gun missed fire. He then directed the Indian to fire. Says Abbott, "A sharp report rang through the forest, and two bullets, for the gun was double charged, passed almost directly through the heart of the heroic warrior. For an instant the majestic frame of the chieftain, as he stood erect, quivered from the shock, and then he fell heavy and stone dead in the mud and water of the swamp."

Thus the directing brain and the skillful hand were removed, and the power of the Indians and their ability to harm the colonists began to wane from that day.

Philip, or Pometacom, the great sachem of the Wampanoags, was dead. His followers had received a severe lesson, and had learned the power and resources of the English inhabitants. They did not, therefore, take any further concerted action against

the people of Massachusetts; but they kept the latter in suspense and in constant preparation for surprise by isolated forays in small bands. The great body of the Indians transferred the seat of operations to the district of Maine and the province of New Hampshire, where they hoped to find the inhabitants less familiar with the character of savage warfare, and where they inflicted an immense amount of misery. So greatly were the people depopulated, and so greatly were the survivors alarmed, that there was no settlement remaining east of Portland excepting one garrison. This dreadful warfare continued for eighteen months after the death of Philip. Finally the Indians themselves, who had suffered greatly also by death and starvation, sued for peace in February, 1678, and terms were settled between the sachems and the commissioners from Massachusetts, not wholly to the advantage of the English, but considered preferable by them to a continuance of hostilities. It was still many years, however, before the inhabitants of New England could pursue their daily avocations in peace and security.

Besides the losses already mentioned in Sherborn, the house of Thomas Eames, at the north part of the town, now in Framingham, was burned by the Indians during his absence from home, in February, 1676–77, his wife and some children murdered and others taken into captivity.

As soon after the close of the war in this State as the people could resume their occupations, the important question of the exchange of lands with Natick was again considered. The report of the committee chosen by the General Court was favorable to the wishes of the inhabitants, and the Court approved the return provided that the tract of land (now in Framingham) belonging to Thomas Danforth, Esq., Deputy-Governor, be excepted. Finally, after much consideration and discussion, articles of agreement for the exchange of the lands were drawn up and signed "upon this sixteenth day of April, 1679," by Daniel Morse, Sr., Thomas Eames, Henry Lealand and Obediah Morse, in behalf of the town of Sherborn on the one part, and by Wabon, Pimbow, Thomas Tray, John Awonsamage, Sr., Peter Ephraim and Daniel Takawombpait, on behalf of the town of Natick on the other part. The 4000 acres of land thus acquired by Sherborn was bounded northeast by Natick, southeast, southwest and west by Sherborne, and west and northwest by Mr. Danforth's farm. And Sherborn agreed to give in compensation 4000 acres of land lying towards Hopkinton, and "the full and just quantity of 200 bushels of Indian grain, to be paid one-half in hand, or at demand, and the other half the last of March next ensuing," which would be about one year after the date of the agreement. Peter Ephraim, above-mentioned, owned land near Peter's Hill, which was so named on that account, and between that hill and Brush Hill; and one article of the agreement allowed him to "enjoy the land he hath broken up within that tract," and "to add thereunto so much more as may make the lot twelve acres, with an equal proportion of meadow; but to be under the government of the township of Sherborne, as the English are." It is gratifying to observe, in the fourth article, that a lot of fifty acres was set out and appropriated forever "to the use of a free school for teaching the English and Indian children there the English tongue and other sciences." Thus at this early day the care for the education of her children which has ever distinguished Massachusetts was notably shown, and thus was planted the seed which has grown and blossomed forth into our magnificent system of common schools. This exchange of lands, now happily completed, was a measure of great importance to the new town. It rendered their territory more compact in form, more easily governed and much more convenient for the inhabitants in their attendance on meetings and in the transaction of public business.

During the same year, 1679, the famous "social compact" was adopted. It was a very useful instrument, and showed great wisdom and forethought. After a suitable preamble, it says: "We, the persons whose names are next under-written, for the prevention of questions and mistakes, do order and determine, and resolve as followeth." Article first provides that all persons whatsoever receiving grants of land from the town shall become subject to all the orders of the town, provided that they be not repugnant to any orders of the General Court, and that all such grantees "shall, for the firm engagement of himself and his successors, thereunto subscribe his name to our town-book, or otherwise his grant shall be of none effect." In article second it is agreed that "questions, differences or contentions" shall be submitted to arbitration, and shall be settled in that way whenever possible; and in the third article it is also agreed that they would "faithfully endeavor" that only such persons should be received into the township as they believed to be "honest, peaceable and free from scandal and erroneous opinions." In article fourth it is stipulated that none of the inhabitants shall, for seven years, "upon any pretence whatsoever, without the consent of the Selectmen," sell or in any other manner convey to others any part of the land which had been granted to them by the town, "except to some formerly accepted by our society; always provided that this shall in no sort prejudice or hinder any heirs at common law." This provision was obviously intended to exclude persons of disreputable character, and such as might create dissensions in the community.

The compact is signed by thirty-two heads of families, and probably included all the land-owners in the township, and it was ratified and allowed by a vote of the General Court.

The article requiring grantees to hold their lands for at least seven years, was also designed to secure

permanency of occupation. The settlers had endeavored, by liberal offers of land at low prices, and, in some cases, even without compensation, to induce persons to take farms and become inhabitants of the new town; and it was now desirable to retain all who had arrived, for a length of time sufficient to enable them to form homes and become attached to the land, with the hope that they would thus become permanent residents, and assist by their contributions and labors for the public good in building up the new community. They believed that a man should become a part of the body politic not merely for his own advantage, but also for the purpose of acting his part in the councils of the town, and of promoting the general welfare.

The inhabitants, having settled the great question of the exchange of lands with Natick, now thought it time to give attention to the proper business of a town, the administration of its internal affairs having been postponed on account of more urgent matters. At a meeting held in February, 1679 (1678–11 mo. –1 day), it was voted that five men be chosen as selectmen,—Daniel Morse, Sr., George Fairbanks, Edward West, Thomas Eames, Obadiah Morse. This was the first Board of Selectmen chosen, and they served for ten years. Obadiah Morse, who had been chosen early in 1676 to keep the records of Sherborn, was now formally elected town clerk. He also kept such records pertaining to the church as were not recorded on the books of the town. But as there was but one church in the town for a great number of years, its early records were entered with the records of the secular business.

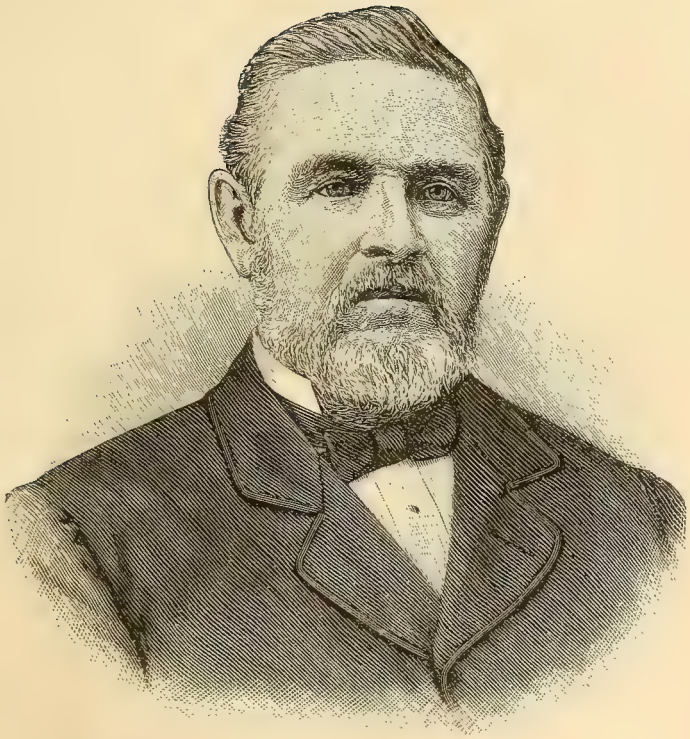
The people also felt the need of establishing a church and engaging a pastor, as these were among the prime objects of their desire to form themselves into a new and separate community. Moreover, the General Court, in the previous year, 1678, had granted them freedom from one single rate in a year for the three following years, provided "they be supplied with an able minister;" and they felt that in order to avail themselves of this offer they must soon secure a spiritual adviser. In 1677 they had voted to raise thirty pounds per year for that purpose, but they had accomplished no more. In 1679 they voted to pay for the "maintenance of the minister £40 per year by the inhabitants—£20 in money and £20 in good country pay as is most suitable to the minister—and to build a suitable house." They also chose a committee "for the settling the minister amongst us, Mr. Gooking or some other minister as God shall direct."

The great obstacle to the completion of their arrangements for the establishing of public worship was an obstinate disagreement concerning the location of the meeting-house. All of the earlier settlers excepting Daniel Morse resided in the southern quarter of the town, and as they had from the beginning of the colony practically transacted the public business according to the dictates of their own judgment, they thought they had a right to decide so important a matter as the location of the meeting-house. They naturally desired that it should be placed at a point not far from their own houses, and had staked out a lot on a hill which is believed to be near the present South Cemetery. The dwellers on Edward's Plain and those in the more northerly portions of the town were dissatisfied with this allotment, and wished for a spot more nearly equi-distant from the extremities of the township. But the southern inhabitants insisted upon their choice, and had laid out roads diverging to the different parts of the town. The other party was equally obstinate, and in consequence of the contention nothing was accomplished.

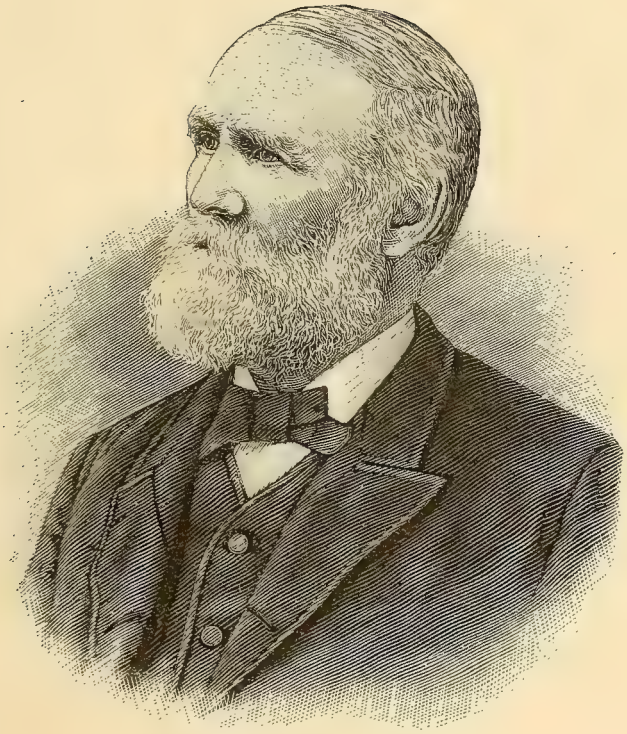
A committee was chosen to build a suitable house for a minister. But the former committee, selected to engage a suitable minister, reported in 1680 that "except the inhabitants do agree to what was done by that committee in '79, 7 mo., they see no likelihood of obtaining Mr. Daniel Gookin to settle among us." Affairs were complicated, and it seemed impossible for the people to untangle the net which they had wound about themselves. Discouraged at last, the venerable Daniel Morse, Sr., Dea. Benoni Larned and others, in 1680, petitioned the General Court imploring "aid that they may be relieved of their difficulties, professing a desire to settle a pious and able minister, without which their hopeful plantation would be ruined and they and their wives and children be forced either to live like heathen, without God's Sabbath and ordinances, or remove."

In answer to this petition the Court appointed an advisory committee to repair to Sherborn and endeavor to settle the differences among its inhabitants. Although the committee was invested with power to decide the questions submitted to them, they do not appear to have secured a complete reconciliation, and their return to the Court was placed on file, "not perfected." Then the Great and General Court seem to have thought it time to settle the disputes of the contumacious inhabitants by using the strong arm of authority; and they appointed and empowered "Wm. Stoughton, Tho. Savage and John Richards, Esqs., a committee to order and governe the prudentialls of the said town for three years next commencing, as to laying out lotts, and raysing of taxes." The town could do nothing but submit, for the authority of the Court was paramount and at that time supreme; and, to their credit be it said, they submitted gracefully and dutifully.

The new committee soon decided the question of the location of the meeting-house and placed it in the more central position, on the site of the house of the First Parish of our day. It was finished in 1684–85. And this has always remained the situation of a church edifice, a second one being completed in 1726 and enlarged in 1770 by inserting twenty feet in the



American Leland



Albert H. Blanchard



Franklin Grout

middle of the building; and a third, the present meeting-house, being built in 1830.

Before the town had obtained a minister, divine service was held for some years in the house of Capt. Joseph Morse, and Edward West acted as a lay-reader. A grant was made by the town to Capt. Morse for the accommodation thus received, and concessions were also made to Mr. West. In 1679 a grant of land was voted to the latter "in case he should stay in Sherburn one year from the date hereof, if the town have not a minister settled. If there be a minister settled, then to be in the same condition with other inhabitants."

The year 1681 had now arrived, and the inhabitants were ready at last to proceed to the actual business of obtaining and settling a minister. Early in the year a committee, consisting of Daniel Morse, Sr., Joseph Morse and Edward West, three of the best men, was chosen to treat with a minister with a view to his settlement. After inquiry concerning "Mr. Cushing," they again applied to Mr. Gookin with better success. In the same year, doubtless, Mr. Gookin wrote as follows:

"I, whose name is hereby subscribed, do freely and fully engage to remain in the work of the ministry of Sherborne so long as I can live in said place, so as to attend to my work without distraction.

"Daniel Gookin, Jr."

The salary which the town agreed to pay Mr. Gookin was "twenty pounds in money, and twenty pounds in country pay, such as we raise ourselves;" and when the minister should have a family and the inhabitants increased in number, they agreed, "then to augment his allowance." This stipend seems small to us, but it must be remembered that the purchasing power of money was much greater than at the present time. He also had the use of a house in addition. In this connection it will be of interest to transcribe an order of the selectmen made May 29, 1707. "At a meeting of the selectmen, it was ordered that each person in town, for the Pool or Pools he or she is rated for, shall cut and carry to the house of Rev. Mr. Gookin one-half cord of wood per poll; and each and every person who neglect to perform as aforesaid shall pay a fine of 2 shillings per poll to the use of said minister."

Mr. Gookin was a man of uncommon ability and attainments. He was born in 1750 or 1751, was a son of Major-General Daniel Gookin, one of the magistrates of the commonwealth and superintendent of the Indians. He was a friend and assistant to the apostle Eliot in his missionary labors at Natick, and this fact doubtless made him acquainted with the people of Sherborn and their spiritual requirements; and the contiguity of the latter town to Natick probably made him more willing to undertake the charge of the small church in this town, as he could be near his friend Eliot and still assist him. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1669, received the degree of A.M. in 1673 and was chosen a Fellow of the college in the same year. Although he was not ordained at Sherborn until March 26, 1685, it is probable that he conducted divine service there for some time prior to that date. Rev. John Eliot says of him, in a letter to Hon. Robert Boyle, dated April 22, 1684, "Major Gookin has dedicated his eldest son, Daniel Gookin, into the service of Christ; he is a pious and learned young man, about thirty-three years old, hath been eight years a fellow of the college; he hath taught and trained up two classes of young scholars unto their commencement; he is a man whose abilities are above exception, though not above envy. His father with his inclination, advised him to Sherburne, a small village near Natick, whose meeting-house is about three miles, more or less, from Natick meeting-house. He holdeth a Lecture in Natick meeting-house once a month; which many English, especially of Sherburne, do frequent. He first preaches in English to the English audience, and then the same matter is delivered to the Indians by an interpreter, whom, with much pains, Mr. Gooking had fore-prepared. We apprehend that this will (by God's blessing) be a means to enable the Indians to understand religion preached in the English tongue, and will much further Mr. Gookin in learning the Indian tongue."

The only church records known prior to 1734 are contained in one small volume, and consist wholly of accounts of contributions raised for various purposes, commencing in the year 1685. The records of the church and town were kept together in the books of the town until October 27, 1734, when the proper records of the church commence. But we do not find any account of the formation of the church in any of these records. A manuscript journal of Judge Sewell (who, it may be remembered, married a daughter of Capt. John Hull, of Sherborn), shows that the church was gathered March 26, 1685, the same day that Mr. Gookin was ordained. It reads, "Thursday, March 26, 1865. Went to ye Gathering of ye Chh at Sherborn, and ordaining Mr. Daniel Gookin their Pastor. But 6 bretheren and 3 of the names Mors. Mr. Wilson [of Boston], Mr. Adams [of Dedham], and Mr. Nathl. Gookin of Cambridge managed the work; Mr. Nathl. Gookin the younger introduced the Elder; a happy type of the calling of ye Jews." Twelve other clergymen were present "and fellows of the Colledge. Only Maj. Genll. and self of Magistrates. No revelations were made; but I hope God was with them."

Mr. Gookin was a faithful pastor, diligent and able in his work. He continued his labors with the Indians, also, during the greater part of his life, as time and opportunity permitted, and he died lamented, January 8, 1717–18, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. In an obituary notice, written probably by his colleague and successor, Rev. Daniel Baker, dated Jan. 9, 1717–18, and found in the *Boston News Letter* it is stated that "He was the oldest son of Honorable Daniel Gooking, Esq., a good scholar and solid Divine;

was many years a fellow of Harvard College, and a tutor. From his ordination he continued our minister about thirty-four years, being diligent in his study, tender of his flock, and exemplary in his life." During the latter part of his life, for about seven years, "by great pain and indisposition of body, he was taken off from his work," so that Oct. 23, 1707, the town "Voted to hire a minister while [until] March next and that Mr. Baker be the man to supply Mr. Gooking's Pulpit, now in the time of his restraint, if he may be obtained." December 11, 1710, Mr. Baker was formally engaged as an assistant to Mr. Gookin, and in April, 1711, the latter repeated an offer he had previously made to the town, freely to remit ten pounds of the country part of his salary in consequence of his infirmities and the necessity of hiring a colleague. This was publicly read and gratefully accepted by the town.

The old Central Cemetery in Sherborn, "in which y^e^ first grain was sown, June y^e^ 17, 1686," received the remains of Mr. Gookin, and the spot was marked by a plain stone bearing the inscription, "Here lyes y^e^ body of y^e^ Reverend Daniel Gookin, Pastor of y^e^ church of Christ at Sherborne, dec'd Jan'ry y^e^ 8th, 1717–18, in y^e^ 68th year of his age."

As it is more convenient to proceed with the ecclesiastical history of the town before returning to its civil history, that course will now be pursued.

At a meeting of the inhabitants, held December 11, 1710, Capt. Joseph Morse and Deacon Benoni Learned, moderators, "Then it was put to the inhabitants by the said Moderators, that inasmuch as the work of the Ministry is apparently too hard for our Rev. and worthey Pastor, Mr. Daniel Gooking," whether they were willing to give Rev. Mr. Baker a call or invitation to settle in the town as an assistant to their pastor. It was voted "verry fully on the affirmative" to give Mr. Baker a call, and was also voted "To give the said Mr. Baker a yearly salary of 50 pounds money during the life of our Rev. Pastor, and after his decease to augment Mr. Baker's salary if need be. Voted in the affirmative."

After due consideration, Rev. Daniel Baker accepted the invitation in a letter dated Dedham, December 29, 1711, addressed to the committees of this church and town.

At a town-meeting held soon after, January 14, 1711–12, "voted that Rev. Daniel Baker's answer be very gratefully accepted, and the town renders thanks to him for his good intentions towards them, and do freely concur and take up with his said answer." And at the same meeting a committee was chosen to take charge of the subscriptions for his dwelling-house.

After the death of Mr. Gookin it was agreed that the salary of Mr. Baker should be advanced to seventy pounds per annum. He also had the use of a house and land.

Mr. Baker was born in Dedham about 1686, graduated at Harvard College in 1706, and died May 14, 1731, at Sherborn, in the forty-fifth year of his age. He married Mary Quincy, daughter of Hon. Edmund Quincy, and second Rebecca Smith. He had but two children, daughters, one by each wife, who lived to adult age. Several other children died young. He is described as "a gentleman of bright and natural parts, much improved by acquired knowledge, very pathetical in prayer, orthodox and powerful in preaching, tender of his flock and congregation, having always the cause of God and religion much at heart. His church increased greatly under his ministry." During his latter years his health was poor and his condition feeble, so that he was sometimes wholly incapacitated for his work.

The only known publication of Mr. Baker is an 18mo. volume of 164 pages, containing two Fast-day sermons, one delivered at Dedham, October 5, 1726, and the other at "Sherbourn, May 10, 1727." They were printed at Boston for D. Henchman, 1728, and the expense of the work was defrayed by his parish.

The remains of Mr. Baker were interred also in the Central Cemetery.

Soon after the decease of Mr. Baker there was chosen "1731, June 16th, a committee of three, viz.: Deacon Greenwood, William Lealand and John Holbrook to take Care for the Supply of the Pulpit untill ye Town Com into Som other methord." Then was granted the sum of fiffty pounds for the "Supply of ye Pulpit." Other sums were granted during the next three years for the same purpose, and various candidates were received, and votes were passed accepting no less than five ministers successively, but none of them appears to have been settled. But at last, on April 25, 1734, "The church and Town by a Unanimous Vote made choice of Mr. Samuel Porter to be their Gospel Minister, and voted three hundred pounds in Bills of Publick credit towards his Settlement. Also voted one hundred and thirty pounds per annum for his Salary in Bills of Credit on this province, according to their present value; and to rise and fall as Silver money doth With the Marchants of this province—Provided he Settle with us, in the Gospel ministry, and so long as he Continues in the Same."

Rev. Samuel Porter was now formally chosen the pastor of the church of Christ in Sherborn. He was the third of the sterling ministers of the town. All of them were distinguished for learning, piety and sound judgment, and they were men worthy to be held in lasting remembrance. In those days the clergymen were the leaders of the people, not only in moral and spiritual affairs, but also in those of a secular nature. Their counsel was often sought by the people and had much weight with them, and as they were usually settled for life their interests were identified with those of their flock, and they had a tender care for their welfare. Mr. Porter was a man of this character. He was born in Brookfield, Mass., in 1709,

and graduated at Harvard College in 1730, his grandfather having left £100 to enable him to complete his course of study there. He came to this town from Hadley, and was ordained on the fourth Wednesday (23d) of October, 1734, according to a vote of the church and town, which also "granted 25 pounds to be Levied on Polls and Estate by Way of vote, according to the rules prescribed in the Law for the Support of the Ministers and Messingers at the ordination."

We have not been able to find an account of the exercises at this ordination, but it is evident from the above vote that they were conducted with all due ceremony by his brethren in the ministry. Mr. Porter was twice married, first to Mary Cooledge, of Cambridge, October 20, 1735, who died August 10, 1752. They had five children, all of whom died young excepting Mary, who afterward married Rev. Samuel Locke, her father's successor in the ministry. His second wife was also named Mary, but her surname before marriage is not known. The second Mary died August 8, 1758, and the respected pastor did not long survive her; he died on the 16th of September following, at the age of forty-nine years, and his loss was universally lamented.

Of the published sermons of Mr. Porter, we know of two only. One of these was given at the ordination of Rev. William Phipps at Douglas, December 16, 1747. Mr. Phipps was a son of John Phipps, of Sherborn, who was a grand-nephew of Sir William Phipps, once Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts. He was a man of great literary attainments and had a peculiar facility for the acquisition of languages, of which he is said to have mastered no less than twelve. Douglas, Massachusetts, had previously been called New Sherborn on account of the grant to Sherborn of 4000 acres of land in that settlement, confirmed by the General Court in 1715, as an equivalent for the seventeen families set off to Framingham at its incorporation in 1700. Douglas was incorporated as a district in 1746, and as a town in 1786, and Mr. William Phipps was chosen its first minister. It was so named for Dr. William Douglas, author of a history of New England and a proprietor and benefactor of the town. Frequent references to this town are found in the records of Sherborn, whose inhabitants took up grants of land in Douglas. The sermon of Rev. Mr. Porter speaks of the new pastor in warm and affectionate terms as a child of Sherborn, with the hope and belief that he "will be a rich blessing to you and to the world in his day."

The other sermon mentioned was delivered at the ordination of Joseph Perry to the pastoral care of the church in Windsor (Conuecticut probably), June 11, 1755. Of this sermon we have but little information; but its subject was doubtless an able man, as he was a son of Captain Joseph Perry, Esq., a prominent man in Sherborn 150 years ago, selectman for sixteen years, and in 1741 a representative to General Court. It is believed that Rev. Joseph Perry did not long survive to fill his pastoral office.

Mr. Porter resided in the house directly opposite the church, owned at a later day by Hon. Calvin Sanger and his heirs, and at present by Abijah R. Leland, Esq. Here originated the famous Porter apple, first raised by the venerable minister and named for him. It was considered a great acquisition to the list of fruits, and adds to the reputation which our town possesses in the cultivation of apples of a good quality. The stump of the original tree was standing on these grounds within the memory of the present generation.

The remains of Mr. Porter were deposited in the Central Burying-Ground by the side of his two predecessors in the ministry; and two stones adjacent commemorated the qualities of his two wives. In the year 1857 the sacred relics of these three early ministers were collected and conveyed to the new Pine Hill Cemetery, and a marble monument was erected above them by Calvin P. Sanger, Esq.

Having described at some length the first three ministers of the town who acted parts so important in its early history, we shall be obliged to notice more briefly the remaining pastors.

Rev. Samuel Locke was born November 23, 1732, and ordained November 7, 1759, and served until 1770, when he was inaugurated president of Harvard College. He occupied this distinguished post but three years, when he returned to Sherborn and opened a private classical school, which was very successful. He died in 1777, at the age of forty-five, and his remains were laid in the Central Cemetery. But soon after the erection of the memorial monument in Pine Hill Cemetery, a granite monument was erected there to the memory of Rev. Dr. Locke, by Harvard University.

Rev. Elijah Brown was the fifth pastor of the church. He was born at Waltham, May 31, 1744; graduated at Harvard College in 1764, and ordained November 28, 1770. He served for forty-six years and died October 24, 1816. His pastorate was longer than that of any minister in the town excepting one of the present incumbents, Rev. Dr. Dowse. Although peculiar in some of his ways, Mr. Brown was a man of much ability. Judge Sprague, formerly of Lancaster, Mass., was a classmate of Mr. Brown in college; and he once observed that, in his opinion, "there were about a dozen real *geniuses* in the class and that Brown was one of them." He was an excellent and sympathetic pastor, and his visits to the sick and sorrowful were acceptable and consoling. He possessed a natural vein of wit and humor, which he could not always retain within the bounds proper to a man of his profession. But on the whole he was useful and successful in the discharge of his responsible duties. Some of his sermons were published, one of the most important being that given at the ordination of Rev. Zedekiah Sanger (a native of Sherborn) as pastor of the church in Duxbury, July 3, 1776.

Within a few weeks after the decease of Rev. Mr. Brown the church invited Shearjashub Bourne Townsend to become their pastor, and in December, 1816, the town, by vote, concurred in the invitation, and granted money for his salary. Mr. Townsend had been a tutor in Brown University, his *alma mater*, and was well fitted, intellectually, for the position. By joint action of the church and town an "ecclesiastical council convened at Sherburne," and he was ordained a pastor on the 2d day of July, 1817. He was an able and cultivated man and an excellent pastor, greatly beloved by his people. He was born in Barrington, R. I., April 14, 1796, and was graduated in 1814. He had a fine presence and stature, being six feet in height. He delivered an oration September 3, 1822, before the Society of United Brothers of Brown University; and also an oration at Sherborn, July 4, 1821, on the means of preserving our civil and religious liberties, a thoughtful and valuable production. Both of these papers were published.

But with all his accomplishments, Mr. Townsend did not possess firm health, and after a service of eleven years his strength began to fail, and assistance in the performance of his duties was required. He had invited Rev. Amos Clarke, a native of Sherborn, to supply the pulpit until further action could be taken. In the autumn of 1829 Mr. Townsend was obliged to proceed to the Southern States for the benefit of his health. According to his expressed desire, he retained, nominally, the position of pastor to the church, generously granting to his colleague the whole of the salary. He never returned, but died at Milledgeville, Ga., July 20, 1832, deeply lamented by his parishioners and friends.

Rev. Amos Clarke was chosen colleague by a majority of the society. The minority desired to hear other candidates, not being satisfied with the religious views held by Mr. Clarke. This difference led to a separation and to the formation of a new society, which will be described below. Mr. Clarke was an excellent pastor, a successful teacher and a wise and useful man in the community. He was born in this town April 23, 1779, was prepared for college under the instruction of Rev. Elijah Brown, of Sherborn, graduated with honor at Harvard College in 1804, and studied theology with Rev. President Bates, then pastor at Dedham, with whom he subsequently became connected by marriage. He was licensed to preach, but his health being slender, he engaged in the calling of a classical instructor, in which he was very successful, training the minds and manners of his pupils as well as their intellects.

Mr. Clarke, who had supplied the pulpit since 1828, was invited, March 22, 1830, to become the associate pastor, and after the death of Rev. Mr. Townsend he was the sole pastor of this church. At this post he continued until May 20, 1841, when he was obliged by feeble health to relinquish it, to the great regret of the members of the parish. Mr. Clarke occasionally appeared afterwards in the pulpit, was a member of the School Committee, represented the town in the Legislature of 1845, and rendered service in various ways to the inhabitants, by whom he was highly respected.

During the year of Mr. Clarke's appointment (1830) the First Parish caused a new meeting-house to be erected, very near the site of the old one, which had been in use for more than a century. The last service was held in the old church on Sunday, December 26th, and an interesting and instructive sermon was given by Rev. Mr. Clarke. On the following Wednesday, December 29th, the new house was appropriately dedicated, Mr. Clarke delivering the sermon on this occasion also. It still stands in good condition, after nearly sixty years of service, and is the third edifice on this site.

The next minister of this church was Rev. Richard Cecil Stone, who was installed September 28, 1842. He was born in Scituate, R. I., July 18, 1798, and served in other towns as a clergyman before coming to Sherborn. He was a man of strong, cultivated intellect and dominating character. Although highly respected by some of his parishioners, he gradually became distasteful to others among them, and this feeling led, after an active service of six years, to a separation in October, 1848. A portion of the church and congregation went with the pastor, and formed a new society, which they called the Wesleyan Methodist Society. They worshiped in a new chapel erected by them north of the Common, and continued their services for about six years, when Mr. Stone removed from the town and the society was dissolved.

He was succeeded in the charge of the First Parish by Rev. John Fleming, a native of England, where he was born January 20, 1820. He labored diligently in his profession, and earnestly strove to fulfill his duties to the parish and to render himself acceptable to the people. He performed good service also as a member of the School Committee for some years. After three years he resigned the office of pastor in 1853, and retired from the ministry. He has continued, however, to reside in the town as a respected citizen.

Rev. Theodore H. Dorr was the next minister. He was born in Boston August 13, 1815, graduated at Harvard College in 1835, and was installed pastor of the church at Sherborn December 3, 1854. He continued its efficient head for more than eight years, when his waning health admonished him to retire from active labor. He resigned the charge of the parish March 1, 1863. He was a man of thorough education, courteous manners and considerable force of character. He was persevering in his efforts to support and advance the interests of the church, was interested in the work of education and in the general improvement of the town. He was for some years an active member of the School Committee, and was

zealous in forwarding preparations for raising soldiers and supplies in the War of the Rebellion. He was a member of the committee chosen at a town-meeting called for the purpose of considering the whole subject, to prepare resolutions expressive of the sentiments of the town.

Mr. Dorr returned to Boston after his resignation, and resided there for several years.

Rev. William Brown was born in Concord, Massachusetts, September 10, 1838, graduated at Amherst College in 1860, and at the Cambridge Divinity School in 1863. He was ordained pastor of the church in Sherborn November 5, 1863, and held the office for nearly nine years. On the 1st day of March, 1872, he tendered his resignation of the position, to take effect August 31st, following. For several years after that date he was pastor of the church in Walpole, N. H., but has lately removed to West Bridgewater, Mass., as minister of the church there, and teacher of certain branches of study in the Academy.

Mr. Brown was a man of genial nature and cultivated intellect, a firm friend, and a good townsman, interested in education and in all that pertained to the welfare of the people. The town sustained a loss in his departure. This was his first parish, and he studied and labored diligently for its improvement. He was for many years a member of the School Committee, and his efficient services will not soon be forgotten by his colleagues of that period. He was one of the steady, valuable workers for the public good, and was equal to any with which the town has been favored during the last thirty years.

After the resignation and removal of Rev. William Brown, in September, 1872, there was an interregnum of nearly twenty months, during which time the pulpit was temporarily supplied. Several gentlemen officiated as candidates, but it was not until May 13, 1874, that Rev. Alfred Edgar Mullett, the eleventh minister, was ordained. Mr. Mullett had graduated at Cambridge Divinity School the previous year, after a collegiate course at Tufts College. This was therefore, his first parish. He was a young man of good education and attainments. Although he exerted himself to fulfill his duties, he soon found that he was not adapted to the work in this parish, and tendered his resignation April 1, 1875, to take effect in three months afterwards. He has since that time served in other towns, and, we believe, is now settled in a Massachusetts parish. Mr. Mullett was born in Charlestown, Mass., November 13, 1847.

In September, 1876, Rev. Eugene De Normandie, a native of Philadelphia, who had previously served acceptably in this State, was invited to supply the pulpit of the First Parish. He accepted the invitation, and continued to officiate as its minister through the autumn months. On the 1st day of December he was engaged to serve for one year, at the expiration of which time the engagement was renewed, and was continued to the Fall of 1890. He has been the respected pastor of this church, whose interests he labored diligently to support. He belongs to a family of clergymen. One brother, Rev. James De Normandie, was for many years the minister of the Unitarian Society in Portsmouth, N. H., and is now serving as the pastor of the church in the Roxbury District, Boston, which was for so long a time in charge of Rev. Dr. George Putnam. Another brother, Rev. C. T. De Normandie, has been settled since 1872 in the ancient town of Kingston, originally a part of Plymouth, and once called North Plymouth.

Mr. De Normandie has identified his interests with those of our town, and endeavored to render himself useful to its inhabitants. He brought with him a considerable experience in school-work, and has been an active and efficient member of the Board of School Committee during several of the years of his residence. He was born in Philadelphia, January 3, 1832. In 1890 he accepted an invitation from the society in Danvers, Mass., and removed there in September.

Allusion has been made to the formation of a Second Parish in the year 1830. A majority of the church did not coincide in the appointment of Rev. Amos Clarke as the minister to succeed Rev. S. B. Townsend, although Mr. Clarke was chosen by a majority of the society. Those members of the church, claiming to represent the doctrines of the original church, therefore formed a new society, which was known for many years as the Second Parish in Sherborn, but since 1875 as the Pilgrim Society, by act of the Legislature. They worshiped in a hall in the centre of the town until the completion of their new meeting-house, in November, 1830. This edifice was dedicated November 4th, and at the same time their first pastor, Rev. Samuel Lee, was ordained. He was a native of Middletown, Connecticut, and graduated at Yale College in 1827, and subsequently at the Theological Seminary attached to that college. He was a man of good education, and more than average ability. He was eminently social in his intercourse with his people, and was highly regarded by them as a pastor. Some of his sermons were published. At his own request he was dismissed April 27, 1836. He afterward settled in New Ipswich, N. H., where he passed the remainder of his life.

The second minister was Rev. Daniel Talcott Smith, born in Newburyport in 1813, graduated at Amherst College in 1831, and at Andover Theological Seminary, where he was afterwards an assistant professor. He received the degree of D.D. from Waterville College in 1853, and from Bowdoin College in 1858. He was a thorough scholar, and excelled in a knowledge of languages and classical literature. He was ordained pastor of this church and society December 7, 1836, and was an earnest and successful pastor, so far as his health would allow.

But the duties of the position proved too great a draft upon his strength, and he was obliged to resign in 1838. He was dismissed on the same day of the ordination of his successor, October 10, 1838. He was afterwards a professor for many years in the Bangor Theological Seminary, where he held a high rank. Some years since his name was changed to that of Daniel Smith Talcott.

On the 10th day of October, 1838, Rev. Edmund Dowse, a native of Sherborn, whither his ancestors removed from Charlestown, Mass., in 1775, was ordained the third pastor of the Second Parish, and of the church of which he had been a member for some years. From that day to the present time, more than fifty-two years, Mr. Dowse has remained as the respected and beloved pastor of this religious society. Few ministers have so long a pastorate, especially in the place of their birth and life-long residence, and but few have retained so continuously the confidence of the community, as well as that of the people of his charge. The twenty-fifth, the fortieth and fiftieth anniversaries of his ordination were celebrated with appropriate ceremonies, the latter with great enthusiasm in 1888. During the same year Mr. Dowse received from Amherst college, his *alma mater*, the degree of D.D.

Dr. Dowse represented this district in the State Senate in the years 1869 and 1870, and has served as Chaplain of the Senate from 1880 to 1890, inclusive.

He has also been active in the cause of education and a member of the School Committee for fifty-two years.

In the year 1859 the church building was much enlarged and remodeled, and is now a prominent and attractive feature of the town. In 1890 a substantial addition to its funds was received from the estate of the late Aaron Greenwood.

We have now completed the account of the religious societies and their ministers, so far as the materials for their history have been found after diligent research. The foundation and progress of the Puritan church in one of the old New England towns carries with it an important part of the history of that town, and it was originally considered a part of the town business, and was regulated in town-meeting with fully as much interest as any other part of the town affairs. And it is right, and of the highest importance to the welfare of the town that its religious interests should be among the first to be supported and cherished, as one of the bulwarks of a free community, and one of the corner-stones of the prosperity of a free State.

We naturally pass from the church to the school. Our fathers gave early attention to the subject of education, the importance of which they fully realized. Section four of the articles of agreement between the committee appointed by the town and certain Indians of Natick says: "Also, we agree and consent that on the lands we are to have of Natick there be a lot of fifty acres set out where the Commissioners of the Colonies, Major Gookin and Mr. Eliott, and Indian rulers, shall choose within that tract of land, to be appropriated forever to the use of a free school for teaching the English and Indian children there the English tongue and other sciences." This resolve was made April 16, 1679, when the town had just recovered from the effects of Philip's war, and had become settled to the regular order of business. The work of teaching was at first performed in the several families, or in some private houses where the children could assemble for that purpose. Obadiah Morse, the first town clerk, was the first teacher in this primitive fashion, and in 1694 Edward West, who was then town clerk, was chosen schoolmaster for the town. In the year 1718 twelve pounds, and in 1719 eighteen pounds, were granted for the support of a school for the teaching of children and youths to read, write and cipher. It is presumed that this education was conducted in dwelling-houses until 1729, as the first appropriation for building a school-house was made in December, 1727, "to build a school-house eighteen feet wide and twenty feet long, and to set it on Meeting-house Common, on the southeasterly side of the meeting-house." It was completed early in 1729. The spot then chosen by the town remained the site of a building used either wholly or in part for school purposes for nearly one hundred and fifty years.

As the population increased other school-houses were erected in different quarters of the town, until, at the present day, there are eight buildings in which instruction is given in the rudiments of learning.

In addition to these common schools there has been since 1774 a school of advanced grade for instruction in the higher branches of learning. But, until about the year 1859, these were all private schools, conducted by many different teachers. Although excellent of their kind, many of the inhabitants felt the need of a permanent school of this character. They therefore cordially received, in the year 1858, the proposition of the executors of the will of Thomas Dowse, a former resident of the town, to render assistance in the establishment of a High School. With the aid of this gift, the "Dowse High School" was founded, and its doors were first opened in 1859. This bequest was a great acquisition to the means of education, and for fifteen years it continued its good work during a portion of each year.

Thomas Dowse was the son of Eleazer and Mehitable Dowse, and was born at Charlestown, Massachusetts, December 28, 1772. On the ever-memorable 17th of June, 1775, when but two and a half years of age, his parents fled from the flames of their home in that town. After sojourning for a short time in Holliston, they settled in Sherborn, where their descendants remain to this day. Eleazer Dowse was the first of his name who settled and *remained* in this town. Lodowick Dowse was here as early as 1683, and had a lot of thirty acres assigned him May 27,

1684. But he did not long remain here. No connection has yet been traced between his family and that of Eleazer Dowse, but it is probable that there was a distant relationship.

Thomas remained in the town, and in due time worked with his father at his trade of a leather-dresser, until he reached his majority. He then sought and obtained employment in the same occupation at Roxbury, where he resided for several years. It was in the year 1803 that, with the assistance of his employer, he commenced business for himself at Cambridgeport, as a wool-puller and leather-dresser. And here he continued during the remainder of a long life, distinguished for the thoroughness and excellence of his work, and gradually accumulated a considerable fortune. A carved lamb stood upon a pillar before his door, as a sign and symbol of his trade, during many long years. He possessed a real love for books and their contents, and also for art. And thus, instead of expending his money for outside show, he used a liberal share of it every year in the purchase of books of real value, and in volumes of engravings. In this manner he gradually became possessed of a very valuable library of 5000 volumes, nearly all in the English language, and handsomely bound. But his books were not kept for show. They were regularly and diligently used, and he had not only much pleasure, but a just pride in their possession. He was strongly attached to his library, and when advanced in years he was naturally solicitous for its future, and was thus led to reflect upon his disposition of it. He decided to convey it during his lifetime to the Massachusetts Historical Society, with the sole condition that the books should always be kept in a room by themselves, and only to be used in said room. This society gratefully accepted the gift, but appropriately allowed it to remain with the venerable donor during the remainder of his life.

After devising a handsome sum of money to his relatives, and making some special bequests, he confided the residue, more than forty thousand dollars, to his executors, to be by them appropriated to charitable, literary or scientific uses. This important trust was fulfilled by them with signal good judgment and discretion. A beautiful collection of water-colors which accidentally came into his possession, was added to the gallery of the Boston Athenæum. A conservatory at the Botanic Garden, Cambridge, was built in part at their expense; a liberal contribution was made toward the purchase of a chime of bells in the same city; and a public clock was procured for the street in which he lived. Contributions were made to the funds of two of the charitable institutions of Boston, and the Dowse Institute was founded in the city where he had so long resided, and an annual course of lectures on literary and scientific subjects is thus furnished to its inhabitants. Lastly, the sum of five thousand dollars was conveyed to the town of Sherborn, for the foundation and support of the "Dowse High School," which thus became a lasting monument to his memory. The executors, who appear to have left no place or circumstance unconsidered with which Thomas Dowse had any important connection during his life, remembered this town on account of his long residence here in early life, and the continued and present settlement in Sherborn of many relatives bearing the family name. They also carefully inquired into the needs of the town before deciding upon the particular object to which the money should be devoted and for which it should be given, desiring that the means of usefulness and improvement contemplated by the donor should be made as effective as possible.

The town gratefully accepted the gift, and thus a way was opened for a commencement of that instruction in the higher branches of learning which had long been desired by many inhabitants of the town. An education which would answer for an introduction to the practical business of life could now be obtained within our own limits, and many pupils here received their entire instruction in advanced studies. For some years but two terms of school were held during each year, one in the spring and one in the autumn season. In the year 1862 this plan was changed for the convenience of the people, the school commencing in December instead of September, and continuing for four months, as required by the terms of the bequest, being divided, however, into two consecutive terms. But this arrangement did not succeed in meeting the wishes of the inhabitants, and was soon abandoned, and the two terms were henceforth held in the fall and winter months as long as the school continued as an independent organization. Many of our present citizens can look back to the old Dowse High School with feelings of gratitude for the privileges enjoyed, and of pleasure for the friendships formed, which in many cases will last as long as life itself. They also remember with peculiar interest many of their teachers to whom they became attached, such as Baker, and Stone, and Park, and Hoitt, and many others. Mr. Fisher A. Baker was the first of the long line of teachers, and was a man peculiarly fitted for his work. He is clearly remembered by the older class of pupils, and is an object of additional interest on account of being the pioneer in this work of advanced education in Sherborn. He had previously been engaged in the work of teaching in the South School for four successive winters, and by his able and dignified course had gained the approbation of the committee, the respect of the scholars and the universal esteem of the parents. The committee therefore felt that he would be the right man to inaugurate the system of instruction in the new High School, and their decision was heartily approved by all persons of his acquaintance in the town. They were justified in the choice, as the success and general good management of the school abundantly proved. Many other able teachers followed Mr. Baker, but a

peculiar interest attached to him as the man who commenced the work of the Dowse High School. The school continued as a separate institution for fifteen years, the last term being held in the autumn of the year 1873.

But Sherborn had still greater favors in store, all unknown to its people until the year 1870. Then the executors of the will of Martha Sawin, of Natick, gave notice to the town that Miss Sawin had bequeathed a large sum of money for the purpose of founding and supporting an academy, to be called the Sawin Academy, for the free instruction of its youth in the higher branches of science and literature, and also in the classical languages, in preparation for a college course when desired. This was truly a munificent gift, which promised to establish a permanent yearly school and thus supplement and complete the educational privileges of the inhabitants.

Although living for many years past in the town of Natick, the Sawins were old residents of Sherborn. Thomas Sawin, born September 27, 1657, the son of John Sawin, of Watertown, removed to this town and had a home lot of twenty-four acres assigned to him May 13, 1679. He was a millwright, and settled at Chestnut Brook, in the northwestern part of the town, near the present residence of Albert B. Fay, and there built the first mill in Sherborn. He was admitted to be an inhabitant November 29, 1679. After the removal of the family to South Natick they continued in the business of milling for several generations, and many persons now living have a distinct memory of Sawin's mills, which are now owned and managed by Mr. Andrew Morse. Living near the boundary line, the family continued its connection with the people of Sherborn, with whom they were well acquainted, and for a long time attended church and school here. Their interests were, therefore, in a great measure identified with those of Sherborn, and as the town of Natick was already supplied with a well-ordered High School, the reason of the decision of Miss Sawin to leave her property to this town and found an institution bearing her name, is easily seen.

Martha Sawin, familiarly called Patty Sawin, was the daughter of Thomas and Abigail (Bacon) Sawin, and was born in Natick August 16, 1794. She lived with her brothers, Baxter and Thomas, and kept house for them in the homestead at South Natick, all being unmarried. They carried on the mills and the farm until well advanced in age. They were shrewd, practical persons, methodical in their habits, and well acquainted with the value of money. When Miss Sawin had determined upon the manner in which she would dispose of her estate, she called for the assistance of George White, Esq., judge of Probate for Norfolk County, and after advising with him in regard to particulars, desired him to make out the necessary documents expressing her wishes. She died June 22, 1869, at the age of about seventy-five years. In addition to the sums conveyed to her relatives, she devised five hundred dollars to each of the religious societies in Sherborn, in memory, doubtless, of the privileges she had enjoyed there.

In response to the notice of the executors, a special town-meeting was called for December 19, 1870, when the bequest was formally accepted, and a committee was chosen to take charge of the estate and transact the necessary business. The fund was largely invested in land and in securities which were not immediately available. It was some time, therefore, before the committee was able to commence the immediate work of placing the academy in operation. An act of incorporation was obtained of the Legislature April 12, 1871, in which the direction of the academy and the care of its funds was vested in five trustees, to be chosen by the town from its inhabitants, one of whom should retire each year, his successor to be chosen for five years. These trustees were also to be trustees, from that date, of the Dowse school fund, the Dowse High School being united with the academy ; but the two funds were to be kept separate and distinct.

By the terms of this act a certain proportion of the Sawin fund could be used for the erection of a building. Upon this much thought and consultation were expended before its plan was selected. The trustees were desirous of constructing an edifice which should be at once elegant and substantial, and adapted to the purpose for which it was designed. It was no easy task. It was difficult to decide whether it was wiser to build with wood or with some more solid material. Both had their advantages. The sum of money to be expended on the building was also a serious question, as they did not wish to encroach too greatly on the fund in its reduced condition, the heirs of Miss Sawin having contested the will, thus rendering a compromise necessary. The trustees exercised their best judgment at the time in deciding a difficult and perplexing question, and they produced an elegant building, which is an ornament to the town. It was placed on a lot bought for the purpose which faces the public Common in the centre of the town, where most of the public buildings are situated. It was constructed of brick, with granite trimmings, and has an appropriate inscription cut in a tablet of granite. It is fifty-four by sixty feet in size, two stories high, with a Mansard roof, and has at the eastern corner an octagon tower of ninety feet elevation. It contains several commodious, well-lighted school and recitation rooms. This edifice was commenced in the year 1873 and completed in 1874, and on the 10th day of September, 1874, the exercises of dedication were held and were very largely attended by the inhabitants of the town and the friends of the institution from other places. Among those present were Hon. Henry Wilson, then Vice-President of the United States, Judge White, who made the principal

address, and Judge Bacon, of Massachusetts, and George B. Emerson, LL.D., the veteran teacher and friend of education, and all took part in the exercises, as did also the Messrs. Allen, the prominent teachers in West Newton. The music was furnished by the Sherborn Musical Association.

The academy still continues a benefaction to the inhabitants, and gives to their children a more complete education than many of them could otherwise have obtained. The first principal was Edward A. H. Allen, C. E., of Northborough, a teacher of ripe experience, who served until 1882. He was succeeded by Horace W. Rice, of Hopkinton, until 1888, and by Warren F. Gregory, of Winchendon, from 1888 to the present time.

Sherborn has been well supplied with brooks and early measures were taken by the town to encourage the erection of grist-mills and saw-mills upon them. The first mill, as just mentioned, was built by Thomas Sawin, on Chestnut Brook, in 1679, and others at later dates. These mills were of great advantage to the settlers in the young and growing community, and subsidies in land were frequently granted to those who would establish them. One of these mills, on Sewell's Brook, has been continued in use to the present day, James H. Leland being the present proprietor.

October 27, 1681, it was "Voted by the Inhabitants that there shall be a division of so much of our common land as is judged meet for a dividend . . . . if our honored Committee approve of it." Only a portion of the land comprising the area of the town was at first assigned to the inhabitants, the remainder being reserved for division among new inhabitants who were expected to settle here; and the above note related to one of these later divisions. It may be remembered that the town was at this time placed under the guardianship of a committee appointed by the General Court, principally on account of the difficulties which arose concerning the location of the meeting-house. This committee, consisting of Thomas Savage, John Richards and William Stoughton, had the charge and direction of all the affairs of the town, civil as well as religious, for three years. They approved and confirmed the above vote and gave some directions concerning the manner of dividing the land fairly and equitably to both old and new inhabitants.

Following is a "list of persons admitted to be Inhabitants of Sherborn since its incorporation, with the dates of admission;" the dates in parentheses being inserted by the present writer as the probable dates, none appearing in the town records:

"Ensign Samuel Bullen, Edward West, (1677); Joseph Morse, (1671); John Perry, (1679); William Allen; Thomas Eames, Jan. 4, 1674; John Death, 11 mo 1, 1677; Thomas Gleason, 8 mo. 5, 1678; Hopestill Leland, 11—1, 1678; Ebenezer Leland, 11—1, 1678; Joseph Twitchell, 11—1, 1678; Thomas Pratt, sen., 2 mo., 1679; William Sheffield, May, 1679; Zachary Paddleford, 2 mo., 1679; John Eames, 2 mo., 1679; Isaac Learned, 2 mo., 1679; Thomas Pratt, Jr., 2 mo., 1679; Thomas Sawin, 9 mo. 29, 1679; Jonathan Whitney, 1679; Will Goddard, 9 mo. 29, 1679; Benoni Learned, 9 mo. 29, 1679; Will Rider, 9 mo. 29, 1679."

This list has proved to be of much value in determining doubtful questions concerning the dates and even the fact of residence of some of the persons mentioned therein.

An extract from the records of the General Court, October 11, 1682, states, "Whereas there is about fifty soldiers at Sherborne, in probability they will increase to a greater number in a short time, and they having no higher officer than a Sarjant, it is ordered by this Court and the authority thereof that Sargeant Edward West be Leiftenant to the said company and Jonathan Morse, Ensign, and they are to choose two sarjants, a drummer and clerk for the said company according as the law directs; and that the said company do belong to the regiment of Maj. Gookin, and ye Secretary is ordered to issue both commissions for them."

February 3, 1695, at a meeting of the inhabitants of the town, the important work was consummated of voting to lay out and complete the exchange of land with Natick, which rendered this township more compact and of better form. This was done in fulfillment of the agreement made in 1679, by which 4000 acres in the southwesterly part of Natick were added to Sherborn, and an equal quantity of land "adjoining to Mauguncoog Indian Hill," near Hopkinton, and also 200 bushels of Indian corn, were conveyed to Natick in exchange. This was a valuable transaction for this town, whose territory had previously been narrow in that portion which contained the largest number of inhabitants.

We now approach the year 1700, when an event occurred of great importance to the town. In common with all the earlier towns in the State, Sherborn contained a very large extent of land, and this extensive area rendered it difficult for those persons near its borders to attend the religious and civil meetings of the town. As the number of inhabitants in these localities increased by the addition of new settlers, a spirit of uneasiness began to appear among them, and finally a desire to form themselves into new towns, with privileges of their own. Objections arose on the part of other inhabitants of the town, as to the mode or place of division, or to any division whatever. The older townsmen naturally desired to increase rather than to diminish their population, and also to retain all the tax-payers possible. We shall endeavor to describe the result of this diversity of wishes and opinions.

Previous to the year 1700 seventeen families residing on "Sherburne Row" in the north part of this town, a portion of them adjoining "Mr. Danforth's farms," and others holding leases from Mr. Danforth, made propositions for separation in order that they might join the inhabitants of "Framingham plantations" in the formation of a new town. There was great opposition to the project on the part of the

people of Sherborn, whose population was still small. It was decreed by the General Court some years previously that "all other farms that are nighest Sherborn Meeting-house shall be likewise in the bounds of Sherborn, and do duty and receive privileges therein," the tract of land belonging to Thomas Danforth, Esq., Deputy-Governor, being however excepted. This act gave to Sherborn a valid claim upon these families, and the town was naturally reluctant to give them up. An effort was made by the town in 1695 for an enlargement of their town bounds by the addition of "land joining to the farm of Henry Rice to make one township," embracing such farmers as were willing to join the township. It was proposed "to run a straight line from the south corner of Henry Rice's farm to the cartway crossing Cochituate brook, near where Course brook meets with Cochituate brook." This was evidently a plan to secure these inhabitants and their lands as permanent inhabitants of Sherborn; but as we find no further record concerning it, no successful result was probably attained.

Rev. Daniel Gookin sent to the General Court a remonstrance against the assignment of these families to the projected town of Framingham, and another remonstrance was presented by the inhabitants of Sherborn. The bounds of Sherborn in this direction appear never to have been well defined and the rights of territory thus became involved and uncertain, and these conditions led to a long and troublesome dispute.

The town of Framingham was incorporated in the year 1700, but it was not until June 16, 1710, that the Court passed the order finally including the seventeen families within Framingham line, to be "accounted part of that town forever," and granting to Sherborn in compensation, 4000 acres of land west of Mendon. And so the great contention was settled in an equitable manner by the strong hand of the law.

Should the town of Framingham be divided and a new town be formed at South Framingham, it is probable that Sherborn would be called upon to yield another portion of her territory to complete that township.

One remarkable event in the history of a town, as in that of an individual person, is often followed by another similar event within a short time. We therefore soon find that the western inhabitants were increasing in numbers and were thirsting for privileges of their own. Their first concern referred to their lack of religious privileges. Their farms were situated at a long distance from the church, and they made representations in the town-meetings of the difficulty they often experienced in attending public worship. The town met their wants in an amicable spirit, and at first passed a vote March 6, 1723, nullifying a vote previously passed to build a new meeting-house on the old spot, and deciding to erect it at a point which would better accommodate these inhabitants "Who are Dwellers on ye West side of Dopping brook." But in the following November, the town "voted to nullifie and make void this vote of March 6, in consideration that the Form and Situation of the Town is so ill Convenient, that one Meeting-house cannot be so placed as to suit the whole town, but that in time there will be need of two to accommodate the inhabitants." They also voted to build on the old spot and to levy £160 on the inhabitants for the purpose, at the same time agreeing to remit to these western inhabitants their proportion of this sum "whenever they are sett off."

In answer to petitions from these latter persons presented in June, 1724, showing the great inconvenience they are under by reason of their great distance from the place of public worship, the said town being near twelve miles long and the meeting-house situated at the easterly end, and praying that they be made a distinct and separate township, the General Court appointed a committee to investigate the matter. The committee reported and recommended that the "western part be erected into a precinct," and also offered rules and restrictions for the new parish.

The report was accepted, but the General Court voted that this western part shall be a town and not a precinct, and that it be called Holliston in honor of the illustrious Thomas Hollis, Esq., of London. John Goulding, a principal inhabitant, was empowered and directed to summon the qualified voters to meet "for the chusing of town officers to stand until the next annual election according to law." This bill was passed to be enacted by both Houses, Dec. 3, 1724. And thus another child of the old town was started into the world to transact business on its own account.

From this date there were but few events worthy of notice in the civil history of the town for many years. The regular business of the town was carried on. Meetings were held for business, as required by the laws of the Commonwealth; new schools were established and old schools continued; and much thought and labor were expended in the formation and improvement of the roads in the township.

The population had increased during one hundred years from the first settlement, as we find that in the year 1764 there were 113 families and 630 inhabitants.

Among the prominent citizens of the first quarter of the eighteenth century was Captain and Honorable Samuel Bullard, born in 1667, a son of Benjamin Bullard, the first settler of that name. For many years he acted as moderator of the town-meetings; served nineteen years as selectman, five years as assessor and five years as representative to the General Court, where he aided in procuring the grant to the town of 4000 acres west of Mendon. His was the controlling mind of that period and there is undoubted evidence of his talent and integrity. He died in 1727.

He was succeeded later in that century by Joseph

Twitchell, Esq., and Honorable Daniel Whitney, successively, both men of ability and high character. The former was captain in the militia, commissary for the army in the War of the Revolution, town clerk, selectman, representative and magistrate. He was born in 1719 and died in 1792. The latter was a born leader of men and an able, patriotic citizen. Morse[1] says, "He was early and long in public life, and during the Revolutionary struggle an efficient instrument in arousing and directing the energies of his fellow-citizens. He was a member of the Provincial Congress, 1775; Representative, 1776; member of the convention to form the State Convention, 1780, and of that which adopted the Federal Constitution in 1788; and between 1781 and 1799 he represented Sherborn fourteen years in the House, was for several sessions a member of the Senate, and repeatedly one of the Executive Council. As a magistrate he was much valued, and he passed away amidst the regrets of an extended acquaintance." He was born in 1733 and died in 1810.

His mantle fell upon Honorable Calvin Sanger, one of the most able and distinguished sons of Sherborn, whose career we notice in connection with those of his predecessors, although it was comprised within the early years of the present century. He was a son of Captain Samuel Sanger, a dignified, energetic and worthy inhabitant, and was born October 10, 1768. He was not robust in health, but was endowed with natural gifts, sound common sense, a tenacious memory and excellent judgment. When, therefore, in the year 1806, a new leader of affairs was required, the minds of the townsmen unanimously turned towards him. In that year he was appointed a magistrate and also a representative to the General Court, and for nearly thirty years he continued to be a member either of the House or the Senate. He also filled various town offices with full satisfaction, and was town clerk for twenty-five years. "In his care for the public he was vigilant, self-denying and persevering, consulting the interests of the future as well as the present."

When a company of cavalry was raised in the vicinity, he was chosen captain; and he subsequently became colonel of cavalry. He died in 1835.

The year 1754 is to be noted as the time of the appearance of an uncommon disease of an epidemic character, called in Sherborn "the Memorable Mortality," and in Holliston "the Great Sickness." Nearly thirty lives were lost in this town by its ravages and fifty-three in the town of Holliston, and alarm and despair were excited in the minds of the inhabitants. It appears to have been present during the whole year, but no deaths are recorded during the warmer season. The fatal months were January, February, March, April, November and December.

The French and Indian War, from 1755 to 1763, did not seriously affect this colony. Some of its young men served in these campaigns, and we have been able to learn the names of fourteen who lived in Sherborn, besides two who were born here and settled in Mendon and Douglas. Among these were Benjamin Bullard, afterwards captain in the War of the Revolution, and Ensign Hezekiah Coolidge, a graduate of Harvard College in 1750, who died at Crown Point in December, 1761.

In this, as in many other towns at that period, a company was raised which consisted of two bands, a "trained band" of sixty-six men and an "alarm band" of forty-one. The latter were wholly for home service, but from the ranks of the former were selected soldiers for active service as needed. And most of the fourteen men above mentioned were thus selected. The officers of the company were: Captain, Joseph Perry; Lieutenant, Amos Coolidge; and Ensign, Thomas Russell.

The time of greatest trial to these colonists as well as those of the whole country, came with the War of the Revolution. Great as was their attachment to the mother country, and reluctant as they were to sever the strong bonds which held them to allegiance, still the exactions of the home government were becoming too onerous to be borne. The people of the colonies began seriously to consider the necessity of throwing off the yoke. Sherborn was ready now, as ever, to do its part in contributing men and means to support the great struggle for what it deemed to be just and right.

As early as 1774 a Committee of Correspondence was chosen, and also committees to attend the county conferences at Concord and Cambridge, and to procure a field-piece. Three cannon procured by the latter committee, instead of a six-pounder, were accepted by the town, and it was voted "that the committee prove them at the town's expense, and fire the biggest as soon as may be, with all the necessaries that may be needed." Many other votes were afterwards passed, showing that the people were animated to a high degree with the spirit which finally achieved the independence of the Colonies. In 1776 it was voted to extend relief to the poor of Boston, then besieged by the enemy, and to find places for them to live in. A company of minute-men was raised, and £8 granted to provide ammunition for the cannon. As soon as the news reached this town of the conflict at Lexington, April 19, 1775, the minute-men proved themselves worthy of their title by marching immediately to meet the assailants. The officers of this company were: Benjamin Bullard, captain; Aaron Gardner, lieutenant; and Joshua Leland, ensign. There were four sergeants, four corporals and forty privates. The names of all are recorded in the archives of the State.

This company, with some alterations in its membership, served for some time afterwards, whenever needed, at the siege of Boston, at Bunker Hill and

[1] "History of Sherborn and Holliston, Boston," 1856.

other engagements. A large proportion of the able-bodied men of the town became soldiers, and Sherborn names are found in the lists of those engaged at Ticonderoga, White Plains, West Point, Brandywine, in the expeditions to Rhode Island in 1779-80, and in other battles. Seven brothers, the sons of Mr. Samuel Clark, enlisted as soldiers and served, on an average, over three years per man.

In May, 1776, the town voted that if Congress decided to declare the colonies independent of Great Britain, the people would, with their lives and fortunes, endeavor to support them in that measure. And Daniel Whitney, their representative, was instructed, to act accordingly.

When the question of the adoption of the Federal Constitution arose, Sherborn sent Daniel Whitney to the State convention held in Boston, in 1788, with general instructions, which conclude as follows:

"But, sir, we mean not to give you positive instructions relative to your voting for or against the reported Constitution. When assembled, you will have the collected wisdom of the State before you; will hear all that can be said on the subject, and consequently be able to form a judicious opinion. And having the fullest confidence in your political wisdom, integrity and patriotism, we cheerfully, on our part, submit the all important question to your decision. And we beseech the All-wise Governor of the world to take the Convention under his holy influence, that so the result may be the best good of the people of the United States of America." And that honorable member was one of the majority who voted in favor of this great charter of our freedom.

In 1781 an entry in the town records states that the salary of Rev. Elijah Brown for one year, ending March 1, 1781, was £73 6*s.* 8*d.*, equal to £2,933 6*s.* 8*d.*, Continental currency. This shows the depreciation which the latter had suffered, and that it took more than £40 of that currency to equal £1 of sound money. Although made necessary by the circumstances of the times, it presents a powerful argument against the establishment of an irredeemable currency.

In the year 1786 occurred Shays' Rebellion in Massachusetts, on account of supposed political grievances. It was headed and commanded by Daniel Shays, of Hopkinton, and for a while assumed rather formidable proportions. The inhabitants of this town, in the interests of liberty and order, furnished their quota of officers and privates to the troops commanded by Gen. Lincoln.

"Mr. John Ware, of Sherborn, acted as adjutant in this expedition. Being sent with orders to a distance from Lincoln's army, he stopped for refreshment at a tavern in or near Brookfield where there happened to be a small party of insurgents, who took him prisoner and confined him in an upper room of the house, while they kept guard below. In the course of the day, Ware saw from his prison a company of cavalry approaching, which he soon recognized as being on the side of the Government. He hailed them from a window of his apartment and made them acquainted with his situation. The house was immediately surrounded, the Shaysites surrendered at discretion, and W. was enabled to accomplish the object of his mission."

When President Washington made his tour through New England in 1789, he was entertained in this town by Capt. Samuel Sanger, a prominent and patriotic citizen and father of Hon. Calvin Sanger; and the old house and the room occupied by the distinguished guest were standing a few years since and excited much interest in the minds of visitors.

In the year 1807 and 1808, when one hundred thousand militia were called by the President, to be in readiness in case of invasion, the town voted to add to the pay of the soldiers of their quota a sum sufficient to make their whole pay, when in actual service, twelve dollars per month. And in 1814, when hostilities were in progress with England, this sum was increased to fifteen dollars per month. The chief duty performed by our soldiers was in garrison in the forts of Boston Harbor.

As there was no event in the annals of the town for several years which it is important to record, we will now give an account of the physicians of Sherborn, commencing with a list of their names.

Jonathan Fairbank, 1685–1719; Eleazer Hill, from about 1712; Jonathan Tay, 1772–1827; Samuel Locke, from about 1783–88; Tapley Wyeth, 1784–1813; William Sweetser, from about 1818; Oliver Everett, 1825–52; Albert H. Blanchard, 1852 to the present time.

Dr. George W. Dennett has also resided in the north part of the town since 1863, and Dr. Wm. P. Sylvester in the southern portion since 1877.

During the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth century several other physicians have resided here; but little information can be gained concerning them or the dates of their sojourn. Notices occur of the names of Drs. Wilson, Lincoln, Sheppard, Levet, Blodget, Flagg, Wise and Wight.

Dr. Jonathan Fairbank was an important man in his day. Besides his practice as physician, he was selectman seven years and town clerk three years. It is supposed that he lived in the old stone house north of Bogistow Pond; and he was drowned by falling through the ice while crossing the river from Medfield in the night.

Dr. Jonathan Tay came from Salem, settled in the west part of the town and had an extensive practice. He served as selectman twelve years and resided here fifty-five years.

Dr. Samuel Locke was a son of Rev. Dr. Locke, the fourth pastor of the church in Sherborn. He lived but a few years after he became a physician.

Dr. Wyeth was an eminent physician and a valuable citizen. He was especially interested in the

cause of education. He served six years as selectman, and as representative in the year 1813.

Dr. Sweetser was a thoroughly educated man and possessed literary tastes. He remained here "for a considerable time," probably six or seven years, and left to accept a professorship in the Vermont University at Burlington.

Dr. Everett was born in Dedham November 11, 1798; graduated at Brown University in 1821, and received his degree of M.D. from Dartmouth College. He settled in Sherborn in 1825, by invitation of the town, and for many years had an extensive practice in this and adjoining towns. In fact, his practice was too large for his own welfare, and his life was probably shortened by the great amount of work he performed. He was a man universally respected and was very popular as a physician. Morse, in his "History of Sherborn" and Holliston, says: "His worth became ineffaceably stamped upon the minds and hearts of the entire community, and no man of his generation ever fell in Sherborn whose death was so universally and deeply lamented." He died December 12, 1851. He was appointed surgeon M. V. M. April 25, 1825.

The present writer, also after invitation by a committee of citizens, came to this town from Boston, his native place, December 19, 1851, and has remained here in practice to this day with the exception of two years during the Civil War, for the greater part of which time he served as surgeon of the Third Massachusetts Cavalry.

In the year 1847 occurred the reunion of a very large number of the descendants of Henry Leland, previously noticed when describing their ancestor.

In 1852 "Pine Hill Cemetery" was dedicated.

Sherborn has, from the earliest times, set apart lots of land for use as cemeteries. The old burial-places were seven in number, namely: the ancient South Cemetery, which received the body of the venerable Hopestill Layland (born in 1580), in 1655; the Central Cemetery, 1686; the Farm, which was first used after the death of Daniel Morse, Sr., in 1688; the Brush Hill, 1785; the New South, 1790; the Plain, 1792; and the West Sherborn, about 1825.

In general, these lots were bare and uninviting spots, devoid of beauty or attraction, as was often the case in New England towns. Before the middle of the present century the subject of a more modern, rural cemetery was seriously considered and finally urged by some of the inhabitants. Prominent among these was the lamented Dr. Everett, by whom a location was most judiciously chosen on Pine Hill, convenient to the centre of the town and yet sufficiently secluded from public view. The gravelly and mineral character of the soil, combined with a natural drainage, render it peculiarly suitable as a place of interment. An association was formed, about ten acres of land were purchased and the grounds were tastefully laid out by Captain Jacob Pratt, the superintendent, who had a deep interest in the work, and had also selected the same spot for the cemetery independently of Dr. Everett.

On the 19th day of May, 1852, the "Pine Hill Cemetery" was consecrated with suitable exercises, an address being given by Rev. Edmund Dowse to a multitude of interested citizens. Among the remains first deposited there were those of Dr. Everett himself, who, when selecting this locality, may possibly have had a premonition that his life might not long continue.

This cemetery has always been a source of great satisfaction to the people, and continues to be a chosen place for interment.

The commendable desire to preserve memorials of the ancient worthies of the town had inspired various persons, and notably Rev. Abner Morse, author of the "History of Sherborn and Holliston," to urge upon their descendants the sacred duty of preserving the tombstones of the founders and prominent men of Sherborn, or when this could not be done, to erect new monuments to their memory either on the original spot or in some other appropriate place. With this purpose in view, Calvin P. Sanger, Esq., a late inhabitant, who did much for the welfare of the town, caused the remains of the first three ministers to be taken up from the old Central Burying-Ground, long disused and neglected, and interred in the new Pine Hill Cemetery beneath a marble monument bearing these inscriptions:

"Erected to the memory of the first three ministers of the church in Sherborn, Whose remains together with those of their families were removed from the Central burying-ground to this Cemetery, Sept. 15, 1857." On the second face, "Rev. Daniel Gookin, first minister of the Church in Sherborn, graduated at Harvard College in 1669, was a Fellow for eight years, and was ordained March 26, 1685. He was distinguished for his tenderness and fidelity to his people, and for an eminent Christian example. He died Jan. 8, 1718, aged 67 years." On the third face, "Rev. Daniel Baker, second minister of the Church in Sherborn, graduated at Harvard College in 1706, and was ordained in 1712. He was fervent in prayer, powerful as a preacher, deeply interested in his labors, affable, and resigned under trial. He died May 14, 1731, aged 45 years." And on the fourth face, "Rev. Samuel Porter, third minister of the Church in Sherborn, graduated at Harvard College in 1730, and was ordained Oct. 23, 1734. He was a man of rare mental endowments, an earnest preacher, an affectionate and devoted pastor, and a shining example of the Christian life. He died Sept. 16, 1758, aged 49 years."

As before mentioned, soon after the erection of the above monument, upon a representation made by the Cemetery Association, the authorities of Harvard College placed there a solid block of granite over the remains of Rev. Dr. Locke, which were removed from their original resting place, and the marble headstone

in the old Central Cemetery was at the same time removed and may be found near the granite monument. Upon the latter is inscribed "Samuel Locke, S.T.D. Died Jan. 15, 1777. Pres. of Har. Coll., 1770–3."

Upon application of the proprietors this cemetery and also the other cemeteries in town belonging to associations were accepted by the town; and it was voted, April 9, 1888, to assume control of them if desired by said associations.

In ancient times, and even to a comparatively recent date, the stated meetings of the inhabitants for the transaction of the business of the town were held in the public meeting-house, which belonged to the town. The town and parish business was conducted in the same meeting, and the town records contained also the records of the parish until August, 1809. In the year 1836 the town purchased of the proprietors the first academy building, which had been erected by subscription for the accommodation of a private high school, and the public town-meetings were held in it for several years. But finally the building had become old and worn, and also of insufficient size for the increasing numbers of the inhabitants, and it was evident that better accommodations must be provided. The subject was discussed, and it was decided that the town-house must be repaired and enlarged, or that a new building must be erected.

But before any definite action was taken the proposition of the executors of the will of Thomas Dowse was received and accepted, and their consent obtained to invest the amount in a new town-house which should contain a suitable room for the use of the proposed high school. The town agreed to pay, as interest, a sum sufficient to support the school for four months in each year. Thus was the town providentially aided in a highly important work, only a small additional outlay being required to complete the building. It stands on the old site of the school-house at the southeast corner of the Common. It is a neat structure of sufficient size for the wants of the town for many years, and contains a large hall for meetings and lectures, a good school-room, ante-rooms and a room for a public library. It was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies, Dec. 23, 1858. Having been injured by fire, it was re-dedicated June 17, 1876, and the day was also celebrated with addresses and music in recognition of the centennial anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill.

In the year 1859 "The Sherborn Widows' and Orphans' Benevolent Society" was founded, chiefly by means of a handsome donation made by Calvin P. Sanger, Esq. "Its object shall be to aid such indigent widows and orphans," says its constitution, "as may from time to time be residents of Sherborn; and such other persons, whether males or females, who, though reduced to necessitous circumstances, would shrink from a resort to the town for support; but it is not intended that this charity shall in any way or manner relieve the town of its duty to its poor." The society was organized October 19, 1859, under a general law of the Commonwealth. It has been the means of great benefit to the class of persons referred to, the annual interest of the fund being appropriated, by a vote of the Board of Managers at each regular meeting held for that purpose. The society is still in existence, and still continues its benevolent work. In the year 1890 it received a handsome bequest from the estate of the late Aaron Greenwood.

For many years there had been a library in the town, owned by an association of individuals, called the Social Library, and afterwards the Proprietors' Library. It was first established in the year 1808, and was useful in its day, furnishing to many the means of literary culture and enjoyment. At a later date an association of farmers and others, interested in agriculture and horticulture, collected a library of books devoted to those subjects. Soon after the passage of an act by the Legislature, allowing towns to establish public libraries, the members of these associations expressed a willingness to present their collections to the town for the purpose of forming the nucleus of a town library. The proposition being favorably received by the people, the associations presented a petition to the town at a regular meeting, held March 5, 1860, for the establishment of a public library, accompanied with the offer of the gift of both libraries (comprising 573 volumes), provided it would comply with the request and conform to the full provisions of the State law on the subject. The town cheerfully granted the petition, and made an appropriation for the foundation of the library. At a subsequent meeting, held April 2d, articles of organization were adopted, and also rules and regulations for the government of the library. It was decreed that the management should be vested in seven trustees, to be annually elected by the town, who should have power to fill vacancies in their own board, and who should hold office until their successors were chosen. The library was opened for the use of the inhabitants in the following month of June. Annual grants of money by the town have secured the addition of new books, and great satisfaction has been derived by the citizens from this popular institution. The whole number of volumes March 1, 1890, was 4000, including many works of reference. This small town deserves credit for its early adoption of the State law, and it takes pride and pleasure in this material aid to education. In the year 1890 the library received a liberal contribution bequeathed by the late Aaron Greenwood, a life-long inhabitant of the town.

The year 1861 is an era long to be remembered. The feeling of dissatisfaction in the Southern States, which had long been existing, came to a climax, and precipitated upon the nation the tremendous burden of a civil war. The crisis must be met, and it devolved upon the Northern and Western States to

preserve the integrity of the Union. The President issued his proclamation for troops, and each State and town must furnish its quota of men. Sherborn had always performed her duty in great emergencies; she did it now, and we can turn with just pride to her honorable record of those days.

As early as May 1, 1861, at a town-meeting called for the purpose, a committee was appointed to prepare the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

"*Whereas*, the stability of the Government of the United States is placed in great danger by an armed rebellion in several of the Southern states, threatening the destruction of our national capital and national prosperity, and a resort to armed resistance has become necessary for the preservation of our lives and liberty; and whereas, by proclamation from the President of the United States, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is called upon for her share in the common defence, therefore,

"*Resolved*, that the people of this town place the most perfect reliance and trust in the present form of our Government, that we believe it to have been founded in wisdom and patriotism, and that we will throw aside all party feeling, and, with a firm reliance on the blessing of God, pledge our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor to uphold and perpetuate the Government and institutions of the United States.

"*Resolved*, that the town of Sherborn appropriate two thousand dollars to fit out and furnish all necessary clothing for all those persons who have or may hereafter volunteer as soldiers in said town, or who may be drafted into service from said town, and to provide for their families in their absence."

At the same time a vote was passed intrusting the expenditure of this sum to a committee consisting of the selectmen and seven other citizens. It was also voted to guarantee to all volunteers and drafted men such a payment as with the Government pay should amount to $17 per month.

A military school was formed for drill under the direction of an instructor, and aid in meeting the expense was granted by the town. In November, 1861, five hundred dollars was granted towards the support of families of volunteers. In 1862 a bounty of $175 was offered to each volunteer from the town. Frequent meetings were held during the same year, at which addresses were given by public speakers on the subject of the war. In 1863 $3000 were granted for aid to volunteers, and in 1864 $2000 for the same purpose.

Private subscriptions and contributions also were forthcoming, and they supplemented the appropriations of the town.

All these records show that Sherborn was animated with patriotic feelings and was ready to assume her full share of the burden which the war laid upon thousands of loyal towns in the Union States. Eighty-two of her citizens were enrolled in the army, and of this number nineteen laid down their lives in the battle-field, the hospital and the prison. Of those who lived to return to their homes, many came with shattered health, and there are but very few who do not bear the marks of wounds or the effects of disease contracted by the hardships and exposures of a soldier's life.

The memory of those trying times can never be obliterated from the minds of those who took part in the great conflict; but the establishment and yearly observance of Memorial Day have served to keep fresh in the hearts of all people the hallowed events of those days. That anniversary has always been sacredly kept by the veterans of Sherborn, and since 1885 has, by vote of the town, been observed as a public commemoration; the old soldiers, assisted by a Post of the Grand Army of the Republic from one of the neighboring towns, taking the leading part in the exercises of the day, and in decorating the graves of those who have passed away from the field of life.

In the year 1868 a lodge (No. 297) of the Independent Order of Good Templars, a temperance organization, was formed in the town and continued its useful work for about twenty years, when, on account of the removal of members to other places and of other causes, it was dissolved. The plan for celebrating the second centennial anniversary of the incorporation of the town in 1874, was inaugurated by this brotherhood, and its successful execution was largely due to their efforts. The lodge was named "The Oliver Everett Lodge," in respect to the memory of the late physician of the town.

In 1869 the Sherborn Musical Association was formed chiefly for the purpose of taking part in the World's Peace Jubilee in Boston. It also assisted in the second jubilee in 1872, and its members have been called together on several similar occasions of lesser magnitude since that date. It has also furnished vocal music frequently on public occasions within the town, to the benefit of the community and the improvement of its members. The cultivation of the art of music has always received much attention among the people of the town.

The Sherborn Review Club was formed September 11, 1874, by a number of ladies and gentlemen who met to consider a plan for the circulation of magazines and reviews among the members. Simple by-laws were adopted at the second meeting and officers chosen for the management of the business. It has been a very popular and useful association and has continued to the present day, furnishing to its members a great variety of the best periodical literature. The number of members has varied from sixteen to twenty. When several other persons applied for membership they were advised to form a new club rather than add to the numbers of the old one, and thus inconveniently increase the length of time for the circulation of the magazines. They accepted the suggestion, and the Sherborn Literary Club was organized in November, 1882.

During the years following the close of the Civil War the number of convicts in Massachusetts was steadily increasing. The prisons were overcrowded and there was no opportunity for the reformation of any of the inmates. The attention of a number of influential ladies who had been interested in the condition of prisoners was directed to this fact and they resolutely commenced action to bring about a differ-

ent state of affairs. Prominent among these ladies was Mrs. E. C. Johnson, the present superintendent of the Reformatory Institution for Women. They petitioned the Legislature in 1870 for a separate place of confinement for women, with a view to their reformation. In the same year Rev. Edmund Dowse, of Sherborn, then a member of the Senate and chairman of the Committee on Prisons, presented a bill "to provide separate prisons for women and for the classification and better discipline of prisoners." The bill became a law June 15, 1870. The experiment was first tried in the county jail at Greenfield, a separate portion of which was assigned to female prisoners. But after an experience of two years the authorities were satisfied that the plan could be successfully executed only in an institution devoted wholly to this purpose. Therefore, in 1874, another bill was enacted authorizing the prison commissioners to select a site on which to erect a suitable reformatory for three hundred prisoners. This was no easy task, but finally a spot was chosen in this town, near its northern boundary and near the village of South Framingham, a great railroad centre. Sufficient quiet and seclusion was thus secured, and at the same time easy access to a railroad station from which diverge lines to all those portions of the State which furnish the largest number of prisoners to such an institution. Work was commenced on the land in the autumn of 1874, and the buildings were erected and ready for occupancy in 1877. They are each three stories in height and are three in number, being 330 feet, 460 feet and 240 feet in length, respectively. Besides these buildings for the inmates there are several houses for the use of the officers and employees.

The prisoners are all classified and an admirable system of grading stimulates their ambition. They are offered incentives to well-doing and improvement, by the bestowal of privileges and favors, and are thus led and encouraged to a desire for a better life. The superintendent, Mrs. Ellen C. Johnson, possesses much executive ability, and it is all needed in the management of this extensive institution. She is interested in the work, personally supervises the various branches of labor and of discipline, and is doing excellent service to the large number of inmates as well as to the State. She has occupied her position since 1883, the former superintendents being Mrs. E. A. Atkinson, Dr. Eliza M. Mosher and Miss Clara Barton.

At the corner of the road leading from Framingham, adjacent to the prison grounds, stands the W stone on the boundary line between Sherborn and Framingham. It is a well-known landmark in this region and is worthy of notice. As early as January, 1683, mention is made in the records of Sherborn of the W tree. This tree was a large black oak and was so called because that letter was carved upon it, the wheel-tracks of the two diverging roads forming the letter. It served to mark the bounds at that spot for a great number of years, but finally became decayed, and its remains were removed in 1822, and the present stone was erected in its place by Galim Bullard, an ancient inhabitant of that portion of the town, who was born in 1765 and lived until 1853.

In the same quarter of the town, in the year 1882, there was an event of great importance, which changed the whole aspect and condition of that small outlying district. Previous to that date the land between the county road leading to Framingham and the northern point of Sherborn, which projects in a triangular form between Framingham and Natick, had but five or six houses upon it. This triangle comprises more than one hundred acres, a portion of which was arable land, and the remainder low, swampy land, through which flows Beaver-dam Brook. It was one of the spots the most unlikely to be selected as a site for a village. But circumstances favored the selection, as will shortly be seen.

The Para Rubber Company, of Boston, had erected a large manufactory in South Framingham, not far distant from the Sherborn line. A large number of operatives was to be employed and the greater part of them were not previously residents of this locality and must be provided with places of residence. The owner of a lot of land within the Sherborn triangle, before mentioned, made arrangements with the Para Company to erect several blocks of tenements on his land for the use and occupancy of the persons and families who worked in the manufactory, the company guaranteeing the payment of the rent. This was the beginning. Before long some other proprietors of land erected cottages to be rented, and also sold land to others who built more houses, either for themselves or other persons, until in the course of two years a large number of buildings stood on the land which had never before been occupied for any purpose except that of agriculture. The number of persons thus added to the town is estimated at 300, and the staid old town was not a little disturbed at this influx of unsought residents. It became necessary to build new roads and to build a new schoolhouse for the younger children, the older ones being sent to the old school-house, which had never before been filled. The town had also to assist and care for many poor people, who, from sickness or lack of work were unable to support themselves. At the same time these people, although living in Sherborn are not a part of it, as their interests all centre in Framingham. An effort is now being made, by petition to the Legislature of 1890, to take from Sherborn this territory and another larger strip of land, amounting in all to 575 acres, and add it to the town of Framingham. It is doubtful if this transfer is accomplished on account of the large area of land mentioned in the petition; while if the triangle alone had been asked for, it might have been granted. A great amount of interest is felt in the subject and it is a topic of frequent discussion between the inhabitants of the town.

In the year 1883, Grange No. 110 of the Patrons of Husbandry was established in this town. This order is intended to advance the interests of farmers, and is well adapted to this community, where agriculture is the chief pursuit. It is emphatically a fraternal order, and both sexes are represented in its membership, which adds much to the interest of its meetings. These meetings are held twice a month and are devoted to discussions and readings on agricultural and literary subjects, interspersed with music and singing. The object in view is the improvement of its members in mental discipline and in social intercourse, and also the advancement of their business by the benefits of co operation. This Grange is in a flourishing condition, the number of its members having constantly increased from the beginning, until in February, 1890, it amounts to 128 persons. The first Master was Norman B. Douglas, a native of Vermont and a resident of this town since 1878, who has always taken a lively interest in its welfare. He was one of its original members and was one of the chief promoters of the plan to introduce the order here. He has also been actively interested in the order throughout the State, and has been chosen Master of the State Grange for the year 1890, a position of honor and responsibility. After a service of three years at the head of Sherborn Grange, he was succeeded as Master by George L. Whitney, a native of the town and a prominent and interested member, who was also chosen for three successive years to the post. In the year 1889 this chair was filled by Jonathan Eames, a life-long resident of Sherborn, and one of the original and active members, through whom the advantages and principles of the Grange were first introduced to our citizens. He was re-elected for 1890, and therefore remains at the head of the order in this town. The ladies of the Grange have an auxiliary association, devoted to a promotion of the material prosperity of the order, and they have contributed in no small degree to that object.

Sherborn is a border town in the county, and this Grange belongs to a district association called the Middlesex and Norfolk Union Grange, which embraces several towns in this vicinity. Monthly meetings are held and a special feeling of fellowship exists among its members, who frequently visit the meetings of other Granges than their own within the Union.

Sherborn is situated in the southern part of the county and about twenty-one miles southwest of Boston. It borders on Charles River, which separates it from the county of Norfolk. Until the year 1870 it had no railroad connection with other towns, the nearest station being at Natick, on the Albany Railroad, three miles distant, with which communication was had by stage. In that year the Mansfield and Framingham Railroad was completed and was opened for travel in February, to the great convenience of the citizens, who thus had easy connections with other roads running in all directions. After a considerable time, in the year 1883, this road, together with the railroad from Mansfield to New Bedford, and that from South Framingham to Fitchburg, were purchased by the Old Colony Railroad Company and became its Northern Division, thus constituting a continuous line of road from New Bedford to Fitchburg, under one management. A new road is in contemplation by the Old Colony Company, which will probably connect Sherborn with some point on the Dedham Branch of its Providence Division and thus give an additional means of communcation with Boston. A second track is about to be constructed on the old road, to accommodate the increasing business of this line. At New Bedford connection is made with steamboats for Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket and at Fall River with boats for New York City.

Sherborn is well supplied with weekly local newspapers, the *Sherborn Tribune* and *Sherborn Mirror* having a large circulation among its inhabitants for some years past. And before the establishment of these journals, newspapers from Natick and Framingham were sent to this town. The *Framingham Gazette* still has subscribers here.

In 1882 the proprietors of the *Natick Bulletin*, J. B. Fairbanks & Son, commenced the publication of an edition of their newspaper devoted in part to the interests of Sherborn and called the *Sherborn Mirror*. It has been continued to the present day and has a large circulation in this town. For a few years past it has been under the sole management of Mr. George C. Fairbanks.

In the year 1883 the *Sherborn Tribune* was established by Charles J. McPherson, of the *Framingham Tribune*, the first copy being issued on the 27th of October of that year. The present editor and proprietor, Mr. Charles F. Adams, of Sherborn, became connected with it as a correspondent in 1884, became associate editor in 1885, and finally purchased it in December, 1885. In 1887 the newspaper was transferred to the *Natick Citizen*, under which management it was issued until 1889, when Mr. Adams again became its proprietor. It has a large list of subscribers in the town.

The 10th day of October, 1888, witnessed a highly interesting and noteworthy celebration. It was the fiftieth anniversary of the ordination of Dr. Edmund Dowse as pastor of the Pilgrim Church, and the arrangements made for the day were most successfully carried out. Nearly all the inhabitants of the town were interested in the event and all circumstances conspired to render the celebration one of the largest and most enjoyable that have ever occured here. It was indeed a jubilee. The day was ushered in by the ringing of bells and the booming of cannon. Before ten o'clock, the hour for the opening exercises, people were arriving from all quarters, both by railroad train and by private carriage. Not only the residents of the town came, but former parishioners, friends and

brother clergymen from surrounding towns as well as some from distant towns; members of the Senate of Massachusetts, to which Dr. Dowse formerly belonged and of which he is still chaplain; and also the chaplain and some members of the House of Representatives. Rev. Daniel S. Talcott, professor in the Theological Seminary at Bangor, Maine, the predecessor of Dr. Dowse in this pastorate, was here, and gave an address which carried his hearers back more than fifty years. He was present at the ordination half a century since and some laymen were also present on this day who attended the original ceremonies.

Skilled performers furnished the music, and after the opening exercises a cordial address of welcome was delivered by Rev. Amos H. Coolidge, of Leicester, Mass., a native of this town who grew up under the teachings of Dr. Dowse. An address by the pastor appropriately followed, and then the chief address of the day, by Dr. Geo. M. Adams, of Holliston, representing the association of clergymen of this district. Original hymns, which were sung by the congregation, were written for the occasion by Rev. George G. Phipps, of Wellesly, and Rev. William M. Thayer, of Franklin.

The afternoon session was devoted chiefly to short addresses after the delivery of a regular address by Dr. E. B. Webb, of Boston. Many genial remarks were made by clergymen, Senators and old friends, and great enthusiasm and good feeling prevailed. A pastorate of fifty years is so rarely known, in this century at least, that the occasion was one of great rejoicing among the numerous friends of Dr. Dowse. There is but one other clergyman in this Commonwealth whose service approaches that period of time.

A reception after the close of the services and a social reunion in the town-hall in the evening, pleasantly crowned and completed the exercises of the day—a day which will fill a prominent place in the annals of the town.

Mr. Dowse is still in active service in his fifty-third year as pastor and in his eleventh consecutive year as chaplain of the Senate.

Farm Lake is a beautiful sheet of water, with clean, gravelly shores, in the eastern part of the town. From the earliest times it has been a favorite resort for amateur fishermen of this and neighboring towns. An ancient inhabitant of that portion of the town about the year 1700 was so much devoted to fishing that the town jestingly voted to grant him the privilege of fishing there constantly. Within a few years this lake has been stocked with black bass. Its area is about 200 acres. From the time when the custom of holding picnic-parties was first introduced, this has been a chosen resort for people of this town and of many other towns in this vicinity. Pleasure boats have been placed upon the lake, and thus the pleasures of sailing and rowing are added to those of the groves and fields which exist upon its shores. Steam launches have also been added to the fleet within a few years. It has become an ideal place for a picnic, and the number of such parties has greatly increased since the year 1880. There are now three groves on its banks which are open to the public during the warm season of the year. The lake is fed entirely by springs, and has an outlet which preserves its waters pure in the hottest weather. An excellent quality of ice is obtained here in winter.

Little Pond, covering about forty acres, is situated about one mile north of Farm Lake. It is used only for the purpose of fishing.

Capt. Amariah Leland was born in Eden, Maine, followed the seas, and was master of a ship for many years and continued in that business after his removal to Sherborn. He finally retired from that service and settled here, where his ancestors resided until 1710. He bought a farm which borders on Farm Lake, and his grove has become a great resort for picnic parties.

He has been a selectman of the town since 1886.

Sherborn is one of the towns which reach the southern border of the county, and is separated by the Charles River from Medfield and Dover in Norfolk County. Its population in 1890 is about 1400. In addition to agriculture and fruit culture, the chief industries are the manufacture of shoes, of willow goods, and of cider and vinegar. One of the latter manufactories is not surpassed in size and in the magnitude of its business by any similar establishment in the country. A considerable business is done in procuring ice from Farm Lake and from some of the ponds in the township. A saw-mill in the southwestern section of the town annually converts a large number of logs into lumber.

A pamphlet "History of Sherborn," pp. 80, was written by William Biglow, of Natick, and published at Milford in 1830. In 1856 a "History of Sherborn and Holliston," with genealogies, was issued by Rev. Abner Morse and printed in Boston. In 1875 there was printed at Natick, in one pamphlet, the address of Hon. George B. Loring given at the bi-centennial celebration, and also an historical sermon delivered by Dr. Edmund Dowse about the same time.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

ALBERT H. BLANCHARD, M.D.

Albert H. Blanchard, M.D., was born in Boston June 25, 1828, the son of John W. and Sarah A. Blanchard. He was educated in Boston schools, received a Franklin medal at the Hawes School, in South Boston, in 1841, and entered the English High School the same year. From 1845 to 1848 he resided in Portsmouth, N. H., and while there he learned the art of pharmacy, pursued his academical studies and



W. A. Clark

commenced those relating to medicine. Returning to Boston in 1848, he continued his studies in the Boylston Medical School, and attended lectures at Harvard Medical College for two years. Although ready to graduate in 1850, he postponed that ceremony on account of his election as one of the house physicians to the Massachusetts General Hospital, where graduates were not then received. After a profitable and interesting sojourn of a year at that institution, he received his diploma at the commencement of 1851, having thus been engaged for six years in the preparatory studies of a physician.

Immediately after the death of Dr. Oliver Everett, in 1851, he was invited to settle in Sherborn as the physician of the town, and has remained to the present time, excepting two years during the Civil War. In 1854 and 1855 he transcribed the ancient records of the town, an act which had been authorized by the Legislature not long before, and he found the earliest book, a mere pamphlet, greatly worn and difficult to decipher. A similar work is greatly needed in many other old towns of our Commonwealth.

In August, 1861, Dr. Blanchard was appointed surgeon of the Forty-first Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, after an examination by the State Board of Surgeons, and was mustered into the United States service September 4th. The regiment formed a part of the "Banks expedition" to Louisiana, where they arrived early in December, 1862. June 17, 1863, the regiment was converted into cavalry, and is more generally known as the Third Massachusetts Cavalry.

The duty was onerous and severe and the climate malarious, so that Dr. Blanchard became weakened by sickness and was finally obliged to resign his commission. He was honorably discharged from the service February 29, 1864.

After a long sickness in the spring of 1864, he recovered sufficiently to perform some temporary service in the army in Virginia, and in August, 1864, returned to Sherborn and resumed practice. For thirty years he has also served as a member of the School Committee and much of that time as secretary of the board. He has been interested in the history of this ancient town and has given much time to the study of its settlement, its progress, and its people. He has also written a number of historical articles concerning the town.

He was married at Dorchester, May 18, 1852, to Eunice Alden Hooper, of that town.

FRANKLIN GROUT.

Franklin Grout is a native of Sherborn and has always resided there. He was born in 1839, a son of Nathan and Laura Ann (Fay) Grout, a grandson of Nathan and great-grandson of John Grout. The latter removed from Sudbury to Sherborn in 1760 and settled here. The grandfather, Nathan, and his brothers, Elias and Silas, were all soldiers in the War of the Revolution, serving from three to five years each.

The subject of this sketch was educated in our common schools and afterwards attended for a considerable time the well-known English and Classical School of Messrs. Allen, in West Newton. A good training and a solid groundwork of education were thus secured.

Mr. Grout inherited a large farm, which he has conducted with skill and success. He has taken a prominent part in town affairs for many years, having served continuously as a trustee of the Town Library and of the Sawin Academy and Dowse High School, and also as a member of the Board of Assessors for several terms, most of the time as chairman. In the year 1884 he was chairman of the selectmen and would have been re-elected a member of that board had he not been chosen town clerk and treasurer in 1885. He also received a commission as justice of the peace during the same year. He has continued to fill the latter offices to the present time, in 1890, and is highly esteemed as a correct and careful guardian of these important interests of the town.

He was married, in 1864, to Elizabeth Leland, of Sherborn.

CHARLES A. CLARK.

Charles A. Clark belongs to an old Sherborn family. The first ancestor of which we have knowledge was Jonas Clark, who settled early in Cambridge. His son Samuel removed to Concord in 1686 and died there in 1730. Arthur, the fourth son of Samuel, came from Concord to Sherborn between the years 1715 and 1718, married here, settled near Charles River and founded the Clark family of this town. His oldest son, Samuel, was the great-grandfather of the subject of this article. Three sons of Samuel took part in the Revolutionary struggle, one of whom, William, is thus described by Morse in his genealogy of Sherborn: "William, long a leading and honored citizen of Sherborn, early imbibed the spirit of '76; entered the army in the commencement of the conflict, served five years as a soldier, was in the battle of Bunker Hill and at the surrender of Burgoyne; became a member of the church, served her as deacon and the town as selectman; kept a store and tavern, was much employed in settling estates, and sustained through a long life a high character for responsibility, soundness of judgment and integrity. He married Elizabeth Whitney June 24, 1784, daughter of Hon. Daniel Whitney," one of the foremost men of his time in this State. In 1788 he purchased the estate of Captain Amos Coolidge on "The Plain," where the store above mentioned was commenced in the year 1800, and has been kept continuously on or near the same site by Alpheus, the son of William, and by Charles A., his grandson. Alpheus Clark, Esq., was also prominent in the service of the town, having been town clerk and treasurer for seventeen years, se-

lectman for six years and Representative to the General Court for four years. He was also a captain in the State Militia. He married Nancy Leland, of Sherborn, in 1810.

Charles A. Clark was born in the old homestead July 4, 1829, and has continued to reside on the same spot, although the original house, which had become very old, was replaced by a new and larger one in 1876. A large farm is attached and has been increased by several additions to the original purchase of Deacon William Clark. It has been cultivated and improved by the three generations in addition to their business of store-keeping.

In the year 1888 Mr. Clark purchased of Hawes Brothers the stock and trade of the general store in the Central village, which had been carried on for many years by his brother, George Clark. Since that time he has conducted business at both places. Like his ancestors, he has performed duty as an officer of the town, having served as selectman six years and assessor five years.

On the 1st day of January, 1852, he was married to Martha A. Paul, of Sherborn.

CHAPTER LIV.

CARLISLE.

BY SIDNEY A. BULL.

CARLISLE has had an existence peculiarly its own in certain respects, inasmuch as it existed as the District of Carlisle for a little less than two and a half years, then ceased to exist for a period of nearly twenty-four years, when, by an act of the General Court, it was allowed to exist again as a district, which state of things continued for a period of nearly twenty-five years, when it was incorporated by an act of the Legislature, with the full powers, authority and responsibilities of a town, which prerogative it has been allowed to enjoy to the present date, and doubtless will go down the ages with at least all the prestige with which the struggles and triumphs of the past have endowed it.

The original corporation, known as the District of Carlisle, was taken wholly from the territory included within the limits of the town of Concord, and included in part a considerable portion of settled territory known as the Bloods' Farms, which tract of land came into the possession of the brothers John and Robert Blood, partly by purchase as early as 1650, and partly probably by descent from their father.

Robert also possessed other extensive contiguous territory in right of his wife, who was the daughter of Major Simon Willard, to whom the General Court of the Colony had granted lands as a reward for his eminent public services.

After the incorporation of Billerica, in 1655, the Bloods, whose farms adjoined the new plantation, though not within its limits, appear to have been considered as belonging to that township.

During King Philip's War the Bloods sought refuge in Concord, and were there taxed as inhabitants; but on their petition the General Court, on the 9th of May, 1678, ordered these taxes to be repaid them without charge to the petitioners.

This appears to have been the beginning of a controversy between them and the town of Concord, which resulted, on the 17th of March, 1685, in an agreement between the parties by which the "Farms," which had heretofore existed as a "peculiar," were annexed to Concord, upon conditions by which Robert Blood, Sr., his heirs and assigns, were exempted from obligation to serve in any town office, and from all rates excepting such as should be laid for repairing or building the meeting-house.

By this agreement also the "waste lands" of the Bloods were to be exempted from taxation, highways were to be laid out to and from the town for their accommodation, and they were to have "meet places assigned to them in the meeting-house" in Concord.

No express reasons for granting the exemptions claimed by the inhabitants of the territory above named have been found in the State archives, but the settlers there occupied an outpost on the frontiers, and were remote from the meeting-house in Concord Village, from which they were separated by the Concord River, and to which they had access only over roads often submerged, or otherwise impassable. The conjecture is not unfounded that these circumstances furnished sufficient inducement for consenting to their enjoyment of these special privileges.

As early as December 18, 1732, Jonathan Blood, John Parlin and twenty-six others, inhabitants of the northerly part of Concord, subscribed to an agreement to support meetings for public worship at the house of Joseph Adams; the whole amount thus subscribed was £18 4*s*.

The subscribers appear also to have organized as a society, to have chosen a clerk, and to have held meetings for prudential affairs, sometimes at the house of David Parlin.

At a meeting of the inhabitants of Concord held May 21, 1733, a vote was passed pursuant to an article in the warrant upon the questions, "whether the town would make allowance to sundry inhabitants of the north part of Concord to support preaching amongst them in the winter season, or would sett off the said inhabitants to be a separate precinct," both of which were decided in the negative.

The preceding petitions presented to the town were doubtless the result of the meetings for public worship held at the house of Joseph Adams, and also of the advisory meetings held at the house of David Parlin and elsewhere.

Although their requests had not been granted, an

agitation had been started which gained in favor and strength, as year by year it was considered, and periodically brought before the minds of the people.

Another way, however, was open by means of which the petitioners might obtain relief.

The following year, during the fourth session of the Assembly, a petition of Benjamin Stone and twenty-five others of Concord, doubtless representing the same body which had organized for public worship in the winter of 1732, and had unsuccessfully petitioned the town for aid in the spring of 1733, setting forth the distance they are at from the place of public worship in said town, and praying that they may be erected into a separate precinct by the bounds stated in the petition, was read, and notice thereof was ordered to be served on the town of Concord, returnable on the first Tuesday of the next May session.

This petition came up for consideration June 4, 1734, together with a certificate of twenty-eight other inhabitants of the *proposed precinct*, showing their unwillingness to be a part of the precinct. Also in the mean time the town of Concord had chosen a committee of three to be present at the hearing and give reasons to the General Court why the prayer of the petitioners should not be granted. After consideration the preponderance of opposition prevailed, and the petition was ordered to be dismissed.

The petitioners had now been twice refused their request, each time by a different tribunal; but at a town-meeting held by adjournment March 7, 1737–38, and called, among other things, "to see if the town will dismiss Zechariah Blood and others, petitioners with him, from Concord, in order to join with part of Chelmsford and part of Billerica to make a separate township," and to hear the petition of Eleazer Brown and others on the northwardly side of Concord River, "that all the inhabitants of the town, on the north and northerly side of the North River, so called, may be set off a separate township."

The inhabitants refused to grant the latter petition by a vote of seventy-six to twenty-six, and on the former petition, "the town saw cause not to act at that time, for that a greater number that lived within the bounds asked for appeared against the wanting the said petition than appeared for it."

Two years later, on the 3d of March, 1739–40, at a meeting of the inhabitants of Concord, for which the twelfth article in the warrant was "to hear the request of Jonathan Blood and others, of the northwardly part of the town who desire to be set off to be a separate precinct, according to bounds set forth in their petition," the town refused to grant the prayer of the petitioners.

The next attempt that has been discovered to have any portion of the territory north of the Concord River set off as a separate town or precinct, was on the 5th of May, 1746, when the warrant for the next town-meeting contained an article for hearing and considering the petition of John Hartwell and others, then to be laid before the town for that purpose.

The meeting at which this petition was considered was held May 20th by adjournment from the 12th, and at the adjournment the petition was referred to the next town-meeting.

The grounds for separation, alleged by these petitioners, were "in order to their more convenient coming to ye publik worship of God, from which they are many times many of them hindered by ye Difficulty of passing ye river in times of flud and by ye great Distance of their abood from ye place where ye publike worship of God is now upheld."

On the 3d of November of the same year the warrant for the town-meeting to be held on the 17th contained an article for considering the petition of John Hartwell and others, which it is probable was the original petition, and it was again referred to the next town-meeting.

The record of the next town-meeting, held by adjournment on the 3d of March, 1747, contains no reference to this petition.

This and other similar applications were ineffectual until the year 1753, when, having failed to get a vote of the inhabitants of Concord consenting to their separation, James Chandler and forty-six other inhabitants of this territory (not, however, including Blood's Farms) appealed to the General Court in the following petition, which was read in the House September 13, 1753, and notice thereon ordered to be served on the town of Concord, returnable "on the second Wednesday of the next sitting of the Court:"

"To His Excellency William Shirley, Esqr., Capt.-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over his Majesties Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, and to the Honle His Majesties Council and House of Representatives in General Court Assembled. The Petition of the Inhabitants of the Northerly Part of the Town of Concord Humbly Sheweth,

"That whereas your Petitioners have for many years Past attended with our Families on ye Publick worship of God at the old Parish in said Concord with many and great Inconveniencies by Living (many of us) so Remote therefrom, there is a great Number of aged, and youngerly Persons are very Frequently Necessarily Detaind from the Publick worship. They not being able to Travel so far in the heat of Summer without Exposing their health, and in ye winter season the Days Being so Short they Cannot without a great Deal of Pains and Trouble get to ye Place of Publick worship in season and in Case they tarry till the times of Exercise is over they Cannot Return to their Places of abode till Sometime in the Evening, which greatly Endangers them to Suffering with the Cold, and Perticularly in times of floods there is great Numbers (of all Sex) are obliged to Tarey at home on ye Sabbath, altho there is good bridges over the Rivers but Cannot Come at them, all which Renders your Petitioners' Case very Difficult.

"Your Petitioners therefore Humbly Pray your Excellency and Honours would take our Case into your wise Consideration and Grant unto us a Destrict under such Restrictions and Regulations as your Excellency & Honours, in your great wisdom, Shall Think Fit.

"Including all within the Bounds hereafter mentioned in ye Northerly Part of sd Concord.

"Beginning at ye Corner of the Town, Near Joseph Parlin's, then with Acton Line to where it Crosses Neshoby Brook (so-Called), then Down Said Brook to the River, then with Said River till it Comes to Blood's Farm (so-Called), Then Bounding on sd Blood's Farm till it Comes to Billiraca Line, then with Billiraca Line to the Corner first mentioned—and your Petitioners Further bege Leave to Inform your Excellency and Honrs that we Haive Petitioned the Town of Concord to

vote us off as a Destrict; and they haive had a Town-meeting for that Purpose, but Refused so to Do; and we, as In Duty Bound, Shall Ever Pray, &c."

Before action was taken on the above petition the inhabitants of the town of Concord passed a vote agreeing "that the inhabitants of the Northerly part of the Town Shall and May have all the Liberty that the Town can Grant them, to Go off as a Separate District at any time when they shall Agree or Choose so to do by the following bounds:

"Vizt—to begin at Concord River and Run streight to Acton Line so as to Run across the Road Leading to Blood's farm and across Groton Road (so-called) at Each of them one Mile and three Quarters from the Meeting-House upon a streight line and then to be Bounded on Acton and Billerica and on Concord River to where it began."

Early in the next session Jonathan Blood and twenty-seven others who were desirous of being included in the territory to be set off, and who thought, with many others who lived in the northerly part of said town, that the part voted to be set off was too small, sent in a petition to the General Court, asking that the grant of the town may be confirmed with a small addition, according to bounds given, which are nearly identical with the bounds included in the act which was finally passed, making a district of the northerly part of Concord by the name of Carlisle, and which will appear later on, and which would include Blood's Farm (so called).

In the mean time Jonathan Brooks and twenty others, who lived within the territory described in Chandler's petition, filed their objection to being "layed off," in any shape, according to that request.

A committee chosen by the town of Concord for the purpose also appeared and presented their objections to the Chandler petition, some of which were as follows:

"That while the petitioners Pray for a part of said Town to be sett off as a District Containing in all Six thousand Nine Hundred and Thirty acres, on which are upwards of Eighty Families and is in the most valuable part of the town, being the most fertile and Profitable land, and Contains all, or almost all the Lands within the first parish in Said Town, Capable of Making any New or additional Settlements. Whereas much of the Remaining part is Barren and unprofitable pine Land, which never can be improved to any advantage. That if their petition should be Granted, the Bounds mentioned in their petition which Comes within one Hundred and ninety-four Rods of the meeting-House, it will leave the first Parish in bad situation & Circumstances, and will make the Burden very heavy on a few Persons, we would also Observe that the Difficulty in Passing the River mentioned in their Petition is without Foundation, the Town Having Lately been at a Great Expence in Raising the Causey and Building a wide wall for people to travel over on foot when a flood Covers the Causey. And said Petitioners in their Petition have Left out and made no mention of Blood's Farm (so called), which adjoyns to the northerly Part of Concord and Contains about One Thousand Eight Hundred and fifty acres, with about fifteen families thereon, and which is Accounted a part of Concord and live the most Remote from the Publick worship of any belonging to the town and are obliged to travell through that Part Petitioned for to be Sett off in Order to Get to the Place of Publick worship."

For these and various other reasons which seem to be plausible and just, the said town of Concord protested against the latter-named petition and urged the consistency of the bounds as previously noted, which was the vote of the town, and which included in the aggregate about six thousand and six hundred acres of land, and on which there were living at the time about sixty families, "and Room Convenient for a Considerable many additional settlements. This was thought by the Inhabitants of the Town at their said meeting to be as much as they Could Spare without manifest Injustice to the Remaining Part, and to be as Large as the Petitioners and Others Concerned Could Reasonably desire and what was thought to be Sufficient to satisfie them although Something less than they asked for," but in referring to the Jonathan Blood petition, which it is claimed would take in about five families more than the town voted to them, no objection would be made.

On the 13th of December, 1753, the above answer, together with the petition to which it relates, was referred to the same committee to which had been referred the above petition of Blood and others.

Another petition, signed by John Hartwell and forty-two others (all but twelve of whom were signers to the above petition of James Chandler and others), which had been read in the House on the 7th of December, was referred to the same committee.

The petition of John Hartwell and others was antagonistic to the petition of Jonathan Blood and others, which they pray the General Court not to grant, for the reasons, as they allege, "your Petitioner, humbly Conceive is for No other end But to Defeat your Petitioners in their Proceedings in that affairs and Likewise we think that what they Petition for—is no ways sufficient to Carry on Such a work."

On the 14th of December the joint committee submitted a written report, dated the 13th, in which they stated that they found "such an uneasiness and disagreement amongst the parties, that they reported it as their opinion that the petitions and answers be referred to the next sitting of this Court, for further consideration unless the parties should before that time accommodate their difficulties among themselves." This report was accepted, and the petitions, etc., were referred accordingly.

During the following winter and spring, until late in March, the joint committee appear to have had this business still in charge, endeavoring to bring about an agreement between the petitioners and remonstrants, and in the State archives there are preserved six different petitions and reports addressed to this committee during this period.

On the second day of the fourth session (March 28, 1754) the foregoing papers were read again in Council and referred to the same committee, on which were substituted two new names, because of the absence of two of the original committee, with orders to "hear the parties and report what they judge proper for this Court to do thereon as soon as may be."

The committee as thus changed completed their report on the 10th of April, and were of the "Opinion

that the Prayer of the s^d^ Petition of Jon^a^ Blood & others the Inhabitants of the Northly part of Concord be so far granted as that they be sett off and made a separate District," by certain bounds named in their report, which are nearly identical with those named in the petition of said Jonathan Blood, and included Blood's Farm, so called.

On the 11th this report was accepted and an order was passed by both branches in concurrence, "that the petitioners have liberty to bring in a bill" accordingly. On the 12th the following bill, which made the First District of Carlisle, was read twice and passed to be engrossed in Council, and sent down to the House for concurrence, where it had its first, and second reading the same day, and on the 13th was passed in concurrence, to be engrossed with two amendments which were concurred in by the Council.

On the 16th it was passed to be enacted, and was consented to by William Shirley, Governor, April 19, 1754.

The following is the act as finally passed:

"An act for dividing the town of Concord and making a district of the northerly part thereof by the name of Carlisle.

"*Whereas*, the inhabitants of the northerly part of the town of Concord, by reason of their being remote from the place of the publick worship of God, have petitioned this court to be set off a separate district.

"Be it enacted by the Governour, Council and House of Representatives [Sect. 1] that the northerly part of the town of Concord within the following bounds, viz., beginning at Concord River, at the mouth of Ralph's Brook, so called, and running westerly to a white-oak tree, on or by the highway on the easterly side of Hunt's Hill, otherwise called Gravel Hill; thence still westerly to a heap of stones by the wall in the highway, about four rods northerly of Daniel Cole's barn, and so extending on a streight line to a way a little westerly of Richard Temple's house, and then running northerly, by said way which leads toward Acton Line, till it comes to Benjamin Temple's land; thence running to Acton line, so as to take into the new district the said Benjamin Temple's land, and from thence, bounded on Acton and Billerica, untill it comes to Concord River, taking in Blood's Farm, so called; and then on Concord River to where the line first began, be and hereby is set off from the said town of Concord, and erected into a separate district by the name of Carlisle; and that the inhabitants thereof do the duties that are required, and be vested with all the powers, priviledges and immunities which the inhabitants of any town within this province do, or by law ought to, enjoy, excepting only the privilege of chusing a representative to represent them in the great and general court, chusing of whom the inhabitants of said district shall join with the inhabitants of the town of Concord, as they have heretofore done, and also in paying said representative; and that the town of Concord, as often as they shall call a meeting for the choice of a representative, shall give seasonable notice to the clerk of said district for the time being of the time and place of said meeting, to the end that the said district may joyn them therein; and the clerk of said district shall set up, in some publick place in said district, a notification thereof accordingly, *provided, nevertheless*, the said district shall pay their proportionable part of all such town, county, parish and province charges as are already assessed, in like manner as though this act had never been made.

"And be it further enacted,

"[Sect 2] That the inhabitants of the said district shall, from time to time, forever hereafter, pay their proportionable part of the charge of keeping in good repair the great North Bridge, so called, over Concord River; and that James Minot, Esq., is hereby impowered to issue his warrant, directed to some principal inhabitant in said district, requiring him to warn the inhabitants of said district, qualified by law to vote in town affairs, to meet at such time and place as shall be therein set forth, to chuse all such officers as shall be necessary to manage the affairs of said district."

Now the petitioners have succeeded in getting their request granted, and a vexatious problem of over twenty years' standing has been finally, and we may suppose amicably, settled. The district of Carlisle is established, as far as action by the General Court is concerned, and a glance over the proceedings of the past would justify the assertion in consideration of the number of petitions and remonstrances presented to this body, the multiplicity of which tended to show the great diversity of opinion in the minds of the people living within the bounds of the district, that the question was one requiring discretion and wisdom, as well as patience, to be exercised in its adjustment.

The warrant mentioned in the foregoing act was granted and read as follows:

"These are, therefore, in his majestyes Name to Require mr. John Green, an inhabitant in s^d^ District, to warn all the Inhabitants of the said District, qualified by Law to vote in Town affairs, to meet at the Dwelling House of mr. Joseph Adams in s^d^ District, on Friday, the third Day of may next, at one of the Clock in the after noon, in order to transact the affairs above mentioned, &c.

"Here of Fail not. Given under my hand and Seal, at concord, April y^e^ 26, and in Twenty-Seventh year of his majestys Raign, Anno Domini 1754.

"JAMES MINOTT, Just^t^. of Pacis."

The warrant as returned at the time and place of meeting bears the following endorsement:

"Middilsex SS., May 3^th^, 1754. In observance of this warrant I have warned and Giveen Notice to all the ratable inhabitance Liveing in Carlisle to meett at the tim and Place within mentioned.

"JOHN GREEN."

The house of Joseph Adams, where this first town-meeting was held, it will be noted, was the same place at which Jonathan Blood, John Parlin and twenty-six others, inhabitants of the northerly part of Concord, had subscribed to an agreement to support meetings for public worship, as early as 1732, and is still in existence, although having been somewhat remodeled within a few years, being the same premises lately owned by the Amos Melvin heirs, and more recently conveyed to Mr. Willard White, and is located in Concord, a few rods beyond the present limits of Carlisle, on the main road from Carlisle to Concord.

The meeting organized by the choice of Jonathan Puffer for moderator, and elected the following officers for the ensuing year, viz.: District Clerk, John Hartwell; Selectmen, John Hartwell, John Green, Joseph Adams, Jonathan Puffer and William Fletcher; Constables, Ephraim Farrar and John Blood, Jr.; Treasurer, Deacon Ephraim Brown; Tithingman, Daniel Raymond; Surveyors of Highways, Thomas Hodgman and Ephraim Melvin; Fence-viewers, Josiah Hodgman, and David Melvin; Hog-reeves, John Hodgman, Samuel Laughton, Jr., Benjamin Ball and Jonathan Palmer.; Deer Officers, Jonathan Farrar and Robert Melvin; Sealer of Leather, Thomas Davis.

This was the first of a series of twenty district meetings which occurred consecutively in a little less than two and a-half years, all of which were warned by the constable serving notice personally, and were held at private residences in various parts of the dis-

trict, wherever convenience and justice to the voters, as regards distance to be traveled, should from time to time indicate.

The second meeting was held at the house of Mr. John Green, in the easterly part of the district, Tuesday, May 21st, eighteen days after the former meeting, and the first article in the warrant was as follows:

"To see what method they will comin to to Perfix a Place to set a meetting House for the Publick worship of God a monngs us, etc." The above article may be considered as indicative of what appeared in most of the succeeding warrants; for of the twenty meetings referred to above, the warrants for seventeen of the number called for action in some shape relative to locating a place for building a house for public worship.

The prominent idea appeared to be to locate the spot as near the centre of the district as possible, and several surveys of the district were made to determine this location.

Various places were selected by as many different parties as being proper places for erecting the building, and district meetings were called for the consideration of each one of these locations, the more prominent of which were as follows: "The Easterly corner of Dea. Ephraim Brown's land, near Capt. Abijah Brown's paster, Lieut. Jonathan Buttrick's plain and Poplar Hill." On the two latter-named locations the district voted to build, and went so far as to prepare a part of the timber and have it teamed to the location on Poplar Hill, which location is situated on an elevation at the right of what is known at the present day as the old Concord road, and near what was formerly known as the Estabrook place, but which, at the present time, is used only for the purpose of pasturing cattle, and is only distinguished by the ruins of what was formerly the cellar, no building having covered the same for many years past. This timber was never used, but, tradition informs us, was allowed to lie on the spot until it decayed.

Since the district had thus far been unsuccessful within themselves in deciding upon a satisfactory location for building the meeting-house, it was voted at a district meeting held Wednesday, October 30, 1754, at the house of William Fletcher, "that they will chuse a commeette out of Town to view the District and perfix a Place for us to build a meeting-House for the Publick worship of God amonngs us." This committee consisted of three members, as follows: Lieutenant John Varnum, of Dracut; Lieutenant Jonas Prescott, of Westford, and Lieutenant Samuel Dakin, of Sudbury; said committee came on to the ground and performed their duty, for which they were paid the aggregate amount of two pounds and eighteen shillings.

At the very next district meeting, held at the house of Mr. James Russell on Wednesday, January 1, 1755, the warrant contained but one article, which was as follows:

"To see whether the District will, by ther vote, Exsept of the Place to build a meeting-House for the Publick worship of God amongs us, which the committee chosen by us has Perfixt for that end," etc., which, when put to vote, was passed in the negative.

Next occurred the second annual district meeting, held March 3, 1755, at which the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: District Clerk, John Hartwell; Selectmen, John Hartwell, Jonathan Puffer and John Green; Constables, Timothy Wilkins and Daniel Raymond; Treasurer, Deacon Ephraim Brown; Surveyors of Highways, Simon Blood and Simon Hartwell; Fence-viewers, John Barrett and Jacob Farrar; Tithingman, Joseph Adams; Hogreeves, Abraham Temple, John Parlin, Jr., Benjamin Hodgman and Ezra Blood; Sealer of Leather, Thomas Davis.

After holding several more district meetings and trying in vain to settle the disputed question among themselves of locating a place for a meeting-house, a meeting was finally called at the house of John Hartwell for Tuesday, July 29, 1755, and in the warrant for said meeting the third article to be acted upon was as follows:

"To See if the District will chouse a commeette to Petition the great and General Court to send up a commeettee to Perfix a Place for us to build a meetting House on, etc."

Action on the above article resulted in choosing a committee of five residents of the district and instructing them to petition the General Court as above. If this petition was ever presented, the town records do not show that the General Court ever sent the committee petitioned for, and the records of the next district meeting—held Tuesday, January 27, 1756, nearly six months later—would indicate that nothing had been done in the mean time, for on this date the district voted that "they will build a meeting-House for the Publick worship amongs us, and that the district will Perfix a Place for to build a meetting-House on," which latter duty was referred to the next meeting, which was held February 3, 1756, at the "house of Jonathan Hodgman, which was Capt. Eleazer Melvin's." Here it was voted that "the District will Build a meetting-House on Capt. Jonathan Buttrick's Plain, about ten Rods southerly from a stake set up By Simon Davis and others." A committee of five were chosen to attend to the building, and were "Directed to Provid timber for a House about as Large as Stow meeting-House is."

The next district meeting was held at the house of Ephraim Melvin, Monday, March 1, 1756; the first article in the warrant to be acted on was: "To Chuse Necessary District officers For the year ensuing." Jonathan Puffer, whom it will be remembered was moderator at the first district meeting, was elected to the same office at this their third and last annual meeting for choice of officers. The following is the list of officers elected: District Clerk, Benjamin Brown; Selectmen,

Benjamin Brown, William Fletcher and John Green; Constables, John Melvin and John Green; District Treasurer, Deacon Ephraim Brown; Surveyors of Highways, Jacob Farrar and Thomas Brown, Jr.; Fence-viewers, Oliver Farrar and Jonathan Harris; Tithingmen, Samuel Heald and John Barrett; Hogreeves, John Parlin, John Laughton, Ephraim Smith and Jonathan Buttrick; Sealer of Leather, Thomas Davis; Deer-reef, Jonathan Farrar.

At this meeting it was voted to raise the sum of fifty pounds, lawful money, toward defraying the cost of building a house for public worship; also a committee of three were chosen to purchase two acres of land of Captain Jonathan Buttrick to build a meeting-house on. Whether this land was purchased or not does not appear, but another district meeting was held at the house of Thomas Davis, inn-holder, Tuesday, April 6th, following, at which the following vote was passed, viz.:

"Voted on the Third Article and chose Major John Jones, Esq., of Hopkinton, Colonel William Lawrence, Esq., of Groton, and Major Ephraim Curtis, Esq., of Sudbury, a Committee to view All Circumstances of the District and Prefix a place for Seting up a house for the Publick worship." Also a committee of four residents of the district were chosen to entertain, instruct and assist the latter-named committee.

The committee, having completed their undertaking, made a report to the district, which was accepted at a meeting held at the house of Thomas Davis, inn-holder, Thursday, June 24, 1756. The report was as follows:

"CARLISLE, June 2, 1756.

"Pursuant to a vote of the District of Carlisle of the 28th of April last, and at the Request of a Committee duly appointed by the s[d] District of Carlisle, we, the subscribers, have met at s[d] District and viewed the whole of s[d] District in order to find out the most Convenient Place to Put a House for the Publick worship of God, And to consider all the circumstances of said District, which we have Done and heard all Parties concerned and Duly Considered their Pleas and allegations with the circumstances, And are of oppinion that the most convenient Place to Set a House for the Publick worship of God in Said District is South 41 Degrees West twenty six poles to a Black oak tree from a heep of stones on a Hill Called Poplar Hill and From the Centre of Angles which is our Judgement,—All which we Humbly Submitt."

"JOHN JONES,
WILLIAM LAURENCE, } *Committee.*"
EPHRAIM CURTIS,

At the same meeting it was "voted and agreed to Purchase two acres of Land (in a convenient form) at the Place Prefixed for Setting up a House for the Public Worship." And a committee of three were chosen to carry out the provisions of said vote.

While a sufficient number of the inhabitants of the district favored the plan as set forth above, to vote its acceptance, a feeling of dissatisfaction and discouragement seems to have pervaded others, for a petition bearing date the same as that of the meeting last called was presented to the selectmen, and by them disregarded, which resulted in its being finally placed in the hands of a justice of the peace, who caused action by the district to be taken upon it. The petition was as follows:

"*To the Selectmen of the District of Carlisle, Gentn:*

"We the Subscribers being Sencible of the Great Difficulties we Labour under and the Great Hardships we are unavoidably Exposed to if we are oblig'd under Such Circumstances as we are in at Present to Build a meeting-House & Settle a minister & Pay for highways that will be Nessesary to accommodate the Inhabitants if we Proceed according to the Design of being Set off, the Situation of the District being Such that but a Small Part of the Inhabitants Can be much better accommodated to the Publick worship in any Place that has been Proposed than they are to the Town of Concord.

"Therefore Gent[n] We Desire that you would Call a meeting of the District as soon as Can or may be to See if the District will agree by their vote to Petition the General Court that S[d] District may be Set back to the Town of Concord with all our Former Priviledges, and Chuse a Committee for that Purpose.

CARLISLE, June 24, 1756.

"EPHRAIM MELVIN,
DAVID WHITTAKER,
PHINEAS BLOOD,
ABRAHAM TEMPLE,
EPHRAIM WHITTAKER,
JONATHAN HARRIS,
JOHN LAUGHTON,
EPHRAIM STOW,
SAMUEL LAUGHTON,
JONATHAN PUFFER,
SAMUEL BUTTRICK, JR."

In response to the above petition, the following proceedings explain themselves:

"Middlesex, ss. To Mr. Ephraim Farrar, one of the Constables for the District of Carlisle in Said County greeting:

"Whereas Complaint hath been made to me, Tho[s] Whiting Esq[r], one of his Majesties Justices of the Peace for Said County by Ephraim Melvin and others, Inhabitants of Said District of Carlisle, that a meeting of Said District is Necessary and that their Request thereof hath been Laid before the Selectmen for said District: Who unreasonably Refuse to Call a meet.ng of Said Inhabitants of Carlisle afore[sd], which Refusal having been made appear to me.

{SEAL.} "You are therefore hereby Required In his Majesties Name to give Notice to all the ratable Inhabitants of Said Carlisle to meet at the Dwelling House of Mr. David Whittaker in Said Carlisle on Wednesday, the Fourteenth Day of July Currant, at Four of the clock in the after Noon to Consider and act on the Following articles viz[t]

"1 To Chuse a moderator For Said Meeting.

"2[ndly] To See if the District will agree by their vote to Petition the great and General Court to be Laid back to the Town of Concord with all their Former Preveledges, & Chuse a Committee For that Purpose.

"And make Return of this warrant to the Clerk of Said District or Some one of the Selectmen for Said District on or before the afore Said Fourteenth Day of July with your Doings therein; here of Fail not as you will answer your Neglect at the Perel of the Law in that Case Provided. Given under my hand and Seal at Concord the Seventh Day of July in y[e] 30th year of his majesties Reign Annque Domini—1756.

"THO[s] WHITING, J[s]: of P[s]."

The meeting was held at the time and place named in the foregoing warrant. Jonathan Puffer was chosen moderator, and the action taken upon the second article, is recorded as follows:

"Voted, That They will Petition the great and General Court that the whole of the District of Carlisle be Returned Back to the Town of Concord with all their Former Privileges. And, also, that None of the Inhabitants be Set off again into a Separate Town, District or Precinct, Excepting Such as Shall hereafter Sign a Petition to the great and General Court to be set off.

"Mr. William Fletcher enter[d] his Decent against th abov s[d] vote.

"Voted that Mess[rs]. John Barrett, Jonathan Puffer and Dan[ll] Raymond be a Committee to Petition the

great and general Court For the Purposes above mentioned."

Two district meetings were successively called upon a special petition of John Hartwell and others, the first for Monday, July 26th, and the second for Monday, August 9, 1756, in the warrant for each of which the following article appeared, which seems at least to have been one of absorbing interest to a part of the inhabitants, viz., "To See if the District will agree to Dismiss the Committee that was Chosen at a meeting at M^{r}. David Whittaker's, for to Petition the great and General Court to be Laid back to the Town of Concord." On each occasion the consideration of the article resulted in the district passing a vote in the negative, and the committee chosen for the purpose presented their petition to the General Court, where it was first read and considered August 12, 1756, and notice thereof was ordered to be served on the town of Concord, returnable on the first Tuesday of the next October session.

Accordingly on the return day the inhabitants of Concord, having voted in the mean time (September 28th, at a general town-meeting, duly warned for the purpose), "first not to choose a committee to oppose this petition, and second that they would receive the district back agreeable to their petition," the following order was passed:—

"In Council, October 6, 1756, Read again, and it appearing that the Pet^{rs} had served the Town of Concord with a Copy of the Pet^{n} who have made no answer to the same, Therefore Ordered, that the Prayer of the Petition be granted and that the Inhabit^{ats} of the District of Carlisle, together with their Estates, be annexed to the Town of Concord, agreeable to their Pet^{n}, there to do duty and enjoy Priviledge accordingly.

"Sent down for Concurrance. THOS. CLARKE, *Dpty. Secry.*

"In the House of Rep^{ves}, Oct^{r} 6, 1756. Read and Concur'd. All^{ts}.

"ROLAND COTTON, *Cler Pro Tempe.*

"Consented to. S. PHIPS."

A difficulty was now encountered in the extinct district, which called again for the interposition of the Legislature. While the district no longer had an existence as a responsible corporation, there were a number of individual claims against it which demanded settlement, and in order that this might be accomplished, application was made to the Legislature, which resulted in an order being passed January 11, 1757, granting the assessors, constables and district treasurer, chosen at the last annual meeting for choice of district officers, to make all the necessary assessment collections and payments within the limits of the late district as would be required to make full settlement of all just claims against the same.

Thus the affairs were finally settled, and the mother town of Concord, like the parent of the "prodigal son," gladly received back to herself her penitent offspring.

The prime cause of the dissolution of the district, which, having existed as such for less than two and a half years, was what proved to be the perplexing duty of "Prefixing" a place on which to build a house for public worship. Meeting after meeting of the inhabitants of the district had been called, and plans of various kinds had been resorted to with the hope that unity of desire and action might be the result; but such was not the case, and a spirit of dissatisfaction and discouragement pervaded the district to such an extent that they longed for the peace and freedom of circumstances that they enjoyed previous to being set off as a distinct corporation.

During the existence of the district three sets of officers, as already noted, had been chosen, and sums of money raised for various purposes beside actual necessities—for instance, some for keeping school for "reading and writing," some to support preaching, which, although they had no building especially dedicated to the worship of God, yet they made provision and had public worship at the private residences of the inhabitants of the district as circumstances and ability allowed. During the existence of the extinct district the inhabitants appeared several times before the General Court with petitions, which were unsuccessful, and therefore have not been mentioned in their proper place. But after their being finally set back to the town of Concord, no attempt to disturb the settlement thereby effected occurred for a period of sixteen years; but application was made to the General Court at the first session in 1772–73, by certain inhabitants of Concord, Billerica, Chelmsford and Acton living near together, and far distant from the place of public worship in their respective towns, who prayed that they might be erected into a separate town or district according to certain bounds contained in the petition, and which would include in all about seventy-six families, and that a committee of the Legislature might be appointed at the expense of the petitioners to view their situation and circumstances, and render their decision in regard to the expediency of the plan. The petitioners alleged, as reasons for their prayer, the distance that many of them lived from the regular places of worship in their respective towns, some of whom were as far as seven miles away, and those who lived nearest were about three miles distant, which prevented many from attending except when the weather and traveling were the most favorable, and also stated that out of a just regard to the religious education of their children, they had, at their own expense, erected a place of public worship among themselves, not more than two and a half miles distant from any of their homes, which, and the "hiring preaching" from time to time, added to the province taxes, and their full proportion of the minister rates in the towns they now belong to, proved a burden extremely heavy.

This petition, after due consideration, was, however, finally dismissed.

After a lapse of a little more than six years a similar petition of John Green and others, praying that a part of said towns of Concord, Acton, Chelmsford and Billerica may be set off and made into a separate town, district or parish, occupied the attention of

the Legislature, which sent a committee to the several towns to view the situation and hear the parties interested. A surveyor was employed and a plan of the territory to be incorporated was prepared at the expense of the petitioners, which plan the legislative committee submitted with their report, which was favorable for the petitioners, and recommended that they be allowed to bring a bill embodying the request of their petition, which they did, and which, after certain amendments, was finally passed April 28, 1780, establishing the second District of Carlisle.

By the provisions of this act the district was to join with the town of Acton in the choice of a representative; pay one-sixth part of the charges for maintaining the North Bridge in Concord, until the inhabitants of said district shall build a bridge from said district over said river, and support a pauper named Sarah Fletcher; also the inhabitants of said district were entitled to demand and receive from the several towns to which they formerly belonged their just proportion of arms and ammunition to which they were entitled.

On April 29th, the day following the passage of the foregoing bill, William Stickney, Esq., issued his warrant, directed to Asa Green as one of the principal inhabitants within said district, requiring him to warn the inhabitants of said district, qualified by law to vote in town affairs, to assemble at the meeting-house on Monday, the 8th day of May, 1780, at two o'clock in the afternoon, to choose such officers as are necessary to manage the affairs of said district for the ensuing year. Phineas Blood was chosen moderator, and the following is a full list of all the officers chosen to conduct the affairs of the newly incorporated district, for the first year of its existence:

District Clerk: Zebulum Spaulding.
Selectmen: Zebulum Spaulding, Phineas Blood, Lieut. John Heald.
Committee of Safety: Capt. John Green, Thomas Spaulding, Capt. Israel Heald, Thomas Hodgman, Nathan Munroe.
Constables: Timothy Wilkins, Sergt. Simon Barrett.
Surveyors of Highways: Jonas Robbins, John Robbins, Jr., Edward Brown, Isaac Wilkins, Simon Blood, Jr., Ebenezer Hardy.
District Treasurer: Capt. Samuel Heald.
Tythingmen: Nathan Munroe, Lieut. Isachar Andrews.
Fence-Viewers: Lieut. Nathan Parker, Sergt. John Robbins.
Hog-reeves: Amos Flint, Josiah Heald, John Nickless, Edmond Andrews.
Sealer of Leather: Henry Fletcher.
Sealer of Weights and Measures: Lieut. Asa Green.
Field-Drivers: Christopher Barritt, Samuel Davis, Jonathan Robbins, Phineas Blood.
Deer-Reef: Jonas Robbins.
Surveyor of Boards and Timber: Thomas Spaulding.
Sealer of Hoops and Staves: Samuel Green.

By an act of the General Court, passed in the year 1775–76, all existing districts in the Colony were converted into towns. Now it is worthy of note that Carlisle was the first district incorporated after the passage of the above act, and also that it was the only district in Massachusetts at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the Commonwealth.

The second district-meeting was called for Thursday, June 1st, to be held in the meeting-house also. At this meeting a committee of three persons were chosen to see that the district be supplied with preaching for the ensuing year, and it was also voted to raise the sum of two thousand pounds for the support of the Gospel during said time, and before the close of the year it was voted to raise another sum of equal amount, in addition, for the same purpose; it was also further voted to build the body-seats and ceil up the meeting-house as high as the bottom of the windows, and the sum of one thousand pounds was raised to be applied towards completing the work, and a committee of five were chosen to superintend same.

Sums varying in value were raised for various purposes—for instance, two thousand pounds was raised to support the poor and defray the necessary charges that may arise in the district during the year; also two thousand pounds was raised to be laid out for schooling, two thousand pounds to amend and repair the highways and district roads; also under the head of this article it was voted that the sum of thirty dollars a day be allowed each man who shall work on the highways and perform his duty to the acceptance of the surveyors, and that a man with team (which probably implied an ox-team) shall be paid at the rate of sixty dollars per day.

The various sums mentioned above doubtless appear to the casual observer to be extravagant in the extreme, and if they really meant what they purport to mean, such would be the case; but it must be remembered that these claims were paid in Continental bills, which had been gradually depreciating in value since the year 1777, when, in the month of January, one hundred dollars in gold or silver would purchase one hundred and five dollars in bills of credit of the United States, until the month of April, 1780, when one hundred dollars in gold or silver was equal to the enormous sum of four thousand dollars in bills.

So it will appear that the man who worked on the highways with his ox-team during the year last named, and received for the same the sum of sixty dollars in bills per day, really got but one dollar and fifty cents in solid cash.

The district was incorporated just in time to vote for the first Governor under the State Constitution, and the record of a meeting called for that purpose and held Sept. 4, 1780, reads as follows:

"Voted and Chose for Governor the Hon^{ble} John Hancock, Esqr., of Boston, by 28 votes.

"Voted and Chose for Lieutenant, James Bowdoin Esqr., of Boston, by 28 votes."

Considerable attention was given during the first two years of the existence of the district to the laying out of new roads, and repairing and straightening some that had previously existed.

As early as Dec. 21, 1780, it was voted by the inhabitants that the "district be divided by the Selectmen into six squadrons in order for the schools." For

many years this division was adhered to, and the money raised by the district was equally divided between them. There is a school fund amounting to the sum of $500, given by will of the late Simon Blood, Jr., the interest of which can only be used, and is annually applied toward the support of schools.

The following is a copy of the first order found in the records for paying for schooling, viz.:

"CARLISLE, February 27, 1781.

"To Capt. Samuel Heald, Treasurer:

"SIR,—Please to pay out of the money raised to support schooling, to Samuel Emery, the Sum of one Hundred and fifty Pounds to answer his Demands for keeping a writing school in said Carlisle, one month and boarding himself, £150. 0. 0.

"By order of the Selectmen.

"ZEBULUM SPAULDING, *District Clerk.*"

The first money that was paid for taking care of the meeting-house, of which any record was made in the town-books, was the sum of twelve shillings and two pence, which was paid out of the town treasury to Mr. Timothy Wilkins, Jr., for sweeping and taking care of the meeting-house for one year, which ended the 1st of March, 1784; other payments of similar amounts were made to various persons for the same service in subsequent years.

In early times it appears to have been the duty of the selectmen to guard against the possibility of any person coming into the district to reside who would be likely to become a pauper, and instances are of common occurrence where persons thus suspected were warned by the constable to depart out of the district.

One order drawn on the district treasurer, and dated March 2, 1786, is for the sum of seventeen shillings, to be paid to Deacon John Robbins for service done the district in warning out seventeen persons.

The following is a copy of a summons taken from the town-records, and will serve as a sample of many others that are to be found there:

"Middlesex SS. To Dea. John Robbins, one of the constables of the District of Carlisle, in the County of Middlesex Greeting. Whereas, Sarah Crosby, who is an inhabitant of the Town of Billerica, Came last from Westford on the Eighth of November instant to Reside in the District of Carlisle, the circumstances of the above Named person is such it is Suposed She will Soon be Chargeable to Some place, and the Selectmen of Said Carlisle do Refuse to admit her, the above-named person, of becoming an inhabitant, or any way Chargable to Said Carlisle or any of the inhabitants thereof.

"These are therefore in the Name of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to Require you immediately to warn the above-named person forthwith to Depart out of Said District and Stay no longer within the Bounds of the Same. Hereof fail not, etc.

"ASA PARLIN,
JONATHAN HEALD, } *Selectmen.*

"Carlisle, November 12, 1885."

At the annual April meeting in the year 1790 it was voted to have a collector for the whole district to collect the district rates, and that the office should be given to the lowest bidder, providing he shall be required to furnish satisfactory bondsmen.

Previous to this date the service had been performed by the constables, two of whom were annually appointed, one for the east and the other for the west side of the district, and the rates for that part of the district for which they were chosen constable were committed to them to collect.

Mr. Amos Blood's bid for collecting on the above-mentioned date was four-pence half-penny on the pound, and as he was the lowest bidder was chosen as the first collector under the provisions of the preceding vote.

The custom of venduing the collection of taxes prevailed for years; the lowest bidder, providing he could furnish sufficient bonds, held the office, and was usually chosen constable.

The price paid by the town for this service was usually four or five cents on a pound, but two instances appear on record where the collector paid the town for the privilege of the office, viz., in years 1807 and 1808, on the former of which Mr. Nathaniel Hutchinson, Jr., offered to give one farthing on the pound, and on the latter-named year it was struck off to the same person, he agreeing to give the town four and a half cents on the pound to be collector and constable.

The explanation of the above occurrence may be deduced from the fact that the custom prevailed of appointing the collector constable also, which, in those times, was a remunerative office, and might have been sufficiently so to justify the paying of a moderate amount in order to secure the two companion offices.

At the annual meeting held March 7, 1803, it was voted that the selectmen serve gratis the ensuing year. Since it was customary, on various occasions, connected with their duties, to provide drink, there might have been to some a temptation to aspire to the office even under these conditions.

Previous to the year 1790 it had been the custom for the selectmen to commit the warrant for calling district-meetings to the constable, who personally warned the inhabitants, one taking the east side and the other the west side of the district, the dividing line being the road from Chelmsford to Concord, which at that time went past the meeting-house, the southern part of which is now known as the Old Concord Road.

At a meeting held on the 4th day of October, 1790, it was voted that the annual meetings in March and April be warned in the future by posting up a copy of the warrant at the meeting-house the number of days required by law previous to said meeting.

Thus was inaugurated the more modern method practiced until the present day.

The first record that is found relating to guide-posts, is recorded under the proceedings for the year 1796, and is as follows:

"The Selectmen of Carlisle have agreed that it would be convenient to have Guide Posts Set up at the following places in Said Carlisle, viz.: one near Mr. Timothy Wilkins, Junr. House, to Direct to Chelmsford & Bedford; one near the School House

in the East part of Carlisle, to Direct to Concord and Bedford; one near the School House in the South-west part of Carlisle, to Direct to Concord, Chelmsford and Carlisle."

The following year several sums were paid out of the treasury for guide-boards and expenses in procuring and erecting same, and it would seem that quite a number were erected in the district.

In the year 1801 the district made their first appropriation for music, when it was voted to raise the sum of twenty-five dollars for the purpose of hiring a singing-master. In subsequent years larger amounts were often raised and appropriated for the same purpose.

In the year 1802 the district voted that a premium of twenty-five cents a head on crows be allowed to any inhabitant of the district who should kill them within the limits of the district. Lieutenant Daniel Wheat was authorized to pay for same on presentation, and, as subsequently appears, seventy-three crows were carried to him and paid for, at an expense to the district of $18.25.

Another similar offer was subsequently made by the town when, in the year 1872, it voted that the sum of twenty-five cents be paid out of the town treasury for each wood-chuck killed within its limits. A committee of five located in different parts of the town were chosen to receive them and keep the account. The result was the destruction of 560 animals, for which the town paid the sum of $140.

The largest number credited to any one person was forty-three, for which Mr. C. H. Hutchinson was paid the sum of $10.75. Mr. Amos Baldwin reported the next largest number and received the sum of $9 for the destruction of thirty-six animals.

By the act which incorporated the district of Carlisle it was debarred of the privilege of sending a representative annually to the General Court from among its own citizens, and while enjoying all the other privileges usually granted to towns, it was compelled to join with the town of Acton in the choice of a representative.

Several times during the past twenty years the question of making application to be incorporated as a town had been agitated by the inhabitants of the district, but it was not until June 11, 1804, that final action was taken.

On the above-named date the inhabitants were assembled agreeable to a warrant for that purpose, the first article in which was as follows:

"To see if the district will agree to choose agents to petition to the General Court to have said district of Carlisle separated from the town of Acton, and that they may have appalation of town instead of district, agreeable to a request of a number of the inhabitants of said district, and pass any votes respecting the matter which they may think proper when met."

The action taken on this article was that the district make choice by ballot of an agent to petition the General Court to have the change brought about, and to have the district incorporated as a town. Jonathan Heald, Esq., received the appointment as agent, and the result of the petition was the following act of the Legislature, which incorporated the district as a town, after having existed as a district for the space of nearly twenty-five years:

"COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

"In the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and five.

An Act to incorporate the District of Carlisle, in the County of Middlesex, into a Town by the name of Carlisle.

"SEC. 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court Assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the district of Carlisle, in the county of Middlesex, be, and hereby is incorporated into a town by the name of Carlisle: And the said town is hereby vested with all the powers, privileges and immunities to which other towns are entitled by the constitution and laws of this Commonwealth.

"SEC. 2. Be it further enacted, that the said town of Carlisle shall be liable to be assessed for the pay of Representatives heretofore chosen, in the same manner and in the same proportion as if this Act had not passed."

The foregoing act was approved and signed by His Excellency Caleb Strong, Governor of the Commonwealth, February 18, 1805.

By the foregoing act the boundaries of the district of Carlisle as incorporated in the year 1780 remained unchanged. Very little in point of privilege appears to have been gained thereby, and yet it gave to the inhabitants a degree of independence, a prerogative which it was their privilege to enjoy, and which it is much to their credit that they saw fit to avail themselves of; beside, it marks an eventful era in the history of the town, the time when it outlived its minority, and put on the full garb of manhood, standing shoulder to shoulder with her sister towns, in point of privilege as well as responsibility.

It appears by the town record that an order was drawn on the town treasurer on the 25th of the succeeding March in favor of Jonathan Heald for the amount of $47.00, it being for his attending the General Court twenty-one and a half days for the purpose of getting the act of incorporation passed, and for cash paid the clerk of the Senate, and a journey to Acton. The above amount probably covered the expense for the act of incorporation.

In the early history of the town an article which annually appeared in the town warrant was as follows, viz.: "To see if the town will agree that horses, neat cattle, and swine may run at large in the district." It was usually voted that this privilege be granted in the case of swine, but a vote in the negative was usually passed in relation to horses and neat-cattle, except in the case of some poor persons who were required to get a permit from the selectmen in order to continue the practice. This article, as far as it relates to swine, appeared for the last time in 1831, and to horses and neat-cattle in the year 1836. Another custom which has become obsolete at the present day is that of annually choosing fish and deer-reeves.

The practice of choosing a sexton at the annual town-meeting appears to have originated in the year

1805. James Kemp was the first to hold this position by vote of the town, and his duties consisted in taking care of the burying-place, digging the graves for all persons and taking charge of the meeting-house.

This service was, after a few years, let out by auction to the lowest bidder.

There appears to have been a pound erected by the district soon after its incorporation, and by vote of the town its walls were used in preparing the foundation for the new meeting-house erected in 1811; and in the year 1812, at a town-meeting held on the 4th day of May, the selectmen were chosen a committee to procure a location for a new pound, and also to let out the contract for building same to the lowest bidder. Said contract was given to Mr. Nathaniel Parker, for which he was paid the sum of twenty-five dollars.

This was probably the last pound erected by the town, and was located a few rods from the village, on the Westford road, and was recently removed by consent of the town.

A little inconvenience appears to have been experienced by the inhabitants of the town from the fact that the grant of land from Mr. Timothy Wilkins, mentioned subsequently, did not include quite all of what is at present known as the Common, and in response to an article in the warrant for the annual town-meeting, held Monday, March 1, 1813, a committee of three persons, viz., Mr. Frederick Blood, Mr. Nathan Green, Jr., and Mr. Thomas Heald, were chosen "to buy the land around the meeting-house within the roads, if they can agree with the owners thereof."

The above-mentioned land appears to have belonged to Mr. Reuben Duren, from whom the Committee chosen by the town purchased a half-acre, more or less, for the sum of thirty dollars, which, according to a plan of the purchase, included three small strips of land located respectively on the south, west and north sides of the said Wilkins grant, and took in all between the roads.

Several times during its existence the town has appropriated money to be expended upon the Common. The largest sum appropriated at any one time was one hundred and twenty dollars, raised in the year 1828, and laid out in labor on land around the meeting-house.

In later years a modern organization, known as the Carlisle Improvement Association, has done much to improve the Common, beside building sidewalks, erecting street-lamps and otherwise beautifying the general appearance of the village. This society was organized April 8, 1878, with the following list of officers: President, Prescott Nickles; vice-president, Thomas A. Green; secretary, Albert S. Day; treasurer, Marshall Lee; executive committee, Gilman Nickles, I. F. Duren, J. F. Carr, Mrs. E. J. Green and Mrs. D. W. Robbins.

Considerable money which this society has received from various entertainments given under its auspices, and from membership fees, has been judiciously expended for improving the village.

The bounds on the southeast corner of the town, or the line separating that portion of the town of Carlisle from the town of Concord are very irregular, because of the unwillingness of certain inhabitants of that locality to have their farms set off from the town of Concord when the new district of Carlisle was incorporated.

An effort was made by the town of Carlisle, in the year 1826, to effect a straightening of the lines, or removal of the bounds. A committee of three persons were appointed to confer with the town of Concord in relation to the affair. This effort, however, proved ineffectual.

Again at a town-meeting held Nov. 10, 1851, Messrs. John Jacobs, Thomas Green and Joel Boynton were chosen a committee to petition the Legislature that the above-mentioned bounds be straightened, and said committee were authorized and instructed by the town to take all necessary measures to accomplish the purpose, which also proved a failure, as have several other less pretentious attempts in the same direction, and the original zig-zag lines continue to divide the towns until the present day.

The question of building a town-house appears to have been one thought to be worthy of consideration by some of the inhabitants of the town as early as the year 1833, for at a town-meeting held on the 1st day of April in said year, the first article in the warrant read as follows, viz.:

"To see if said town will agree to build a town-house, etc." The action of the town was to dismiss the article. Again, at a town-meeting held Jan. 20, 1851, a committee previously appointed to provide a place to hold future town meetings, were requested to report at the following March meeting what would be the estimated expense of erecting a building suitable and convenient for town purposes. The committee reported as follows:

"The expense of erecting a wooden building having a ground area of 1468 feet, divided into a town hall, an entrance and two small ante-rooms, furnished in suitable manner, would be, according to the best information and judgment of the committee, $1648.

"It may be doubted whether it would be wise and judicious for the town to erect a building so small as that indicated in the above estimate. It might serve their present wants, but would hardly be suitable to accommodate a greatly increased population, etc."

The town concluded in this case to hire what was known as Parker's Hall for the sum of $25.00 per annum, rather than be at the expense of building.

During the time intervening between the years 1845 and 1854 what was known as Mrs. Wheat's Hall, Parker's Hall and the hall under the First Parish meeting-house were, as occasion required, engaged by the town for town purposes, at which latter-named date the town engaged the last-mentioned hall to be

used for town purposes, for the consideration of twelve dollars per year, which sum the town continued to pay annually until the year 1873, when the price was raised to twenty-five dollars per annum, which sum the town has continued to pay to the present date rather than build.

In the year 1832 a fire-engine was secured partly by subscription, the balance being paid from the town treasury. The first officers elected were: John S. Barker, Master; Isaac Duren, Second Master; Ai Wheat, Clerk.

Twenty-one engine men were appointed by the selectmen to work and manage the engine, which was an inferior machine, and never of much advantage to the town. It was finally sold at auction by the town, in the year 1868, for the sum of $6.50.

There is but one post-office within the limits of the town. The date of its establishment was March 12, 1834, and Dr. John Nelson, who was the first postmaster, received his appointment on the latter-named date.

Succeeding him the following-named persons have successively held the office, against the name of each appears the time from which their several commissions date:

Joseph V. Heald	December 23, 1835
John C. Nickles	April 13, 1842
James W. Wilkins	January 30, 1844
Artemas Parker	July 8, 1846
Lucius Stiles	June 8, 1849
George W. Green	December 2, 1852
John E. Cutter	July 20, 1859
Artemus Parker	November 12, 1861
John H. Champney	June 18, 1867
Charles T. Wortley	March 2, 1868
Sidney A. Bull	July 1, 1870
John S. Gerow	January 14, 1887
Sidney A. Bull	April 10, 1889

In the year 1847 it was voted at the March meeting that the receipts and expenses of the town for the past year be printed, and that a copy of the same be furnished to each voter at the subsequent April meeting. This appears to be the first annual report of the town officers that the town ever ordered to be printed.

In the early history of the town the custom prevailed of annually venduing the poor; the vendue for a number of years took place at the house of Mr. Timothy Wilkins, he often being vendue master, and annually, until about the year 1830, the town paid bills for liquor used on these vendue occasions. The following order, copied from the records, is a sample of others found there, and gives a glimpse of the times as they were:

"CARLISLE, FEB. 3, 1806.

"To Mr. Nathan Green, Treasurer:—Please pay out of the town's money to Mr. Samuel Brown the sum of one dollar, it being for his finding six mugs of toddy last April when the poor were vendued.

"By order of the Selectmen,

"JONATHAN HEALD, *Town Clerk.*"

As occasion required, previous to the year 1830, coffins were furnished for the burial of paupers, which were usually made by some resident of the town, and cost from one dollar and fifty cents to two dollars and fifty cents each.

In the Spring of the year 1850, in annual town-meeting, the town considered the advisability of purchasing a town farm, but finally dismissed the article.

No more efforts in this direction on the part of the town appear to have been put forth until nearly two years later, when, at the annual March meeting in the year 1852, a committee of five persons were chosen to gather information, and report at the next April meeting, the terms at which farms in the town suitable for a poor farm can be purchased. Their report is quite lengthy, giving the particulars concerning seven farms which they have examined, one of which was a farm in the possession of John W. Holland, of Lowell, containing, as is stated, 162 acres of land, the price of which was $2900, which price a part of the committee considered reasonable.

This farm, the committee say in their report, is the only one on which they can agree (all things considered) to recommend to the town for their favorable consideration, should they decide to purchase.

In concluding their report the committee state that the annual average cost of supporting the poor for the past twelve years has been $424.87½. The foregoing report which was given at the April town-meeting was accepted, and a committee of three, viz.: Thomas Green, True Wiggin and Jonas Parker, were chosen to purchase for the town the Holland farm, and take a deed of the same.

The latter-named committee were instructed to make a report of their proceedings at the next town-meeting, which they did on the 8th of November following, stating that they had purchased the George Nickles farm (so called) for the sum of $2900, and that they have paid down the sum of $900, and given their note on demand, at six per cent. interest for the balance of $2000 to John W. Holland.

The town voted to accept the report and doings of the committee and authorized their treasurer to give the town's security for the notes given by the committee. The town voted to raise the sum of $1500, to be used for the purpose of furnishing the farm and supporting the poor.

At a town-meeting held November 3, 1868, the town voted to authorize the overseers of poor to procure materials sufficient to repair the barn at the town-farm as they think necessity requires. Very little was done, however, until the year 1870, when it was repaired, enlarged and made nearly new at an expense to the town of $1124.24.

At a town-meeting held November 2, 1880, the town voted "that the overseers of the poor be authorized to sell the wood on the town-farm, and that the amount of sales be appropriated toward the town debt." Before the close of the fiscal year, which ended March 1, 1881, the overseers had sold a certain

lot of wood from the farm for which they received the sum of $2025, which money was appropriated as required by the provisions of the foregoing vote.

Now that the barn on the town-farm had been put in good repair, and the condition of the house being bad, and scarcely suitable for a dwelling, the attention of the town was directed toward an improvement in this particular, and at a town-meeting, held March 21, 1881, the town voted to build a new house on the town-farm, and at a subsequent town-meeting held April 23d, voted to raise and appropriate the sum of $1500 for said purpose, and that the money be expended under the supervision of the selectmen.

The contract for putting in the cellar was subsequently given to Mr. Frank S. Bartlett for the sum of $225, and for furnishing stock and building the house Mr. H. W. Wilson was paid the sum of $1975. Extra work and other incidentals required in erecting the building, added to the above amount, made the entire cost of the building $2592.32 when completed.

The custom of annually choosing tithingmen prevailed until the year 1850. The following is a list of those chosen at the annual March meeting in the latter-named year, who were the last ever elected by the town, viz.: James W. Wilkins, Samuel P. Stevens, Gilman Nickles, Amos T. Monroe, Austin Marsh and Nathaniel Hutchinson.

In the year 1857 Captain Thomas Green, Selar Simons and Isaac Blaisdell were chosen a committee to purchase a safe for the town, which they subsequently did, and for which the town paid the sum of forty-five dollars. This is the only safe the town ever owned, and at the present time answers the purpose for which it was intended only in name, being far too small to hold the town records.

Several times since the incorporation of the town the boundary lines have been changed by acts of the Legislature. The last instance was the result of an act approved Feb. 17, 1865, whereby a part of the town of Chelmsford was set off and annexed to the town of Carlisle. The territory added to the town by this act appears to be virtually the same as was taken from the town and added to the town of Chelmsford, by an act passed March 1, 1783, entitled "An Act for setting off David Parker from the District of Carlisle and annexing him to the town of Chelmsford."

A custom which has passed into disuse is that of ringing one of the church bells at the noon-hour, which was discontinued after the year 1869. It was in the warrant for the annual April meeting for said year that the usual article appeared, viz.: "To see if the town will vote to have the church-bell rung at the noon-hour during the ensuing year." It is recorded that the town voted in reply to said article (in a jocular sense, without doubt) "that any man that has a bell shall ring it himself." It would seem that this manner of settling the question was not satisfactory to some of the inhabitants, for another town-meeting was called fourteen days later, the warrant for which contained but two articles, the first of which was in relation to having the church-bell rung.

The town voted that the selectmen be authorized to procure the use of one of the church-bells and employ a suitable person to ring the same at twelve o'clock M., the ensuing year; the article never appeared in the warrant again.

Carlisle has been unfortunate as regards railroad accommodations, and yet twice, at least, has been called upon to take action in regard to a proposed location for one through the town, the first of which was Jan. 15, 1870, when a town-meeting was called, principally for the purpose of ascertaining if the town would take any action in regard to the proposed railroad from Framingham to Lowell, which would naturally pass through the town.

The town voted that a committee of three persons be appointed by the selectmen, and that they have full power to take such action in reference to the location of the proposed railroad from Framingham to Lowell as will best subserve the interest and convenience of the town, and especially that they be authorized to pledge the town to subscribe twenty thousand dollars to the capital stock of said road.

The committee subsequently appointed by the selectmen were Messrs. Selar Simons, B. F. Heald and William W. Morse. Whatever efforts this committee may have put forth, the result was of but little benefit to the town, as the final location of the road was two and a half miles to the west of the centre, barely crossing a corner of its territory, with the depot located just beyond its boundary lines, in the town of Westford.

April 29, 1871, the town voted to take measures to secure a favorable location through its territory for the Middlesex Central Railroad, and chose by ballot a committee of five persons, viz.: H. Prescott, William Green, Geo. H. Robbins, Benjamin Barrett and W. W. Morse to assist in making a survey for said road. The town also voted to be assessed five per cent. on its valuation for the purpose of aiding to build said road if a favorable location should be the result; this, however, was not the case, and the town to-day is badly in need of improved railroad conveniences.

Free Public Library.—Previous to the year 1872 there had never been in the town a free public library owned by the town. One or two small libraries have existed however, but were the property of share holders, who, of course, made by-laws to protect themselves and their property, rather than for the accommodation of the public generally.

It was in the year 1870 that the Rev. Moses Patten moved to town, having accepted the pastorate of the Congregational Church. His wife, Mrs. Lydia S. Patten, a person possessed of a philanthropic turn of mind, and realizing the benefit to be derived from the possession of a free public library, which may be considered second only to the public schools as a public

educator, she immediately set about starting one by private subscriptions of money and books.

Before very long she had succeeded in getting together quite a formidable collection of books, and by her own personal efforts, in serving as librarian without compensation, put them in circulation. Now that the library was in running-order, comfortably housed and centrally located in a room rented for the purpose, and for which the annual rental of $20 was paid (which sum was raised principally by entertainments, gotten up especially for the purpose), the proposition was made to present it to the town, which, if accepted, would place it in a position to be perpetually cared for, added to and otherwise made useful.

The result of the proposition was an article inserted in the warrant for the annual town-meeting held March 18, 1872, which read as follows, viz.: "To see if the town will appropriate money to aid in the establishment of a town library."

The town voted to raise and appropriate the sum of $140 for the establishment of a town library, and also that a committee of five persons, consisting of three males and two females, be chosen, whose duty it shall be to have the general supervision of said library.

Thus March 18, 1872, may properly be considered as the date when the Carlisle Free Public Library was established, and the committee chosen by the town, who were the first to serve in this capacity, were as follows, viz.: Mrs. Lydia S. Patten to serve five years, Joseph F. Carr for four years, Miss Hattie Hutchinson three years, N. A. Taylor two years and Dr. Austin Marsh to serve one year.

In the year 1889 the number of committee or trustees was reduced to three, the office of one of said number to expire annually, whose successor is also annually chosen at the March meeting.

It is possible that the town would, ere this date, have become the possessor of a town library, had it not been for the efforts of Mrs. Patten, who worked earnestly and hard for its establishment, and whom the town is proud to name as its founder; one thing certain: she doubtless caused its establishment to antedate many years, what otherwise would have been the case. She removed from the town in the year 1876, and has since passed to her final rest. Her works do follow her, and are a constant reminder of her to the people of the town.

It would seem appropriate and fitting that a life-size portrait of her should adorn the walls of the library-room, in consideration of the respect due to her from the hands of the town.

The library has been yearly increasing in size since its first inception, the result of appropriations by the town and the gifts of friends, until at the present time it numbers in all one thousand or more volumes. By vote of the town the refunded dog tax is appropriated as a permanent fund to replenish its shelves, and for its support.

It has no permanent abiding-place, but yearly a room is hired by the trustees for its accommodation. An opportunity presents itself for some liberal-minded person to act the part of the philanthropist, and present the town with a library building, an act which would be appreciated by all future generations, as well as be a constant reminder of the liberality of the donor.

Flag-Staffs and Flag.—During the existence of the town two flag-staffs have been erected, both in the same location—near the centre of the Common—the tree for the main staff for both of which was given by the late William Green.

Money for defraying the expense of erecting the first staff was obtained by subscription, solicited by Mr. Nathaniel Hutchinson in the year 1861, who procured in all the sum of $137.50, $100 of which was used to erect the staff, and the remaining $37.50 to purchase a flag, which latter is used by the town at the present day, although somewhat worn, yet is the only flag which the town ever owned. At the raising of this flag, after the erection of the first staff, public exercises were held on the Common, A. R. Brown, Esq., of Lowell, being the principal speaker.

March 21, 1887, the town voted "to raise and appropriate the sum of One hundred dollars to erect a flag-staff in connection with the offer of Mr. William Green, and the selectmen were chosen as a committee to carry out the provisions of the vote.

Of the above appropriation, the sum of $96.85 was expended during said year for labor, top-mast and other incidentals. The cradle on said staff bears the inscription in gilt letters, "William Green's Gift, 1887," in honor of the donor of the main part of the staff.

Among those who have made donations to the town, and should be kindly remembered by her citizens, is the name of Mrs. Mary G. Scott, who, by her last will and testament, bequeathed to the town the sum of $300, with the request that it should be appropriated toward paying the town debt. At a town-meeting held March 15, 1886, the town voted to accept the bequest, and to use the money in accordance with the request in the will.

School-Houses.—In the year 1818, at a meeting of the inhabitants of the Centre School District, held in the meeting-house on the 23d day of March, it was voted to erect a school-house in said district, when said meeting was adjourned to April 13th, at which adjourned meeting it was voted to build the school-house on the top of the hill south of the meeting-house; also voted to build with brick, and that the building should be twenty-one feet square, with a porch, after which it was voted that $75, which would be the district's proportion of the money raised by the town for schooling, be appropriated for the purpose of erecting the building; also, it was further voted that the district be taxed, in addition to said sum, for the amount of $230 for the

above-mentioned purpose. Deacon John Green, Nathan Green, Jr., and John Jacobs were chosen as a building committee.

In the year 1828 the inhabitants of the North School District voted that the district be assessed for the sum of $550 for the purpose of building a school-house in said district. The contract for erecting the building was awarded to Benjamin Barrett, Jr., for which he received the sum of $553.62. The same building still remains in said district, and is the only school-house, as far as information from the records can be obtained, ever erected in the district. It was thoroughly repaired in the year 1869, at an expense to the town of $582.52.

In the year 1837 the number of school districts was reduced from six, which had existed up to the last-named date, to five. A committee appointed by the town to investigate the circumstances and report on the advisability of said change, reported in its favor, and included in their report the bounds of division of the several districts, which report was accepted and adopted by the town.

In the year 1839 the inhabitants of the East School District voted to raise, by tax, the amount of $170, to build a new school-house in said district. This building was destroyed by fire in the early part of the year 1869, and was rebuilt during the latter-named year at a total expense to the town of $1574.10, and is the same building which serves at the present time in said district the purpose for which it was erected.

December 11, 1839, the inhabitants of what was made to constitute the South School District voted to raise the sum of $70, by tax, to be appropriated toward defraying the expense of building a new school-house in their district.

May 28, 1840, by vote of the inhabitants of the West School District, they agreed to be assessed for the sum of $175 for the purpose of building a new school-house in their district.

Consequently it would appear that within the space of twenty-two years, or between 1818 and 1840, five new school-houses had been built in the town, or one for each school district.

This seems to have sufficed until the year 1848, when District No. 1, in the centre of the town, voted to raise $600, by tax, to build a new school-house, which is the one used at the present day, the lot of land on which it is located having been given to the town for the purpose by the late William Green.

The school-house in the south part of the town having been entirely consumed by fire during the latter part of the year 1886, a town-meeting was called for January 12, 1887, at which the town voted "to erect a school-house in said district to replace the one recently destroyed by fire, at an expense to the town not to exceed the sum of $800, including furniture." Messrs. H. Prescott, Artemas Taylor and J. P. Davis were chosen a building committee, who proceeded with the work assigned them and in due time presented the town with the result of their labors, which included the building in a finished state, furnished and ready for use at an expense to the town of $805.08.

Bridges.—The act incorporating the District of Carlisle made it incumbent on the district to pay one-sixth part of the charges that may arise from the maintaining of the North Bridge over the Concord River, in Concord, until such time as the inhabitants of the district shall build a bridge over said river themselves.

Several sums of money were raised by the district for the purpose from time to time, and paid usually to the inhabitants of the district for doing the work required.

An extract from an order given on the treasurer by the selectmen, which pertains to the case in question reads as follows:

"Carlisle, Jan. 3, 1789.

"To Mr. Jonathan Blood, Treasurer, Sir, please to pay out of the District money to Mr. Simon Blood, Junr, the following Sums, viz.: One pound, thirteen Shillings and Six pence, it being for fourteen gallons and three quarts of Rum provided for those that worked at the north Bridge in Concord; also pay to him the Sum of thirteen Shillings, it being for five Day's work done at Said Bridge, &c."

On Thursday, the 9th day of December, 1790, at a meeting of the inhabitants of the district, the following was the second article which appeared in the warrant, viz.:

"To See if the District will agree to build a Bridge over Concord River between Carlisle & Bedford, or any part thereof, or do any thing for the encouragement of a public Road through Carlisle and Bedford, or act on the article as they may think proper."

In response to the above article a committee of five inhabitants of the district were chosen, 1st, to determine as to the necessity of building said bridge; 2d, should they deem it advisable to build, to determine the most proper place; 3d, to confer with the inhabitants of Bedford respecting the matter, finally to see how much they can get by subscription toward building said bridge.

This was the beginning of a question which agitated the minds of the inhabitants of the district for upward of four years, and which resulted in the establishment of a public road from Carlisle to Bedford, and the building of the first bridge over the river between the two towns, which was probably completed for use in the year 1795, although appropriations for the purpose of repairing the causeway and for plank for the bridge are subsequently of frequent occurrence.

At a meeting called on the 26th day of May, 1791, it was voted "to prepare a Road from the Meeting-House to the River, and build an abutment on this side at the place agreed to by the committee, if Bedford will prepare a Road to the River and build an abutement on the other Side." At a subsequent meeting, held October 3, 1791, by adjournment from September 5th, it was voted to dismiss the former committee, and that the district take the subscription

and build a bridge over the river if the town of Bedford would conform to the provisions of the previous vote.

The selectmen were chosen a committee to petition the town of Bedford to lay out a road to the river, and build the abutment on their side.

Later it was voted to "petition the Court of General Sessions of the Peace for a Committee to View the necessity of a road from Carlisle to Bedford Meeting-House," and the selectmen were delegated a committee to accompany them and also to build the bridge.

Several sums of money were voted for the purpose, the largest of which was one hundred pounds, voted March 3, 1794, which was to be appropriated for the purpose of building one-half the bridge over the river, also the causeway on the Carlisle side, and to pay land damages occasioned by the road.

The money thus appropriated was paid out at various times, and in varying sums as occasion required. The following is a copy of an order drawn on one of the constables, and is made to appear here, not because it is a sample of very many others, although it is of some, but principally to show the contrast between the customs of a hundred years ago and the present time:

CARLISLE, Feb. the 18, 1795.

"To Mr. John Jacobs, Constable of the District of Carlisle: Sir, please to pay out of the district's money which you are ordered to collect to Defray the expence of building a Bridge over the River, to Mr. John Green the Sum of Seven pounds, two Shillings and four pence, for Rum and Sugar used at the Bridge when building the Same, and this Shall Discharge you for that Sum. £7. 2. 4.

"By order of the Selectmen.

"ASA PARLIN *District, Cler.*"

A district meeting was called for August 29, 1803, and the sixth article in the warrant was to "See if the District will agree to raise a sum of money to raise the Causeway on the river meadow near the Bridge, &c." On consideration of the article it was voted to "raise the Sum of one Hundred Dollars for the purpose of filling up the Causeway on the river meadow, and that the Causeway be vendued the 5th Day of September, at 4 o'clock, and that the selectmen be a committee for that purpose and to provide drink."

At a town-meeting held Jan. 14, 1822, twenty-seven years after the building of the first bridge over the Concord River between Carlisle and Bedford, the town voted to rebuild their part of the river bridge the approaching summer, and chose as a committee for said purpose, Benjamin Barrett, Paul Forbush and Capt. Stephen Blood, which committee were subsequently increased by vote of the town May 6th, same year, by four more names, viz.: Samuel Adams, Thomas Heald, John Heald and Isaiah Green. The town clerk was instructed to notify the selectmen of Bedford of the action taken by the town in relation to their half of the bridge, which it was voted to construct twenty feet wide, and upon mud-sills, the timber, with the exception of the mud-sills and plank, to be white oak.

At the intervening April meeting the town voted to raise the sum of $500 for the purpose of defraying the expense of rebuilding. As in the former case, "rum and sugar for the laborers and committee" consumed a part of the appropriation.

At a town-meeting held April 4, 1870, the town voted to raise the sum of $600 to be expended by the selectmen for the purpose of repairing the river bridge and making it safe for travel, and also voted that the repairs be made at the earliest practical moment. Of the above appropriation $230.42 was expended, but it would seem, however, that the bridge was not yet considered safe, for at a town-meeting held Nov. 7, 1871, the town chose a committee of three, viz.: H. Prescott, N. A. Taylor and Benjamin Barrett, who were instructed to keep the river bridge in safe condition for public travel, and to rebuild it whenever in their judgment it may be necessary to do so. The work of rebuilding was done in the year 1872, and the expense of the undertaking was met by an appropriation by the town of $2500. The entire expense, however, of one half of the bridge, which the town was required to build, was $2327.48.

This bridge differed from those previously constructed, being built upon driven spiles, instead of mud-sills.

Very little has been expended upon the bridge since it was last rebuilt.

BURYING-GROUNDS.—There seems to have been no provision made for a public burying-ground previous to the year 1784, when, at a meeting of the inhabitants of the district held April 5th, it was voted that "there be one-half acre of Land Provided for the use of a burying-place, including the spot of ground that hath been made use of for that purpose already." Also at said meeting a committee of three persons were chosen to confer and settle with Mr. Wilkins for said land.

A little more than three years later two sums of money were paid out of the treasury for land purchased for a burying-place, viz.: to Timothy Wilkins, the 3d, the sum of ten shillings, and to Timothy Wilkins, Jr., the sum of sixteen shillings, which was the proportional part due each of the above-named parties, whom, it would appear, were joint owners of the land, which was what is now known as the Central Burying-Ground, the same that is located near the centre of the town, and which, at the present date, is seldom, if ever, used for the purpose of interment.

The stones all stand facing the east, and indicate the age of slate, with the exception of two or three marble slabs. There are no monuments within its enclosures.

Here rest the remains of the first minister that was settled in the town, the Rev. Paul Litchfield; also the remains of many of the first settlers of the place.

Many of the inscriptions on the stones which commemorate their names have attached military and church titles.

That interments were made here previous to its being purchased by the district would seem evident from the inscriptions found upon the stones, some of which date back as far as 1778, and, doubtless, some who earliest found a resting-place here have nothing erected to their memory.

In later years it became apparent that more room would be required for the purpose of a burying-ground, the question of procuring which continued to be agitated from time to time in town-meetings. Several times the propriety of purchasing an addition to what was known as Green's burying-ground had been considered. The latter-named place was a tract of land containing about half an acre, located about half a mile southeast of the centre of the town, and which was set apart and given by Mr. John Green, to be used by the Greens exclusively for the purpose of a burial spot.

From time to time, however, permission was given to others to make interments there, until nearly all the available space was taken up.

The stones here also indicate the era of slate, nearly all of which are slate slabs, erected, according to the ancient custom, facing the rising sun.

In the fall of the year 1831 a committee of three, consisting of Silas Green, Thomas Heald and Dea. John Green, were chosen by the town to purchase a piece of land for the purpose of enlarging Green's burial-ground.

It is probable that they attended to the duties to which the town had delegated them, but it was not until the April meeting in the year 1837 that the town voted to pay Mr. Leonard Green the sum of $25 for half an acre of land to enlarge Green's burial-ground, and cause the same to be enclosed by a fence.

In the year 1841 the town voted at a meeting held in May to lay out said burial-ground in lots, and chose for a committee to carry out the provisions of said vote the three following-named persons, viz.: Capt. Thomas Green, Dea. John Green and Capt. Ezekiel Nickles.

In the year 1863 the town purchased of Capt. Thomas Green one acre of land, as an addition to Green's burying-ground, and in the year 1866 purchased of Mrs. Oliver Forbush one acre more, which was the last addition made, and which enlarged it to its present proportions.

At a town-meeting held April 2, 1866, the town voted to appropriate the sum of $150 for the purpose of building a wall in front of the cemetery. Two years later the committee report having expended for the afore-named purpose, and for a number of stone bounds, the sum of $116.73, and also for gates put in at the two entrances, the sum of eleven dollars.

In the year 1870 the town appropriated the sum of $150 for the purpose of setting out trees and shrubbery in and around Green Cemetery, and at the annual April town-meeting held the next year a committee of three persons were chosen to have the general charge and care of the burial-grounds. This committee were: Benjamin Barrett, chosen for one, Prescott Nickles for two, and Selar Simons for three years, respectively, which committee attended to setting the trees and shrubs which at the present time ornament Green Cemetery. Since the latter-named date the custom of annually appointing a cemetery committee has prevailed in the town.

Near the centre of Green Cemetery is located a very neat and pretty octagon-shaped summer-house, of symmetrical proportions, and about ten feet high, the roof being tin covered.

A piazza surrounds the building, inside of which are benches suitable for seats. In the centre of said building stands a table bearing a marble tablet, on which is the following inscription:

This building erected July 8, 1874,
And presented to the town of Carlisle
By Miss H. L. C. Green.

So live with men, as if God's curious eye
Did everywhere into thy actions spy:
Strive to live well, tread in the upright ways,
And rather count thy actions than thy days.

At a town-meeting held April 5, 1875, the town formally accepted of the building, and passed resolutions of gratitude to be extended to the donor, and also agreed to keep the building in good repair, and to have it appropriately dedicated, which was subsequently done. The dedicatory address was delivered by Rev. James T. Powers during the summer of the latter-named year, from the piazza of the building, before an assembly of people who had gathered there for the purpose.

March 18, 1878, the town voted to establish a public watering-place at the cemetery road-side, for which purpose a well was dug about midway of the cemetery and outside the enclosure. Subsequently a pump was furnished, since which time it has served the purpose for which it was intended.

During the year 1880 a concrete walk was laid at the west entrance, at an expense to the town of $52.25.

In the northwest corner, or old part of Green Cemetery, the earliest interments were made, some of which date back as far as the year 1785; a stone erected to the memory of Sarah, wife of Asa Parlin, who was at that date clerk of the district, and also one to the memory of Lieutenant Asa Green, bear date as above.

In near proximity to these is a neglected-looking slate slab, three and a half feet tall, covered with moss and leaning, also bearing the ancient representation of an angel's head and wings at top and pillars on sides. The following is the inscription:

In memory of Mr. Simon Blood, Jun.,
who died Nov. 7, 1793,
in ye 47th yr of his age.
His generous donations to public uses do honor to his memory, and will preserve his name to posterity.

Naked as from the earth we came
And crept to life at first,
We to the earth return again
And mingle with our dust.

The above is what marks the resting-place of one who served the district in its infancy in the various capacities of school-teacher, town treasurer for two years, selectman for ten years, having been a member of the second board chosen by the district, and was also holding the office at the date of his decease. He was one of the first, as well as largest, donors to the interests of the town; his name deserved to be perpetuated, and his grave, in the absence of relatives, to be kept green by a posterity who are enjoying the benefits of his liberality.

In the southwest corner, near the hearse-house, are interred the remains of her to whom the town is indebted for the donation which called into existence the soldiers' monument in the centre of the town. The lot is enclosed with a granite curbing, and a granite monument marks the spot. The inscription reads as follows: "Lydia A. G., wife of William Farrar, died September 27, 1881, aged seventy years, nine months, twelve days." Near the centre of the cemetery, and back of the summer-house, located on main avenue, is a double marble tablet erected to the memory of Abel Taylor, Jr., and wife. His death occurred December 16, 1887, aged eighty-two years, seven months, thirteen days; his wife preceded him by a few years.

His munificence, shown by the legacy left to the Union Calvinistic Society, will always be remembered with gratitude by those who worship with this society, of which both he and his wife were members at the time of their decease. The tablet bears the motto: "We part to meet again." The remains of but two clergymen rest in the town, viz.: those of the first minister, Rev. Paul Litchfield, interred in the Central Burying-Ground, while in Green Cemetery an unpretentious granite tablet marks the place where rests the remains of one other who performed the duties of a clergyman in the town for upward of eight years. The inscription on the tablet reads as follows: "In memory of Rev. James T. Powers, 1828–1888. The joys of those with God in heaven can never end."

In this cemetery are also buried numerous others who have in times past, out of their abundance, contributed for the benefit of the church or town. Some of their names may be recalled as follows: Mr. Thomas Green, Mr. William Farrar, Mrs. Mary G. Scott and Mr. William Green.

Hearses and Hearse-Houses.—At a town-meeting held April 4, 1808, it was voted that the town raise $100 to procure a hearse, and Captain Nehemiah Andrews was chosen to expend said money, and provide a hearse for the use of the town.

On March 10th of the following year the town treasurer paid out of the town's money to Mr. Isaac Blaisdell, who supported a wheelwright's shop in the town at that time, the sum of $29 75, it being for his building a hearse for the use of the town. Another order was drawn the preceding day in favor of Mr. Andrews, the above-named committee, for the sum of $26, it being for iron, harness and boxes, and his time spent in procuring a hearse for the use of the town. A third order was drawn a little later in favor of James Kemp for the sum of $8.50, it being for his doing the iron-work on the hearse. These three sums, the total of which is $64.25, are all that appear to have been paid from the town treasury for the purpose of paying for the first hearse which the town owned. Rather a moderate sum it would be considered at the present date to expend for a similar purpose.

Now that the town was the owner of a hearse, the next consideration was to provide a place of shelter for the same. An article was inserted in the warrant for the annual April meeting the following year, which called for action on the subject. At this meeting it was voted that the town erect a hearse-house sixteen feet long, nine feet wide and seven feet high. A committee of three, consisting of Captain Nathan Haywood, Paul Forbush and Captain Stephen Blood, were chosen to prepare a plan of said building, with specifications which they were to present on the evening of the same day, when it was voted that the erecting of the building be vendued.

The following order, subsequently drawn on the treasurer, would seem to indicate the name of the contractor, as well as the cost of the building:

"To Mr. Nathan Green, Jr., town treasurer:

"Sir:—Please to pay out of the town's money to Capt. Nehemiah Andrews Twenty six dollars and four cents, it being for his building a house for the town hearse."

This building was located on the southeast corner of the Central Burying-Ground, where it stood until the year 1867, when it was voted that the selectmen be authorized to dispose of it in such manner as they deem best. It was finally sold for the sum of $35, moved away and transformed into a dwelling. During its existence as a hearse-house it answered the double purpose of providing a shelter for the hearse and of serving as a sort of armory or receptacle for the town's supply of powder, fire-arms and equipments.

In the year 1838 a committee of three were appointed in town-meeting to have the old hearse repaired, which finally seems to have answered its purpose until the year 1865, when, at a town-meeting held Nov. 7th, a committee of three persons were chosen to procure a new hearse and to dispose of the old one. Messrs. E. S. Hutchins, George F. Duren and Nathaniel Hutchinson were chosen and accepted for

said committee, who subsequently procured the more modern and ornamental carriage for the dead, owned and used by the town at the present day, and which was purchased of A. Tolman & Co., of Worcester, for the sum of $430. The old hearse was sold at auction for the sum of $2, and after certain alterations subsequently served the purpose of a pleasure-wagon, for a number of years, for the purchaser, who was a resident townsman.

By vote of the town, March 19, 1888, the selectmen were instructed to buy a pole and runners for the hearse, which they procured for the sum of $19.50, exclusive of the bill for painting.

At a town-meeting held May 25, 1867, the last article in the warrant was to "see if the town will provide a suitable place for the new hearse or act thereon," when it was voted "that the selectmen be authorized to build a suitable hearse-house." The result of this vote was the building used for a hearse-house at the present time, and which is located in Green Cemetery, erected at an expense to the town of nearly $250.

The following is a list of the physicians who have resided and practiced in the town, the latter of whom has been the resident physician for the past fifty years: John Nelson, 1816–1836; Paul C. Kittredge, 1837–1839; Austin Marsh, 1839.

The more important town officers have been as follows:

Town Clerks.

	Years.
Zebulum Spaulding, 1780–84	5
Asa Parlin, 1785–1802, '06–08	21
John Jacobs, 1803, '09–12, '26, '47–52	12
Jonathan Heald, 1804–05, '18–20	5
Jonathan Heald, Jr., 1813–14	2
John Heald, Jr., 1815–17, '21–25, '27–29	11
Cyrus Heald, 1830–35, '45–46	8
Calvin Heald, 1836–40, '43–44	7
Ephraim Robbins, 1841–42	2
George F. Duren, 1853–69	17
Selar Simons, 1870–72	3
Austin Marsh, 1873–80	8
John E. Bull, 1881	

Town Treasurers.

Captain Samuel Heald, 1780–85	6
Simon Blood, Jr., 1786–87	2
Jonathan Blood, 1788	1
Samuel Green, 1789–1802	14
Nathan Green, Jr., 1803–18	16
John Green, 1819–28, '30–38	19
John Nelson, 1829	1
Thomas Green, 1839–62	24
William Green, 1863–80	18
Thomas A. Green, 1881–82	2
Humphrey Prescott, 1883	1
Sidney A. Bull, 1884	

Selectmen.

Zebulum Spaulding, 1780, '83–84	3
Captain Phineas Blood, 1780–81	2
Lieutenant John Heald, 1780–81	2
Samuel Green, 1781, 1799–1800	3
Lieutenant Issachar Andrews, 1781–84	4
Simon Blood, Jr., 1781, '85–93	10
Asa Parlin, 1782, '85–1802, '06–08	22
Zacheus Green, 1782	1
Nathaniel Hutchinson, 1783	1
Nathan Parlin, 1784	1
Jonathan Heald, 1785–86, '88–1801, '04–05, '18–20	21
Deacon Ephraim Robbins, 1787, '94–95, 1801–02, '06–08	8
Leonard Green, 1796–97	2
John Jacobs, 1798, 1803, '09–12, '26	7
Nathan Green, Jr., 1802	1
John Green, 1803, '29	2
Thomas Spaulding, 1803	1
Frederick Blood, 1804–5	2
Ezekiel Nickles, 1804–5, '33	3
Nehemiah Andrews, 1806–7	2
Captain Timothy Heald, 1808–12	5
Eliakim Hutchins, 1809, '15	2
Thomas Heald, 1810–12, '21–23, '29	7
Jonathan Heald, Jr., 1813–14	2
Benjamin Robbins, 1813–14	2
Major Jonas Parker, 1813–17, '30–32	8
Captain John Heald, Jr., 1815–17, '21–25, '27–29	11
Aaron Robbins, 1816–17, '20–21	4
Aaron Fletcher, 1818–19	2
Paul Forbush, 1818–19	2
Isaiah Green, 1820–23	4
Cyrus Heald, 1824–28, '30–35, '45–46	13
James Green, 1824–25	2
Cyrus Green, 1826–28, '33	4
Thomas Heald, Jr., 1830–32	3
William Green, 2nd, 1834–36, '40	4
Thomas Page, 1834–40	7
Calvin Heald, 1836–40, '43–44	7
Ai Wheat, 1837	1
William Durant, 1838	1
Benj. P. Hutchins, 1838	1
Benjamin Barrett, 1839, '42	2
Ephraim Robbins, 1841–42	2
Benjamin F. Heald, 1841, '44–45, '70–72, '75	7
Joseph V. Heald, 1841–42	2
John D. Robbins, 1843	1
George F. Duren, 1843–44, '52–62, '64–68, '73–74, '76	21
John Jacobs, 1845–52, '64	9
Thomas Green, 1846–51	6
Lucius Styles, 1847–49	3
Joel Boynton, 1850–62, '65, '70, '73	16
Ebenezer Champney, 1853–54, '75	3
John Q. A. Green, 1853–54, '63, '78, '84–87	8
Timothy Wilkins, 1855	1
Isaac Blaisdell, 1856–60, '62	6
Selar Simons, 1861	1
Abram Hutchins, 1863	1
J. M. Currier, 1863, '72	2
Sebra D. Bartlett, 1864–65	2
William Farrar, 1866–69	4
John H. Champney, 1866	1
Samuel E. Scott, 1867	1
Nathaniel A. Taylor, 1868–69	2
George S. Skelton, 1869–71, '76–84	12
William W. Morse, 1871	1
Samuel H. Robbins, 1872	1
Humphrey Prescott, 1873	1
Austin Marsh, 1874, '77	2
Daniel W. Robbins, 1874–75, '88–90	5
Asa Nickles, 1876–83	8
George H. Robbins, 1879, '86, '88–89	4
Nathaniel Hutchinson, 1880, 1881, 1887	3
Sidney A. Bull, 1882	1
Albert S. Day, 1883	1
John P. Davis, 1884–89	6
John E. Bull, 1885	1
Abel G. Hodgman, 1887	1
Warren H. Blaisdell, 1890	1
Leonard M. Green, 1890	1

In the year 1781 the number of selectmen elected was five, with which exception the number annually elected has always been three.

The following is a list of names of persons who have served as representatives from the town :

Deacon Ephraim Robbins, 1790, 1806, 1807, 1808.
Asa Parlin, 1803 ; convention 1788.
Paul Litchfield, 1809, 1810, 1811.
Timothy Heald, 1812.
Thomas Heald, 1815.
Jonathan Heald, Jr., 1816.
John Heald, 1818, 1821, 1823, 1826, 1827, 1830.
Dr. John Nelson, 1824.
Cyrus Heald, 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835.
Benjamin Barrett, 1836 ; convention 1820.
Rev. George W. Stacy, 1837.
Calvin Heald, 1839, 1866.
Amos Spaulding, 1840, 1841.
Thomas Green, 1843, 1850.
Benjamin F. Heald, 1848.
John Jacobs, 1851 ; convention 1853.
Joel Boynton, 1852.
Amos T. Monroe, 1855.
Samuel B. Chamberlain, 1860.
Humphrey Prescott, 1871.
Sidney A. Bull, 1880.

The population of the town, each decade, since the year 1790, as supplied by the State census, is as follows :

1790	555	1840	556
1800	634	1850	632
1810	672	1860	621
1820	681	1870	569
1830	566	1880	478

MILITARY.—The District of Carlisle had its birth in the middle of the Revolutionary period, and demands were frequently made on her for funds and men to supply her proportion of the quota for the army. She seems to have been willing to perform her obligations in this respect, and at a meeting of the inhabitants held by adjournment in the meeting-house, July 3, 1780, it was voted to raise the sum of thirty thousand pounds to be applied towards paying the soldiers and otherwise discharging such debts as may arise on account of the war.

Also the following proceedings as recorded of a meeting held February 26, 1781, for the purpose of raising men in response to a call of the Court for same, is but an illustration of what was frequently occurring until the close of the war. After the choice of a moderator, "then the orders or Resolves of Court was Read Respecting Raising a number of men to Serve in the Continental army for three years, or During the war with Britton.

"Voted to chuse a committee of seven to hire men. Chose Lieut. Isachar Andrews, Capt. Israel Heald, Timothy Wilkins, James Nickles, Zacheus Green, Ephraim Robbins and Stephen Blood, Jr. Then Capt. Samuel Heald and Lieut. Isachar Andrews imbodied the men present at s^{d} meeting, and went Round in or^{d} to Se if any was Spirited to Inlist." None enlisted, however, and it was voted to adjourn the meeting until the following Monday at four o'clock P.M.

At the adjourned meeting it was voted that the selectmen divide the district into six classes, and require each class to procure a man to serve in the army.

Numerous instances appear on the town records where money was paid for various items for the benefit of the army, such as beef, corn, blankets, various kinds of provisions and necessities; also, in several instances, a horse was purchased and paid for to be sent to the army.

The demands were frequent, and in the aggregate amounted to quite an expense to the district, as well as a heavy drain upon the men able to perform military duty.

The following list of names of men who served in the Revolutionary War from the District of Carlisle was procured from searching the Revolutionary rolls at the State House and the town records; doubtless they are approximately complete. The list, however, would probably have been more than twice as long did it contain all the names of soldiers who served in the war that deserve to be credited to the limits of the district; but since more than four years had elapsed subsequent to the battle of Concord before the district was incorporated, all soldiers from within its limits, who enlisted previous to this date, were credited to the respective towns to which they then belonged.

List of Soldiers from Carlisle in the Revolutionary War.

Joel Wheeler, Asa Wheeler, Nathan B. Munroe, Abraham Andrews, Daniel Wheat, Leonard Green, Thomas Wood, Timothy Wilkins, Jr., Joseph Nixon, Samuel Proctor, Patrick Neif, John Crosby, Paul Lamson, Jonathan Heald, Abram Taylor, James Mackensay, Mercham Taylor, Amos Amos, Ebenezer Stone, Jr., Thomas Welch, Matthew Jennerson, Peter Oliver, Philip Boston, Barrett Blood, Thaddeus Parlin.

At a district meeting held August 18, 1794, it was voted "that the minute-men have Seven Dollars per month in case they Shall be called into actual Service, while in Service Including the Continental pay, and also give them three Dollars Bounty within twenty days from this time, or Sooner, if called upon to march; and further Voted that the minute-men who Shall turn out Voluntaryly and enlist Shall have the Same pay which the Town of Concord have agreed to give their minute-men."

In compliance with the above vote an order was drawn on the district treasurer August 29, 1794, for £13 10*s.*, it being the total amount of the bounty, at eighteen shillings each, which the district voted to give in consideration of their services as minute-men to the following persons, viz.:

List of Minute-Men.

Lieutenant Daniel Wheat, Nathan Parlin, Jr., Samuel Hartwell, James Kemp, Benjamin Robbins, Reuben Durant, Thomas Heald, Asa Hartwell, James Russell, Jr., David Walker, Simon Wheeler, Nathan Wheeler, Amos Green, Asa Green, Nathaniel Parker, Jr.

In the year 1800 a special meeting of the inhabitants of the district was called for Tuesday, April 19th. The fourth article in the warrant was as follows : "To See if the District will agree to make provision for their Soldiers at the General muster at Concord or act on the article as they may think proper."

In regard to this article it was "Voted that each Soldier who attends the muster shall have one pound and an half of Beef of Sutable pieces, and one pound and an half of Bread, one third part of a pound of cheese, and one quarter of a pound of powder, and the Company one Barrel of old cider and three gallons of W. I. rum a day, and that the Soldiers that do duty in other companies draw as much money as the cost is to each Soldier who draws provision."

A committee of three persons were chosen to provide said articles, which they did, as orders subsequently drawn on the treasurer in their favor would go to prove,

That a military organization existed in the district ever after its incorporation would appear from the reference often made to it in the proceedings at the district meetings.

On June 11, 1804, it was voted "that the District of Carlisle supply the Training Band with Cartridges, and also furnish two flints for each member to be forever kept in store for said Band."

Captain Ezekiel Nickles, Lieutenant Nathan Heywood and ensign Abel Nickles were appointed a committee to furnish the said articles, and it would seem probable that they were the commissioned officers of the organization at that date.

At a town-meeting held May 16, 1808, the town voted to raise $25, to be laid out for powder to be used on Independence Day, and also voted that the three commissioned officers of the Carlisle company, be authorized to procure said powder. This is the first recorded appropriation or expenditure of money by the town for the purpose of celebrating Fourth of July.

In the year 1814 the town voted to purchase guns and equipments (said guns and equipments to remain the property of the town) for all those required to perform military duty and who were unable to equip themselves. Also at the same time, it was voted to procure at the expense of the town, for the use of the soldiers, sixty canteens, and a few years later knapsacks were provided for what was known as the Carlisle company. These equipments were stored in the hearse-house, and some are preserved to the present day.

In the year 1830 and for several subsequent years it was customary for the town to refund the amount of the poll-tax assessed on those persons who performed all the military duty in uniform (which uniform was probably provided at their own expense), required of them by the laws of the Commonwealth, and each year the town treasurer was served with a list of persons who were entitled to have said amounts refunded and ordered to pay the same.

In the year 1853 it would appear that military ambition was on the wane, and that military drill was practically discontinued, for the tenth article in the warrant for the annual April meeting in said year was "to see if the town will agree to sell the old guns, and other articles in the hearse-house belonging to the town." It was voted to have the town treasurer sell the same.

A few of these old flint-lock pieces are to be found in the town at the present day; many, however, have been so transformed as to conform to the more modern inventions.

At a town-meeting held September 9, 1851, the town voted to accept an invitation from the town of Acton to join with them in the celebration of the erection of a monument, which at that time was being erected to the memory of Captain Isaac Davis and others of Revolutionary fame, and also chose a committee of five persons, viz.: Benjamin Barrett, Joel Boynton, John Jacobs, True Wiggin and Rev. Seth W. Banister, to confer with the committee of Acton, and make the necessary arrangements.

At a town-meeting held March 18, 1875, the town was called upon to consider and take action in reference to an invitation extended by the towns of Concord and Lexington, inviting the town of Carlisle to join with them in the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the battles of said Concord and Lexington.

The following are extracts from resolutions which were accepted and adopted by the meeting and which were virtually carried into effect by the town, viz.:

"WHEREAS, The citizens of the town of Concord, on the 19th of April next, propose to celebrate in a suitable manner the centennial anniversary of the battle of Concord, and have invited us to join with them in that celebration,

"*And whereas*, many of our ancestry largely participated in the events to be commemorated, therefore

"*Resolved*, That we cordially accept the invitation and will attend the celebration as an organized body, with music and an appropriate banner, and that we will invite the Spaulding Light Cavalry to act as our escort on the occasion, etc."

A committee was chosen by the town to make all necessary arrangements, who were as follows, Stephen Taylor, Selar Simons, Geo. F. Duren, E. S. Hutchins, L. M. Green, N. A. Taylor, H. W. Wilson, John W. Heald, George P. Nickles.

The committee procured the services of the Dunstable Cornet Band, who furnished music, and also had especially painted for the occasion a large banner on which was represented, in life-size, a soldier in Continental dress.

An invitation to act as escort for the citizens of the town was accepted by the Spaulding Light Cavalry, and thus the town added not a little to the display of the occasion.

The sum of $500 was raised by the town and appropriated for the expense of the celebration, of which sum the amount of $348 was used by the committee to pay the bills.

Three delegates from the town, viz., Paul G. Forbush, Albert Boynton and Benjamin F. Blaisdell, were

chosen to represent the town at Lexington, and be present at the centennial exercises.

The first action taken by the town in its corporate capacity in matters relating to the Rebellion was at a town-meeting assembled on May 11, 1861, when it was voted to allow and pay each person who already has, or may hereafter, enlist, to the credit of the town, and be mustered into the service of the United States not exceeding ten in number, the sum of nine dollars per month, in addition to the amount allowed by the government compensation to commence from the date of their being mustered into said service, and continue for a term not exceeding one year.

A committee of five chosen by the town were as follows, viz., B. F. Heald, Artemas Parker, Selar Simons, Thomas Green and B. P. Hutchins, who were authorized to draw on the treasurer and disburse the money necessary to carry out the provisions of the foregoing vote.

July 21, 1862, a town-meeting was called. The warrant contained but one article, which was "to see what inducements the town will hold out to obtain the town's quota of men required by the late call of the government, otherwise than by drafting."

The town voted to raise the sum of $900 and to pay each volunteer, not exceeding nine in number, who shall enlist for three years, the sum of $100 each, when mustered into the United States service.

Rev. Josiah Ballard, Artemas Parker, Selar Simons, S. H. Robbins and H. Prescott were chosen a committee to canvass the town for volunteers.

August 27, 1862, the town voted to pay the same amount of bounty to nine months' volunteers, for the purpose of encouraging enlistments, and Asa Nickles, C. T. Worthley and W. A. Ingham were chosen as an enlistment committee.

September 8, 1862, voted to pay those persons credited to the quota of the town, and now in the service, who have not received any bounty from the town, the sum of $100 each, and it was also voted to pay an equal sum as bounty to any citizen of the town who would enlist to the credit of the town, and help to fill the present call for nine months' men.

October 6, 1862, the bounty for nine months' men was increased to $150, and E. S. Hutchins, W. A. Ingham and C. T. Worthley were chosen a committee to raise recruits.

March 2, 1863, the town raised the sum of $1000 for the purpose of aiding the families of volunteers, and the following month the selectmen were authorized to pay the families of deceased or disabled volunteers such sums as they might believe their necessities to require, but not to exceed six dollars a month to any one family.

April 4, 1864, the town voted to raise $1000 as aid for families of volunteers, and also the sum of $125 for each volunteer or drafted man to the number of six, which was the remaining part of the quota of said town, under an order of the President, issued subsequent to March 1, 1864.

Another call for men was issued by the President July 18, 1864; the town called a meeting of its citizens the 3d of the following August, when it was voted to raise and appropriate the sum of $125, to be given to each man who would enlist and help to fill the town's quota. On the 15th of the same month the town voted to pay the said bounty of $125 in gold.

January 12, 1865, the town voted that the selectmen be authorized to enlist as many men into the service of the United States as may be required to fill the town's quota, on any call that may be made prior to March 1, 1865.

The town treasurer was also authorized to borrow such sums of money as were required to pay for the same.

The town furnished a surplus of men over and above all demands. None were commissioned officers. Three were drafted in the year 1863, viz.: Joseph Forbush, James T. Powers and Timothy Wilkins, each of whom furnished a substitute. Thirteen either died or were killed during their term of enlistment.

The following is a list of soldiers who were residents of the town, and helped to fill the town's quota in the War of the Rebellion. Upwards of thirty non-residents and strangers were passed to the credit of the town, having been hired or otherwise engaged to help fill the quota, whose names, for want of space, do not appear here. Also there were several native or resident citizens who participated in the war, but enlisted to the credit of other places, whose names do not appear in the following list.

Adams, Albion A., must. in Aug. 15, '62, 1st Co. Sharpshooters; disch. June 30, '65; re-enlisted Co. A, 1st Bat. Frontier Cavalry, Dec. 30, '64; sergeant.

Adams, John Q., must. in Aug. 15, '62, 1st Co. Sharpshooters; died at Harper's Ferry W. Va., Sept. 26, '62.

Blood, John N., must. in July 2, '61, Co. C, 16th Regt.; disch. May 3, '64.

Blood, William, must. in June 28, '61, Co. C, 16th Regt.; killed at 2d battle Bull Run, Aug. 29, '62.

Blood, William H., must. in Oct. 16, '62, Co. G, 47th Regt.; disch. Sept. 1, '63.

Currier, Edwin C., must. in Nov. 1, '61, Co. B, 32d Regt.; disch. May 14, '63.

Champney, John H., must. in March 24, '62, 1st Co. Sharpshooters; disch. Jan. 26, '64.

Cumber, George, must. in Aug. 5, '62, Co. G, 33d Regt.; disch. Aug. 26, '64.

Duren, Thomas, must. in Aug. 11, '62, Co. H, 33d Regt.; died at Madison, Indiana, May 16, '64.

Duren, Frederick, must. in Jan. 27, '63, Co. E, 2d Cavalry; disch. July 20, '65.

Dutton, Myranda, must. in July 31, '62, Co. H, 33d Regt.; killed at Dallas, Ga., May 25, '64.

Esty, John M., must. in July 31, '62, Co. H, 33d Regt.; died in hospital at Chattanooga, Tenn., Aug. 5, '64.

Forbush, Charles, must. in Oct. 16, '62, Co. G, 47th Regt.; disch. Sept. 1, '63.

Gilson, Albert A., must. in Aug. 5, '62, Co. E, 33d Regt.; disch. June 11, '65.

Green, John P., must. in Aug. 7, '62, Co. H, 33d Regt.; disch. June 11, '65; corporal.

Howe, John, must. in Nov. 4, '61, Co. B, 32d Regt.; disch. Feb. 18, '63.

Hutchins, Edward S., must. in Oct. 16, '62, Co. G, 47th Regt.; disch. Sept. 1, '63.

Hutchins, Freeman, must. in Sept. 17, '61, Co. E, 26th Regt.; disch. Aug. 26, '64.

Hutchins, Samuel M., must. in July 11, '63, Co. H, 12th Regt.; disch. Feb. 15, '65; transferred to 112th V. R. C.

Heald, Alfred, must. in Nov. 4, '61, Co. B, 32d Regt.; disch. Dec. 11, '64.

Heald, Austin M., must. in Aug. 15, '62, 1st Co. Sharpshooters; died at Falmouth, Va., Jan. 30, '63.

Heald, Timothy W., must. in March 24, '62, 1st Co. Sharpshooters; disch. Oct. 31, '62.

Heald, Warren F., must. in Feb. 3, '64, 2d Cavalry; rejected recruit.

Hodgman, Amos H., must. in Nov. 4, '61, Co. B, 32d Regt.; disch. Jan 6, '63.

Hodgman, Luther F., must. in Sept. 17, '61, Co. E, 26th Regt.; disch. Oct. 24, '62.

Ingham, William A., must. in Oct. 16, '62, Co. G, 47th Regt.; disch. Sept. 1, '63; 2d enlistment, July 15, '64, Co. G, 6th Regt.; disch. Oct. 27, '64.

Litchfield, William F., must. in July 2, '61, Co. C, 16th Regt.; disch. July 27, '64.

Litchfield, George M., must. in July 2, '61, Co. C, 16th Regt.; disch. July 27, '64.

Litchfield, James J., must. in Oct. 9, '61, Co. E, 26th Regt.; disch. Oct. 24, '62.

Litchfield, Albert, must. in July 12, '61, Co. B, 15th Regt.; disch. Oct. 12, '62.

Locke, Warren P., must. in Nov. 28, '61, Co. B, 32d Regt.; killed at Bethesda Church, Va., June 3, '64.

Monroe, George V., must. in Oct. 15, '62, Co. G, 47th Regt.; died at Carrollton, La., Aug. 9, '63.

Moore, William, must. in Mar. 7, '62, 1st Co. Sharpshooters; died at Fort McHenry, N. Y., Sept. 9, '62.

Monroe, William H., must. in Oct. 16, '62, Co. G, 47th Regt.; disch. July 3, '63.

Maybury, Orren, must. in July 2, '61, Co. C, 16th Regt.; re-enlisted Dec. 27, '63, and transferred to Co. E, 11th Regt., July 14, '65.

Nickles, Otis, must. in Jan. 4, '64, 7th Battery L. A.; died in Barracks Hospital, New Orleans, La., July 16, '64.

Nickles, George P., must. in Nov. 4, '61, Co. B, 32d Regt.; disch. Nov. 27, '64.

Northum, William H., must. in Aug. 7, '62, Co. H, 33d Regt.; disch. June 11, '65.

Nickles, Charles E., must. in Oct. 16, '62, Co. G, 47th Regt.; disch. Sept. 2, '63.

Nickles, Abel, must. in Dec. 22, '63, Co. K, 2d Heavy Artillery; disch. Sept. 3, '65.

Norcross, George E., must. in July 2, '61, Co. C, 16th Regt.; disch. July 27, '64.

Osgood, Isaac P., must. in Nov. 4, '61, Co. B, 32d Regt., disch. Dec. 14, '63.

Parker, Sidney A., must. in July 15, '64, Co. G, 6th Regt.; disch. Oct. 27, '64.

Prescott, John H., must. in Nov. 4, '61, Co. B, 32d Regt.; disch. Feb. 9, '63; corporal.

Robbins, Daniel W., must. in July 2, '61, Co. C, 16th Regt.; re-enlisted Dec. 27, '63, and transferred to Co. E, 11th Regt.; disch. July 14, '65; 1st sergeant.

Robbins, Charles H., must. in Oct. 16, '62, Co. G, 47th Regt.; disch. Sept. 1, '63.

Stevenson, Thomas G., must. in May 1, '61, Co. G, 5th Regt.; disch. June 8, '61; re-enlisted July 2, '61, Co. C, 16th Regt.; disch. Dec. 29, '62.

Webster, Benjamin H., must. in Oct. 16, '62, Co. G, 47th Regt.; disch. Sept. 1, '63.

Wiggin, Francis M., must. in Feb. 15, '62, Co. F, 13th U. S. A.; died at Memphis, Tenn., Oct. 16, '63.

Wiggin, George W., must. in Aug. 31, '62, Co. G, 6th Regt.; disch. June 3, '63.

Wilkins, James W., Jr., must. in Sept. 6, '61, Co. B, 32d Regt.; disch. Nov. 27, '64.

Worthley, Charles T., must. in Oct. 16, '62, Co. G, 47th Regt.; disch. Sept. 1, '63.

Worthley, Hiram P., must. in Oct. 16, '62, Co. G, 47th Regt.; disch. Sept. 1, '63.

SOLDIERS' MONUMENT.—The erection and dedication of a soldiers' monument is an incident in the history of the town long to be remembered, and at the same time it was but the performance of an incumbent duty of a grateful posterity to those who sacrificed even life and limb, which resulted in finally eradicating one of the greatest evils which could exist in any nation.

The circumstance which led to the erection of this monument was a bequest which, with accumulations, amounted to the sum of $653.70, and which was left to the town by the late Mrs. Lydia A. G. Farrar. At a town-meeting held March 20, 1882, the town voted "that the town treasurer be authorized to receive the legacy and hold the same until further action by the town."

The donor by her will made no special request in reference to what disposition the town should make of the donation, thus making it incumbent upon the town to determine how it should be appropriated. At a town-meeting held November 7, 1882, the town voted "that the money given the town by the will of the late Mrs. Lydia A. G. Farrar be appropriated for the purpose of erecting a Soldiers' Monument, in the centre of the town, on or near the spot where the guide-post now stands," and also chose Messrs. Thomas A. Green, Sidney A. Bull and Edward S. Hutchins as a committee to carry out the provisions of said vote.

At a subsequent town-meeting held March 19, 1883, the town voted to raise and appropriated the sum of $300 for the purpose of putting in a foundation for the monument, and for fencing and grading around the same.

The committee chosen to erect the monument, believing the amount of money at their disposal too small for the purpose of furnishing a monument sufficiently ornamental, and that would prove acceptable to the town, suggested that an invitation be extended to Miss H. L. C. Green, a sister of the late Mrs. Farrar, to add enough to the amount of her sister's bequest to increase it to the sum of $1000, which suggestion was favorably entertained by her, and the money in due time was paid over to the committee. Consequently they had at their disposal $1000 to be used for the monument, and proceeded to correspond with various contractors, inviting designs and specifications for monuments that could be erected for that sum.

Several responded to the requests of the committee, allowing them a good variety of designs to select from. Their decision was, however, decidedly in favor of a design furnished by Andrews & Wheeler, of Lowell, which was a granite pedestal, surmounted by a marble statue, or, to describe more minutely, included a triple receding base of Concord granite five feet two inches square on the foundation, resting on which is a polished die of Rockport granite, on the east side of which is the inscription: "Died in their country's service," followed by names of soldiers from

the town who lost their lives during their term of enlistment, which list is completed on the north side.

The southerly side bears the following appropriate words:

"To the roll-call they make no response,
Carlisle honors their deeds of valor
And dedicates this monument
To perpetuate their names to posterity."

On the back or westerly side is inscribed:

"Presented to the town of Carlisle by Mrs. Lydia A. G. Farrar and Miss Hannah L. C. Green.

Dedicated August 29, 1885."

This die is surmounted by a fine statue of Italian marble, seven and one-half feet tall, weighing 3000 pounds and representing the "Goddess of Liberty," which was placed in position December 7, 1883, thus marking the completion of the monument as far as the contractors were liable.

On the base of the statue at the front side is the motto: "Let him who has won it bear the palm," and on the back or westerly side is inscribed "1861–1865." The entire height of the monument from foundation to top is fifteen and one-half feet.

The committee chosen by the town for the purpose, attended to grading and fencing the monument grounds, now known as Monument Square. Nearly 100 loads of loam were used to complete the grading, after which a fence of granite posts, connected by galvanized iron rails, was erected; a concrete walk was laid extending from the entrance on the north to the entrance on the south side of the grounds, passing in front of the monument, and the work of the committee was completed at an expense to the town of a few dollars more than the appropriation.

At a town-meeting held Monday, March 16, 1885, the town appropriated the sum of $200 for the purpose of dedicating the soldiers' monument, and chose a committee of three, viz.: Daniel W. Robbins, Edward J. Carr and Sidney A. Bull, whom they authorized to attend to the duties of having the monument dedicated with appropriate ceremonies.

This committee attended to their duties, and, after due deliberation, decided on August 29th as an appropriate day for the dedication exercises, since that was the anniversary of the second Bull Run fight, in which one of those whose name appears on the monument lost his life in battle.

The committee spared no pains to make the affair the most elaborate of anything in the annals of the town, and were satisfied with the result.

The weather was complete,—a beautiful August day could not but add somewhat to the attraction of the occasion,—and it was estimated that a thousand or more people were in attendance.

The following were the officers and members of committees for dedication: President of the day, Daniel W. Robbins; Chief Marshal, Charles Forbush; Aids, E. A. Blanchard, T. M. Hammond, G. W. Page and B. F. Day; Decoration Committee, Thomas A. Green, Frank Wilkins, George Nickles and Mrs. T. A. Green, J. E. Bull, D. W. Robbins and S. A. Bull; Reception Committee, Major B. F. Heald, Lieutenant H. W. Wilson and James E. Taylor. The residents of the village exerted themselves to improve its appearance in every way possible, and it looked on dedication day as though it had been thoroughly swept and dusted. The monument grounds were made to appear the best possible, and the monument was tastily decorated with flowers, evergreen, and the national colors. Nearly every house in the village located on the line of march was, by invitation previously extended by the dedication committee, prettily decorated with flags, streamers and bunting.

The dedication exercises began at one o'clock P. M. by a parade, of which the following is the order of procession:

Chief Marshal and Aids.
Dunstable Cornet Band.
Troop F, Cavalry (dismounted).
President of the day, chaplain, orators and invited guests in carriages.
Concord, Massachusetts, G. A. R. Post.
Veterans on foot.
Citizens on foot.
Citizens in carriages.

The procession formed on the Common, and immediately took up the following route of march: From the Common down Boston Road, on the right of the monument, to the house of George F. Duren; countermarch passing monument on the right and up Lowell Road, beyond the house of William Green; countermarched to the monument; thence on Westford Road beyond the house of Daniel W. Robbins; left-wheel through Short Street to Concord Road; on Concord Road beyond the house of George P. Nickles; countermarch, passing houses of G. W. Page and M. Lee, to the Common. During all the time the procession was moving, minute-guns were fired from a cannon on the Common, under the direction of Mr. Nathaniel Hutchinson. At the close of the parade the assembly gathered under a large canvas tent, which had been procured by the committee for the occasion, and erected on the Common. Here took place the following exercises on the platform:

1. Invocation, by Rev. George F. Piper
2. Solo and Chorus—"Tenting To-night."
3. Selection by band.
4. Presentation of Monument to the town by Sidney A. Bull.
5. Reception of Monument for the town by John Q. A. Green.
6. Selection by band.
7. Oration by Hon. Charles H. Allen.
8. Solo and Chorus—"Marching through Georgia." Veterans invited to join in the chorus.
9. Remarks by invited guests.
10. Dedication Ode by S. A. Bull. Tune America. All invited to join.

With grateful hearts we come,
And sing of brave deeds done,
By those who fell
Full twenty years ago,
In conflict with the foe,
They helped to deal the blow
That saved our land.

They heard the call to arms,
Left home with all its charms—
A noble band,—
And marched to beat of drum
With armor girded on
To face, 'neath Southern sun,
A martialed foe.

The camp, the march, the fray,
The charge, the victory,
The comrades slain!
And scarce it seems a day,
Time speeds so swift away,
Since were the blue and gray
In war engaged.

Their deeds of valor done,
The victory fully won,
The sword laid down.
Yon marble statue shall
To future ages tell
Of those who nobly fell,—
Our honored dead.

At the close of the exercises on the platform the assembly were invited to partake of a collation which had been prepared by a committee chosen for the purpose, and which, for variety of dishes and elegance of arrangements, is seldom excelled. Invited organizations and guests of the town were tendered the preference at the tables, after which the town's people were served. The committee, after paying the bills incident to the celebration, had left in the town treasury the sum of $4.07 unexpended, the entire cost to the town of dedicating the monument being $195.93.

MEETING-HOUSE.—The church and the town, in the early history of the country, were identical. Every town had a church, which it supported by a tax levied on the inhabitants in the same manner as for the support of schools, highways and other town charges.

In the case under consideration the church had existed for nearly twenty years previous to the incorporation of the district, in the year 1780.

As will be remembered, the old District of Carlisle ceased to exist after a short period because of the difficulty and final inability of the inhabitants to determine upon or "prefix" a place for a meeting-house.

The same difficulty was obviated under the second act of incorporation, for, during the interval between the existence of the old and new District of Carlisle a certain piece of land, nearly square in shape and including an acre and a half, or the larger part of what is now known as the Common, was conveyed to a number of the inhabitants of the locality, "and to their heirs, executors, administrators and assigns for ever, for the *conenancy* of building a meeting-house for the public worship of God and other public uses." The above-named instrument was dated July 1, 1758. The gift was a worthy one, and should be the means of perpetuating the name of the donor to all future time.

About two years later, or in the year 1760, a meeting-house was built on the land given for the purpose, in order for the better accommodation, for the purpose of religious worship, of those persons who lived on the outskirts of the several towns which found a centre near said location, and who subsequently were included within the bounds of the District of Carlisle.

It cannot be doubted that the above-named gift was the nucleus for the establishment of the first church building, the erection of which, it is more than probable, finally determined the location for the centre of the present town of Carlisle.

The first church, which was erected by voluntary contributions, stood near the location of what is now known as the Unitarian Church, and was a rude wooden structure, without clapboards or paint, and having only benches for seats, in which condition it remained until the year 1780, when the district was incorporated, and at which time it virtually became the property of the district by the consent of a committee of the society, to which many of the first petitioners belonged, it being mutually understood and agreed that all persons who should be incorporated with them in the proposed district should share equally all church privileges with those at whose expense the meeting-house had been erected, without being in any way liable for any expense incurred previous to date of incorporation.

No pastor was settled during this interval of twenty years, neither was there any church organization, and yet the Gospel was preached from Sabbath to Sabbath and supported by the listeners, many of whom paid in addition their regular minister rates in the respective towns to which they belonged.

During the year 1781 money was expended upon the meeting-house, giving it a more inviting appearance, and twenty-four pews were put in on the lower floor, which were disposed of by auction for the sum of $950.50. The highest price paid was $66.50 for pew No. 18, by Deacon Ephraim Robbins, and the lowest price was $15 for No. 11 pew, which was struck off to Mr. John Robbins. The amount received was used to pay the expense of the repairs.

The church was organized Feb. 28, 1781, and then consisted of ten male and twenty-four female members. On the 17th of the following May the church voted unanimously to invite Rev. Paul Litchfield to become their first pastor, and at a meeting held May 25th, the inhabitants of the district, by a vote of 43 to 3, agreed to concur with the vote of the church, and also voted to give Mr. Litchfield the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds as a settlement, one-half of which sum it was voted to pay him within one year from the date of his acceptance of the call, and the balance in two years. It was also voted to give him as a salary the sum of eighty pounds yearly, to be paid in quarterly instalments, so long as he shall supply the pulpit in said Carlisle and remain their Gospel minister—both of said amounts to be paid in silver money. At a subsequent meeting it was voted to give Mr. Litch-

field twenty cords of wood a year, and to keep two cows and a horse for him until such time as he shall call for the interest of his settlement.

The church decided upon the 7th day of Nov., 1781, as a date that would be agreeable to them to have the ordination of Mr. Litchfield take place upon. And at a meeting held Oct. 3d the inhabitants of the district voted to join with the church as to the date they had selected.

The first communion was held December 31, 1781, when it was voted to require a written or verbal relation by candidates, before the church and congregation, of the religious exercises of their minds, before admission into the church.

This embarrassing regulation was so modified, two years later, as to permit it to be made before a committee of the church.

The doctrines contained in the confession of faith, and preached by Mr. Litchfield, were strictly Calvinistic. He continued to hold the office of pastor of this church until his death, dying in the full belief of that Christian faith which he had inculcated, and trusting in the hope which the Christian religion inspires.

The funeral took place November 7, 1827, and on the forty-sixth anniversary of his ordination. The funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. John H. Church, D.D., of Pelham, N. H. The interment was made near the centre of the Central Burying-Ground. A slate slab five feet tall by two and a half feet wide, with pillars carved on either side and a weeping willow tree shading an urn for top decoration, marks the spot. The following inscription appears on the stone:

"Erected to the memory of Rev. Paul Litchfield, Pastor of the church in Carlisle for the space of forty-six years, and deceased Nov. 5, 1827.

Æt. 75.

With firm, discriminating mind, zealous for the distinguishing doctrines of revelation, he stood fast in one spirit, striving for the faith of the gospel."

A similar stone is erected to the memory of his first wife, "Mary," which stands close beside the former.

At the annual March meeting of the inhabitants of the district in the year 1789, the eighth article in the warrant read as follows:—"To See if the District will agree to provide any Seats in the Meeting-House for those who may be disposed to set together for the Singing." It was voted "that those who may be Disposed to Set together for the purpose of Singing Shall have the two hind seats below," which seats were probably used for the purpose until the year 1798, when they were otherwise appropriated, and in response to a similar article in the warrant for the annual April meeting, it was voted "that the Singers have the fore seat and the Second Seat in the front galery."

Considerable money had been appropriated by the town at one time and another to repair the meeting-house up to the year 1810.

A gallery had been built which contained nineteen pews, which were sold for the sum of $58.12; the building had been clap-boarded and painted, stone underpinning had been provided, a pulpit erected, porches built, and the advisability of erecting a belfry and procuring and suspending a bell was a question which had for some time agitated the minds of the people.

It was on the 26th day of May in the year last mentioned that the church was struck by lightning and entirely consumed.

Nine days later, viz.: on the 4th of June, 1810, the inhabitants of the town qualified by law to vote in town affairs were warned to meet on the Common, near where the meeting-house formerly stood. At this meeting the town voted to build a new meeting-house about the size of the old one, and to build on the Common belonging to the town, near where the former meeting-house stood.

At a subsequent meeting a building committee of three were chosen by ballot, viz.: Asa Parlin, Esq., Nathan Green, Jr., and Thomas Heald. Said committee contracted with Elijah Stearns to prepare and set the underpinning and door-steps for the sum of $235, and with Messrs. Joseph Wyman and John Sawyer, Jr., for the sum of $4230, to erect the building. When completed the total cost was $4866.81, which amount included various incidental charges, such as paint and painting, numbering the pews, and also a bill of $38.28 for liquor.

There were 44 pews on the lower floor, 43 of which were sold by auction for the sum of $2301.75. Also, 16 pews in the gallery were sold at the same time for $444.75, making a total of $2746.50, which, added to the sum of $2000, which was raised by taxation by the town, nearly paid the cost of the building. One pew, back of the door on the left-hand side of the gallery, was, by vote of the town, appropriated for the use of people of color.

In consideration of the great loss sustained by the town, the State tax, amounting to $154.66, for the year 1810, was, by an act of the General Court, remitted.

At an adjourned town-meeting, held on the Common, Nov. 18, 1811, about the time of the completion of the new building, it was voted "that the Meeting-house be dedicated to Almighty God on the second Sabbath of December following," and also, "that the town give those persons who may go and work at the meeting-house, to clear away the chips and trash around the same, what drink they may need."

The religious services at the dedication were conducted by the pastor, Rev. Paul Litchfield.

The annual town-meeting called for Monday, March 2, 1812, was the first one held in the new building, and on the following month the town raised the sum of $350 to procure a bell for the meeting-house.

After the death of Rev. Mr. Litchfield a spirit of discontent appears to have sprung up, and a number

of those who worshiped in the town under the pastorate of the late pastor had withdrawn their names from the parish, or, as it was usually called, "signed off," and joined some out-of-town society.

Those who "signed off" were, by their own request, considered as disconnected from the church, as well as released from all pecuniary obligation to support religious worship in the town.

The spirit of discord continued to increase until the former relations between town and church ceased to exist, and each was conducted as a separate institution.

The last money raised by the town in its corporate capacity, for the purpose of supporting the Gospel, was on Nov. 14, 1831, being $300 in amount, which was appropriated for the purpose of paying Rev. Stephen Hull his salary and other parochial charges.

We have already referred to the immediate successor of the first minister of the town, who was also the last to receive support from the town. His successor was the Rev. George W. Stacy, who was settled over the society May 4, 1836. Subsequent to his pastorate other clergymen have been hired to fill the pulpit from time to time, among whom are the Rev. James T. Powers, who has been engaged at two different times; Rev. Mr. Hervey, Rev. J. S. Smith, Rev. Alexander Dight, Rev. James J. Twiss and Rev. George F. Piper, all of whom, since the first pastor, with the exception of Mr. Dight, have entertained the Unitarian belief.

During the year 1852 the church was remodeled within and thoroughly repaired without, at an expense of $1200. A floor was laid across the auditorium at the height of the galleries, thus making two rooms of what formerly constituted but one. Pews, pulpit, etc., were placed in the upper division, which has since been used for church purposes, the lower part serving for a hall.

The old spire, which had stood for fifty-seven years, was substituted, in the year 1868, by the present one.

The Unitarian Society have a fund of $2000, the income of which is used to support public worship, and was given in about equal proportions by the following-named persons, viz.: Simon Blood, Jr., Mr. Thomas Green, Mr. William Farrar and Mrs. Mary G. Scott.

Noon House.—A building the location of which was a little northwest of the Unitarian Church, came into existence soon after the incorporation of the district in the following manner. An article appeared in the warrant for the annual district meeting held March 3, 1788, which read as follows:

"To See if the District will give liberty to Capt. Issachar Andrews and Lt. Zebulun Spaulding to build a House on the meeting House Lott for their Convenience on Sabbath Days."

The request was granted and a small building was erected, the owners of which, it is said, provided a liberal supply of wood, cider and apples, causing it to be heated on Sabbath days in cold weather, whither they, with such of their friends as they chose to invite, would repair and spend the noon hour, chatting and eating a luncheon which it was customary to carry. This was previous to the introduction of the modern custom of heating churches. This building was an adjunct of the church for perhaps forty years, and stood for upward of fifty years, when, having outlived the purpose for which it was erected, all of a sudden at midday it was razed to the ground by human strength. In the year 1837, at a town-meeting held November 13th, it was voted "that the selectmen be a committee to attend to the removal from the common of the ruins of the old Noon House, so called."

Thus ended the existence of an institution peculiar to those days and perhaps to this town.

Union Calvinistic Church.—The first regular church meeting after the death of Rev. Mr. Litchfield appears to have been called for November 26, 1827, at the house of Deacon John Jacobs. At this meeting it was voted that Deacon Jacobs take charge of the church records and the donation of books bequeathed to the church by their late pastor.

Another meeting of the church was held at the house of Deacon John Green, June 9, 1828, at which it was unanimously voted to give the Rev. Joseph W. Clary, who sympathized with the late Mr. Litchfield in his theological views, a call to settle with them in the Gospel ministry. At a town-meeting held the 19th inst. the town by vote non-concurred with the church, because of a prevailing sentiment in favor of Unitarianism, which at that time was attaining favor in the minds of the people.

Finally a committee was chosen by the town to supply the pulpit with preaching. Orthodox preachers were employed for a few weeks, after which those usually employed were of Unitarian sentiment. Various movements took place between the town and church, until at length the Rev. Ephraim Randall, something of a popular preacher, but Unitarian in belief, was employed, and a paper was put in circulation to obtain subscribers to give him a call to settle over the church and town. Those of the inhabitants who were orthodox in belief, finding the majority of the town were determined to settle a Unitarian minister, and would not hear to the proposals made to them by the church, took advantage of the then recent law, and twenty in number "signed off" to the Trinitarian society in Concord, under the care of the Rev. D. L. Southmayd, in order not to be holden to pay any part of the expense of settling or supporting a minister who entertained religious views not consistent with their own.

The church continued to hold religious meetings at private houses on Sabbath days, and always held their communion seasons in the town.

Efforts were put forth and proposals were made by the church to bring about some amicable arrangement with the town, in order that a union of feeling

between church and town, similar to what had existed in years past, might exist again; but all to no effect, and to crown the whole, the town, at their annual meeting, in March, 1830, chose a committee to take all the property belonging to the church into their possession, which was afterwards reluctantly handed over. Finding there was not the least prospect of effecting a union with the Unitarian element in the town, a sufficient number (twelve in all) of those who had previously formed themselves into a religious society known as the Union Calvinistic Society, and who were also legal voters in the town, applied to Jonathan Prescott, Esq., of Westford, to grant a warrant in due form of law to Deacon Jacobs, to notify all the male members of said society to meet at the house of Capt. Aaron Fletcher, on Saturday, November 20, 1830, at one o'clock P.M., for the purpose of organizing according to law, and choosing all necessary officers to manage the business of said society.

The meeting was called at the time and place above-mentioned, and was called to order by the justice of the peace who issued the warrant.

Mr. Samuel Boynton was chosen moderator, when the following officers, who were also the first officers of the society, were chosen: Clerk, John Jacobs; Treasurer and Collector, John Jacobs; Prudential Committee, Harris Bingham, John Jacobs and Reuben Foster. Twenty male members then signed the constitution of the society, and the above date, viz., November 20, 1830, will be remembered as the date when the Union Calvinistic Society was organized.

Money was raised by subscription for the purpose of building a church; and it was voted by the society, February 28, 1831, to build a house of worship thirty feet long, twenty-eight feet wide and fifteen feet high, which was completed early in the fall of 1832, at an expense of nearly $800.

Arrangements were made and the house was dedicated to God and the purposes of religious worship October 4, 1832. Rev. Mr. Blanchard, of Lowell, preached the dedicatory sermon, and meetings continued to be held for a space of three days afterwards, with favorable results to the church and society.

The building was located on the south side of the Common, in the centre of the town, the same location as that occupied by the Orthodox church at the present date. The land surrounding it, and on which the church stands, in area a quarter of an acre, more or less, was leased by said society for a term of 999 years, of Mr. Isaac Duren, with the express understanding that said society would, within the space of two years, erect a building on said premises to be consecrated to the solemn worship of Almighty God, and that the doctrines supported shall be the same as were embodied and maintained by the first settlers of this country, and which are now called Orthodox, or Evangelical, being the same as said society did at that time openly profess.

Said lease is dated April 6, 1831, the terms of which were that the sum of $20 rent should be paid upon the delivery of the lease, and afterward the sum of one cent for each and every year during the existence of said lease.

The pulpit was supplied for a time by various clergymen who were hired, and it was on the 22d day of April, 1833, at a regular meeting of the church and society, that a unanimous vote was passed to call the Rev. Abel Patten to settle with them in the Gospel ministry, and the call concludes with the following terms and conditions, viz.: "And, that you may be in a good measure free from worldly cares and avocations, we, as a church and society, do hereby promise and oblige ourselves to furnish you with board, a room, fuel, lights, etc., the use of horse and chaise, when necessary, and to pay you annually, in addition to $100 from the Domestic Missionary Society, the sum of $200 in regular quarterly payments, during a period of two years."

The foregoing invitation was accepted, and an ecclesiastical council was convened just one month later, or on the 22d of the following May, and the Rev. Abel Patten was installed the first pastor of the new society.

The following is a list of those who have subsequently served the church and society as pastor, with the date of their engagement:

Rev. Preserved Smith . . . . . installed August 31, 1836
Rev. George W. Thompson . . . . . installed July 16, 1845
Rev. Seth W. Banister . . . . . installed April 27, 1848
Rev. John Lawrence . . . . . installed May 5, 1853
Rev. Josiah Ballard . . . . . installed September 15, 1859
Rev. William H. Dowden . . . . . installed February 13, 1866
Rev. Moses Patten . . . . . installed October 27, 1870
Rev. Asa Mann . . . . . hired 1876
Rev. F. M. Sprague . . . . . hired 1877–79
Rev. James Walker . . . . . hired 1879–88
Rev. Joseph Hammond . . . . . hired 1889

A parsonage was built by the society in the year 1848, at an expense of $1700. Three bells have been owned by the society, the first of which was bought in the year 1851. The first two became cracked; the one in use at the present time was purchased in the year 1867. Repairs were made on the meeting-house in the year 1866 to the amount of $907.08, and in 1882 extensive repairs were made, costing $1700, after which the building was rededicated August 20, 1882; the dedicatory sermon was preached by Rev. Russell H. Conwell before a crowded house.

A fund of $7000 was left the society by the will of the late Abel Taylor, the income of which is to be used for the support of preaching.

January 1, 1890, the church numbered fifty-seven members in good and regular standing—twelve males and forty-five females—eleven of whom were non-residents.

CHAPTER LV.

DUNSTABLE.

BY REV. HENRY M. PERKINS.

Present condition of the Town—Topography—Business Interests.

NOT many towns in our Commonwealth of the size of Dunstable can present a history richer in varied material.

Descendants of the early settlers have an interest in the remote history of the town. The general reader, however, shares with them in a desire to know its present condition.

Dunstable is located in the northerly part of Middlesex County, and is one of the border towns of the State. Nashua, N. H., joins it on the north; Tyngsborough on the east and southeast; Groton on the south, and Pepperell on the west.

The town is naturally healthful, and the climate promotive of vigor and hardihood, as a few examples will show.

Among recent deaths was that of *Mr. Benajah Parkhurst*, a much respected citizen. He died at the age of ninety-four. For several winters previous he was accustomed to saw most of the wood used in his family. He was a skillful carpenter, and in his prime was noted for coolness and self-possession when walking on lofty beams. *Mr. James Woodward*, another valued citizen, died at the age of eighty-eight. He was able to perform much of the work at his grist-mill till within a year of his death. Among other feats of his youthful days was a walk to Boston, the distance of thirty-three miles. After having attended to his business he returned to Dunstable the same day. He reached home after dark, but not too late for a good night's rest. Among living representatives is *Mr. Jonas Kendall*, the skillful and well-known civil engineer. Though now a resident of Framingham, he has evidently carried with him the vigor of his native air. At the age of eighty-five his services were in demand for the inspection of reservoirs and the supervision of new and important works in different parts of the State. *Mr. Andrew Spaulding*, about seventy years of age, is an active man in religious and business circles in Groton, Mass.

As a summer resort Dunstable possesses some rare attractions. From several localities of the town wide views are obtained. Though not a hilly town, as compared with some places in New Hampshire or Vermont, the surface is undulating, with now and then a hill of considerable height. From such points charming views open before the eye. In the distance is Mt. Wachusett, round and wooded. The intervening landscape presents many beautiful hills and dales, dotted with peaceful farms, pleasant homesteads and an occasional spire pointing heavenward, Many of the New Hampshire hills can be clearly seen, and among them, on a bright day, noble Monadnock's lofty peak. In another direction is the smiling Merrimac, and Lowell with its teeming industries.

Dr. Walter Wesselhoeft, of Cambridge, a man of wide observation, has recently purchased land with the intent of building. His family have boarded in the place for several summers. He has been accustomed to come during that season as often as the claims of professional duty would permit. The residents of the town, mostly occupied with farming interests, have not given thought to the subject of making this place a summer resort. Yet many are beginning to realize that the town possesses natural advantages in that respect. It is near several large centres, yet removed from their bustle and noise. An early train takes passengers to Boston, where nearly the whole day can be spent before returning on the evening train. The Dunstable station of the Nashua, Acton and Boston Railroad is within half a mile of the village. The station at Tyngsborough, on the Boston and Lowell Railroad, is three and a half miles distant.

Dunstable has several beautiful hills which diversify the beauty of its scenery.

FLAT ROCK HILL, in the northerly part of the town, commands a fine view of Salmon Brook. It is now sending forth its wealth of granite. Within about a year, Lemay & Tetro have been operating a quarry quite near the railroad track, by which there is direct transportation to their granite works in Nashua, N. H.

BLANCHARD'S HILL rises west of the former and is a favorite resort for berry parties in the summer. From its summit may be seen several distant church spires. A cool, clear trout-brook makes its way at the base of this hill.

On the opposite or eastern side of Salmon Brook rises a well-cultivated eminence, over which extends one of the roads to Nashua. The southerly part is called ROBY and the northerly part KENDALL HILL. On this elevation there are a number of thrifty farms.

Directly east of this is the wooded eminence called NUTTING'S HILL, which has the height of two hundred feet and affords a delightful prospect of the surrounding country.

FOREST HILL is in the southeast angle of the town. It is the highest point of land in Dunstable, and was made a station in the trigonometrical survey of the State. A splendid view is here obtained of the Tyngsborough forests, of the Merrimack River, and of Lowell in the east, while toward the west, distant towns and mountains in New Hampshire can be seen. A good road extends nearly to the summit.

HORSE HILL, partly in Groton, overlooks Massapoag Pond and the valley of Unquety Brook; and WALL HILL, near the preceding elevation, was divided for the railroad bed, when a fine specimen of blue clay was brought to light, which may prove serviceable.

HOUND MEADOW HILL, in the northwesterly part of the town, is said to have received its name from the circumstances that when Groton was assaulted by the Indians during Philip's War, a pack of hounds, used by the English, pursued some of the savages to this hill, on which two of them were slain.

SLATESTONE HILL is a picturesque height on the right bank of Nashua River, composed of slatestone, and covered largely with timber.

SPECTACLE HILL, so named from its resemblance to a pair of spectacles, rises in the northeast part of the town and extends into Nashua, N. H. A few other hills add to the beauty of the town and furnish a variety of soil.

WATER SUPPLY.—The town is well supplied with water. In addition to the saw-mills now operated, there are several places where good water-power might be utilized.

The chief tributary of Nashua River from Dunstable is *Unquety*, once called *Unquetynasset Brook*, a little mill-stream.

The central part of the town is well drained by the *Salmon Brook*, a valuable stream that, flowing from Massapoag Pond, pursues a northerly course through the Lower Massapoag Pond, and dividing the township nearly in the middle, empties into the Merrimac River at what is called the "Harbor," in Nashua. It receives two tributaries from the west, one of which, called *Barnes Brook*, furnishes motive-power for Mr. George Parkhurst's saw-mill. The ancestors of Mr. Parkhurst owned and occupied the same land dating from a remote period. Now there are those of the sixth generation living there. The other tributary, known as *Joint Grass Brook*, after receiving the water of Spring Brook, turns the grist and saw-mill of Mr. Daniel Swallow. This mill is operated both by water-power and steam. The gross receipts of the business in a year's time amount to $10,000.

Black Brook flows into Salmon Brook from the east, and on being augmented by two or three small streams, forms motive-power for the grist and saw-mill now owned by the Woodward estate, near the centre of the town. Work is well done at all these mills and at the lowest current rates.

There is a fine mill privilege on the Salmon Brook, where it issues from Massapoag Pond at what is called "The Gulf." There is here a dam, ten feet in height, over which at present the water passes uselessly. Any company with manufacturing interest in view, but undecided as regards location, would do well to make inquiry about this mill privilege.

Massapoag Pond, having an area of more than one hundred acres, lies partly in Dunstable, Tyngsborough and Groton. It is formed by the waters of Cowpen Brook from Groton. A stone post on an island in the westerly part of the pond marks the boundary of these several towns.

The industrial interests of the town are, for the most part, agricultural, and in this respect the source of greatest income is from milk-producing. A car stands ready at the railroad station and takes about 800 gallons to Boston every morning, leaving at seven o'clock. The business of the car is owned by Tower, Whitcomb & Co., of Boston, and is conducted by Mr. Charles H. Porter, of Dunstable.

The village is very pleasantly located, with diverging roads centering near the store and post-office.

The store is kept by Mr. Owen Parkhurst, who has an assortment of such goods as are usually kept in a country store. He aims to please his customers in regard to price and quality of goods, and thus gives general satisfaction. The postmaster is Mr. Libni Parker. He has held the office for several years. It is conceded to him by general consent, regardless of political preferences. Mr. Parker is well acquainted with the duties of his office. Nearly opposite the store is the Congregational Church, of which Rev. Henry M. Perkins has been pastor for nearly five years. This church is enjoying a fair degree of prosperity. The edifice has recently been much improved and beautified. Rooms have been added to the vestry for religious and social purposes. Public worship in this church is regularly observed every Sabbath.

The only other religious society in active operation is the Universalist. At present the members of this parish worship in Parker's Hall. Services are frequently held.

Miss Clara P. Jewett is librarian of the growing and well-kept town library, which now contains 1800 volumes.

There are five school districts in the town. In view of the small number of scholars in two of these, it has for some years been deemed best to hold the schools in three districts. The town affords transportation for scholars from the smaller districts to the schools of the adjoining larger ones. Good common school advantages are thus afforded; yet it is hoped by some that the town will, at a future day, concentrate its educational work in one central graded school which will accommodate all its scholars.

At present William P. Proctor is town clerk, Arthur N. Hall treasurer, Daniel Swallow, Dexter Butterfield and George W. Chaney are selectmen, and Henry J. Tolles, Jonas C. Kendall and Martha A. Davis are School Committee.

Mr. James M. Swallow was elected in the fall of 1889 Representative to the General Court from the Thirty-first District. He was born April 14, 1821, is one of the largest land-holders of the town, and is one of the trustees of the City Savings Bank in Nashua, N. H.

Mention should not be omitted of our beautiful granite drinking fountain, conveniently located at the centre of the village. It is an ornament of which any town might justly be proud. This was the gift of Mr. Jonas H. French, of Boston, and was esti-

mated to cost over $1000. The ancestors of Mr. French were from Dunstable. The gift was granted on condition that the town should undertake the expense of bringing water. This condition was gladly accepted. The water is brought in iron pipes from Chaney's Hill, the distance of half a mile.

A general impression being thus gained of the town in its present condition, our thoughts may now be directed to such facts and circumstances as pertain to its early history and to the intervening years. Much of the information given in the following chapters is based upon the full and reliable "History of Dunstable," by Rev. Elias Nason, published in 1877.

CHAPTER LVI.

DUNSTABLE—(*Continued*).

ORIGIN AND EARLY SETTLEMENT—1643–1723.

SOME New England towns were founded immediately on the landing of the colonists, out of lands conferred on them by their charter. Others were made up by grants of land to an offshoot from the parent colony, whose enterprise prompted to the organization of a new town. Others owed their origin to grants of land which at different dates were made to individuals and corporations, for farms and other purposes, these grants being afterwards consolidated into townships. The town organization known as Dunstable affords an example of this last-mentioned class. It comprised some of the best portions of New England. The owners of these extensive farms were for the most part leading men in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay; and, having conferred together, they presented to the General Court a petition asking to be incorporated as a town, in order that as such they might be of greater service to the country. This petition was granted by the General Court on the 16th day of October, 1673.

Capt. Jonathan Danforth, of Billerica, a noted land surveyor, was appointed to make a plan of the new territory. He completed the survey in May, 1674, and thus described the boundaries:

"It lieth upon both sides of the Merrimack River, on the Nashaway River. It is bounded on the South by Chelmsford, by Groton line, partly by country land. The westerly line runs due north until you come to Souhegan River, to a hill called Dram Cup Hill, to a great pine near to ye said river at ye northwest corner of Charlestown School farm, bounded by Souhegan River on the North, and on the east side Merrimack it begins at a great stone which was supposed to be near the northeast corner of Mr. Brenton's land, and from thence it runs south-southeast six miles to a pine tree marked 'F,' standing within sight of Beaver Brook; thence it runs two degrees west of south four miles and a quarter, which reached to the south side of Henry Kimball's farm at Jeremie's Hill; thence from ye south-east angell of said farm, it runs two degrees and a quarter westward of the south, near to the head of Long Pond, which lieth at ye head of Edward Colburn's farm, and thus it is bounded by ye said pond and ye head of said Colburn's farm; taking in Capt. Scarlett's farm so as to close again, all which is sufficiently bounded and described.

"Dunstable, May, 1674."

This tract of land embraced about two hundred square miles, and included what are now the towns of Dunstable and Tyngsborough, and parts of the towns of Dracut, Groton, Pepperell and Townsend, Mass., together with the city of Nashua, the towns of Hollis, Hudson and sections of the towns of Brookline, Milford, Amherst, Merrimac, Londonderry, Litchfield and Pelham, N. H.

In no town of this Commonwealth were the lands taken up by more noted men, who, though not all actual settlers, still exercised a favorable influence on the new plantation. Among the grantes weree the brave Gov. John Endecott, who held the highest military office in the colony; and William Brenton, a noted fur-trader, and subsequently Governor of Rhode Island.

The new town is said to have received its name in compliment to Mrs. Mary, wife of the Hon. Edward Tyng, who emigrated from Dunstable, England, about 1630, and whose son, Jonathan, became possessor of a large tract of land in what is now the town of Tyngsborough. The old English town is pleasantly situated at the base of the Chiltern Hills, in Bedfordshire, eighteen miles south-southwest of Bedford, and ten miles east-northeast of the Boxmore Station of the London and Northwestern Railway. The name "Dunstable" is supposed by some to be derived from Dun, a notorious robber, who lived in the reign of Henry I.; by others, and more plausibly, it is traced to the words "dun," a hilly place, and "staple," a mart. The English town is celebrated for the manufacture of straw plat bonnets and hats. A certain kind of straw braid in Massachusetts also long bore the name of "Dunstable."

In the old English town the Norman kings had a palace, and it was in the same town that Archbishop Cranmer, in 1553, pronounced the sentence of divorce between Henry VIII. and Katharine of Aragon. The early parish register furnishes no record of the families which emigrated to America. The citizens of the younger Dunstable, however, fondly cherish the fact of their English ancestry; while the citizens of old Dunstable have expressed a kindly interest in its New England namesake.

In this early period dense forests covered nearly the whole of this region. The growth of timber consisted mostly of pine, oak, walnut, maple and birch. A few clearings had been made in which the Indians had planted maize, beans and squashes. The region was well watered by the Merrimac, the Nashua, the Souhegan and the Nissitisset Rivers, together with their numerous tributaries, and several large ponds frequented by fowl and abounding with fish. The beaver, otter, mink and muskrat were found. Sometimes bears and wolves ranged through the forests, and their peltries gave rich inducement to the adventures of the huntsman. In the fishing season the Indians were accustomed to meet near some waterfall, where they built their wigwams and performed their

savage rites. Occasionally a trading-post could be found, as that of Cromwell. The woodman's axe was sometimes heard resounding through the forest.

The name of the first white settler is not certainly known. Tradition claims that John Cromwell, from Boston, came to what is now Tyngsborough as early as 1665, for the purpose of trading with the Indians. These savages could not have been favorably impressed with the early white settlers, had their judgment rested wholly upon him as a representative. It is said, he used his foot as a pound-weight in buying peltries of the natives; but he was soon detected in the dishonest proceeding and came near forfeiting his life. A party of the Pennacook Indians whom he had thus defrauded came down the river to wreak their vengeance; hearing of their approach, he saved his life by flight.

It is probable some tracts of land were settled before this period; perhaps about the time the grant of land at Nanticook was made, in 1656, to William Brenton.

On the 1st day of July, 1657, Simon Willard, Thomas Henchman, Ensign Thomas Wheeler and William Brenton bought the exclusive right of trading with the Indians. The sum paid for this right was £25. Settlements were doubtless made soon afterwards. Some of the farmers signed the petition for incorporation in 1673.

Previous to the division of their land the proprietors wisely entered into a written agreement, by which every actual settler was to have a house-lot of ten acres, with an additional acre for every £20 of personal estate he might possess. None were to have a house-lot of more than thirty-acres; while the remainder of the common land was to be divided in proportion to the value of the respective house-lots. A thirty-acre house-lot entitled the holder to six hundred acres of the common land.

The intent of this arrangement is thus given in the compact: "Y^t we may live in love and peace together, we do agree, y^t whatever fence we do make, either about corn-fields, orchards, or gardens, shall be a sufficient four rail fence, or y^t which is equivalent, whether hedge, ditch, or stone-wall, or of loggs; and if any person sustain damage through the deficiency of their own fences not being according to order, he shall bear his own damage." This wise provision doubtless promoted good will among the early settlers.

Emigration set in rapidly to the new and hopeful town. Most of the settlements were begun along the pleasant margin of Salmon Brook, and near the right bank of the Merrimac River. The safety of the inhabitants was greatly promoted by the erection of a garrison-house.

The Indians had been greatly reduced by a plague which occurred several years before the arrival of the Pilgrims, and therefore found it for their advantage generally to avoid war with the early English settlers.

The Indians throughout this region were divided into four principal tribes.

These Indians dwelt in wigwams, wore the skins of animals, and subsisted on fish and game, of which there was a great abundance—Indian corn, beans and squashes were also leading articles of food, and were cultivated by the women, who used a clam shell for a hoe.

Their skin was copper-colored; their hair long, straight and black. Their feet were protected by *moccasin*, made of untanned deer-skin. Their currency consisted of shells called *wampum*. Their weapons were the tomahawk, the bow and arrow and the scalping-knife.

Their language was rough and guttural, a few words, such as "Nashua" and "Miantonimo," being excepted. They had some vague notion of a Supreme Power, and recognized the sacredness of a just agreement.

Such, in brief, was the condition and character of those untutored beings with whom the early white, settlers were called to deal. The great chief Passaconaway figured among the Indians of that age. He is mentioned by Gov. John Winthrop as early as 1632. In 1644 he submitted himself with his people to the government of Massachusetts.

Rev. John Eliot, noted as a missionary, began labors among the Indians at Nonatum (now Newton) in 1646, and soon afterward went to Concord and Wamesit. On his second visit to the latter place, which occurred in 1648, he met a large company of the natives, who had come to fish at the falls in the Concord and Merrimac Rivers, and he improved the opportunity to make known some of the teachings of the Christian religion. For his text he took Malachi 1: 11, with slight modifications, as follows; "From the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, thy name shall be great among the Indians; and in every place prayers shall be made to thy name,—pure prayers; for thy name shall be great among the Indians." Passaconaway, who would not listen to Mr. Eliot on his first visit, now came forward and expressed his determination to pray to God and to persuade his sons to do the same.

This chief, who was a pow-wow or sorcerer, and was believed by the natives to be able to "make water burn, rocks move and trees dance," desired Mr. Eliot, the ensuing year, to come and reside with his people and be their teacher. Although the missionary could not accede to this request, he continued his annual visits to the Pawtuckets, and here established what was called his fifth "praying-town" of the Indians. Passaconaway lived to an advanced age, and continued to the last a faithful friend of the English. Some time previous to his death he said to his children and friends:

"I am now going the way of all flesh, or am ready to die, and I am not likely to see you meet together any more. I will now have this word of counsel with

you, that you may take heed how you quarrel with the English; for though you may do them much mischief, yet assuredly you will all be destroyed and rooted off the earth if you do; for I was as much an enemy to the English, at their first coming into these parts, as any one whatsoever, and did try all ways and means possible to have them destroyed, at least to have prevented them settling down here, but I could no way effect it; therefore I advise you never to contend with the English, nor make war with them."

Mr. Whittier thus writes of the black arts practiced by Passaconaway:

"For that chief had magic skill,
And a Panisee's dark will
Over powers of good and ill,—
Powers which bless and powers which ban.
Wizzard Lord of Pennacook!
Chiefs upon their war-paths shook
When they met the steady look
Of that wise, dark man."

These Indians were for the most part friendly to the whites, yet they were not much inclined to Christianity, and Mr. Eliot never succeeded is establishing a church among them. His labors resulted, however, in some civilizing influences, and among his converts were not only the chief, Passaconaway, but his son Wannalancet, who succeeded to the rule of the tribe on the death of his father.

In May, 1674, Mr. Eliot visited Wamesit, and preached on the parable of the virgin (Matt. 12: 1–14), in the house of Wannalancet, who soon after made this declaration:

"Sirs, you have been pleased for years past, in your abundant love, to apply yourselves particularly unto me and my people to exhort, press and persuade us to pray to God. I am very thankfull to you for your pains. I must acknowledge I have all my days been used to pass in an old canoe, and now you exhort me to change and leave my old canoe and embark in a new one, to which I have hitbertoo been unwilling, but now I yield up myself to your advice and enter into a new canoe, and do engage to pray to God hereafter."

Wamesit at this time contained about 250 and fifty men, beside women and children. Only a few buildings had been erected when the little band of farmers received the startling intelligence that their colony was threatened by the savages.

Philip, of Pokanoket, in alliance with other sachems of New England, commenced hostilities in the spring of 1675. Town after town was laid in ruins by the savage foe. In view of the great number of Indians and their acquaintance with the territory, it seems remarkable that any town should have escaped destruction.

Dunstable, an outlying frontier, was peculiarly exposed. The feeling of insecurity became so great that the inhabitants, abandoning their little fort, the meeting-house they were then erecting and their dwelling-houses, sought protection in the towns of Chelmsford, Concord, Billerica and Boston.

There was one, however, who stood bravely at his post through the whole war, and therefore is justly entitled to the honor of being the first permanent settler of the town of Dunstable. It was the Hon. Jonathan Tyng, who was born December 15, 1642. Mr. Tyng's house stood on the right bank of the Merrimac River, nearly opposite Wicasuck Island, and about one mile below the central village of Tyngsborough. Fortifying his abode as best he could, and sending to Boston for supplies, this brave pioneer stood alone as an outpost between the enemy and the settlements below.

After destroying as many as thirteen towns and six hundred colonists, the crafty Philip was shot at Mount Hope, R. I., Aug. 12, 1676, and the war was soon brought to a close.

The deserted homes and farms in the wilderness were soon reoccupied after the close of the war. And the various apartments of an organized community were made effective. The selectmen were invested with more power than at the present day. The work of selecting a minister at £50 per annum was intrusted to them, this salary to be paid in money, or if otherwise, one-third more was to be added thereto. John Sollendine, a carpenter, was engaged to complete the unfinished meeting-house, which was probably a small building constructed of logs and supposed to have stood on the river road, a short distance from the present northern line of Tyngsborough, and not far from Salmon Brook. It was finished in 1678, but there is no account of any dedication. The Rev. Thomas Weld was the first minister. He graduated at Harvard College in 1671, and commenced preaching in Dunstable as early as May, 1679. He married a daughter of the Rev. John Wilson, of Medfield, and built a house on the ministerial lot. This consisted of thirty acres, and entitled the occupant to the use of six hundred acres of the undivided territory.

The first birth mentioned on the town records, and this under the caption, "Lambs born in Dunstable," is that of William, son of Jonathan and Sarah Tyng, born April 22, 1679. The first marriage is that of John Sollendine, Aug. 2, 1680.

Previous to the formation of the church a road was laid out from the meeting-house to Groton Centre, probably on the old Indian trail, as far as Massapoag Pond, at least; and in 1687 the town was assessed £1 12*s.* 3*d.* to aid in building what was long called "the Great Bridge," over the Concord River, near "the Fordway," in Billerica, this being then on the main route of travel to Boston. At a town-meeting held on the 21st of May, of the following year, Samuel Gould was chosen "dog whipper" for the meeting-house—an office then very needful, since the country was infested with wild animals as well as Indians, and as a means of protection the settler used to take his dog and gun with him to church. The *Bay Psalm Book* was at this time the manual of song. The words of the Psalm as

"O, all yee servants of the Lord,
Behold the Lord bless yee;

Yee who within Jehovah's house
I' the night time standing bee,"

were "lined out" by one of the deacons, and sung to some such tune as "Hackney" or "York tune," by the congregation standing.

The great English Revolution came on in 1688, the house of Stuart fell, a contest between France and England, known in history as "King William's War," resulted. The French Jesuits instigated many Indians to set out upon the war-path. Along the frontier many ravages were committed.

An attack on Dunstable was intended, but was averted through seasonable information given by two friendly Indians to Major Thomas Henchman, then commander of the little garrison at Pawtucket Falls. Two companies were promptly sent to scour the country from Lancaster to Dunstable. The danger to which the few settlers in this frontier plantation were then exposed, and the sufferings they experienced, may be inferred from the following petition in vol. cvii., p. 230, of the "Massachusetts Archives":

"DUNSTABLE, y° July 23, 1689.

"To the Honorable Gouenor and Councill & Company of Representatives now assembled at Boston:—The petition of the Inhabitants of Dunstable humbly sheweth that wee are much obliged to your Honors for your last supply of Men, notwithstanding finding ourselves still weak and unable both to keep our Garrisons and to send men out to get hay for our Cattle, without doeing which we cannot subsist; wee doe therefore humbly Intreat your Honours to send and Supply us with twenty footmen for the Space of a month to scout about the towne while we get our hay; and the towne being very bare of provisions, by reason of billeting souldiers all the last winter, we doe, therefore, intreat your Honours to send a supply of meat, for bread we can supply, and without this help we cannot subsist, but must be forced to draw of and leave the towne. Hoping your Honours will consider us in this request, wee Remaine your servants ever to pray for you. Subscribed by the select Men in the name of the towne.

"JOHN BLANCHARD,
JOHN LOVEWELL,
ROBT. PARRIS,
CHRISTOPHER REED,
SAMUEL WHITING."

Four Indian spies were seen lurking around one of the garrisons at Dunstable about the time of the massacre at Dover, yet, through the promptitude of Major Henchman, Jonathan Tyng, Sergeant Varnum and others, no attack was then made on the town.

The foe again appeared on the morning of the 28th of the same month, and murdered two more of the people, one of whom, Obadiah Perry, as we have said, had been allowed to hire a house in Billerica during King Philip's War.

Brave and hardy as the original settlers were, such was their exposed situation, and such the havoc of the Indians in other places, that by the year 1696 nearly two-thirds of them had abandoned the town, and on this account the State made an abatement of £50 to the town for such as had deserted it. The same reason led to a grant of £30 by the State to help the town support the minister.

In April, 1697, the noted heroine, Mrs. Hannah Duston, passed through the town in a canoe, and was kindly entertained by Col. Jonathan Tyng. She was on her way to Boston from Contoocook, N. H., where she had, with Mary Neff and a boy, taken the scalps of ten Indians.

The first grist-mill in town was owned by Samuel Adams, and was established at "The Gulf," at Massapoag Pond, before July, 1689, as may be seen from the following petition for men to defend it:

"July y° 31, 1689. The humble petission of the towne of Dunstable, To the honerable gouernor & Councill & Company of the Representatives now assembled; in behalf of Samuell Addams, owner of a Corn mill, without the use of which mill the Towne Cannot Subsist, And therefore we doe intreat your honers to allow such a number of men as may be able to secure it. And so we remain your humble devotes ever to pray. By the selectmen in the name of the towne, John blanchard, John Lovevell, Christopher Reed, Samuel Whiting, Robert Parris."

In point of population, Dunstable was at this time the smallest town in the Province. The persevering efforts of Major Jonathan Tyng, Lieut. Samuel French, John Lovewell, Samuel Whiting, and the Rev. Mr. Weld prevented it from being again abandoned.

In 1702 the town was called to deplore the loss of its honored pastor, the Rev. Thomas Weld, who died on the 9th day of June, and was buried in the old cemetery near his church.

King William's War, closed by the treaty of Ryswick in 1698, was followed by a brief interval of peace. What was called "Queen Anne's War" commenced in 1702, and continued ten years, involving the colonists in many conflicts with the Indians, who, as usual, took part with the French.

Various settlements along the northeastern frontier were assaulted by the French and Indians during the month of August, 1703. More than two hundred people were at that time either killed or led into captivity. To guard against these acts of violence, the government offered a reward of £40 for every Indian scalp brought in.

On the 3d of November, 1704, the General Court ordered the sum of £24 for building four block houses on the Merrimac River, "one in Billerica, two in Chelmsford, and one in Dunstable."

On the night of the 3d of July, 1706, a party of two hundred and seventy Mohawk Indians suddenly assaulted a garrison-house, in which Capt. Pearson and twenty of his "troopers" had been posted. The company was taken by surprise, for the door had been left open. Mr. Cummings and his wife, it is said, had gone out at the close of the day, for milking, when the Indians shot Mrs. Cummings, the wound proving fatal. Mr. Cummings was wounded, and taken captive. Rushing into the house, they found the armed men. The amazement of the Indians and soldiers was mutual. A bloody conflict ensued, during which several of Capt. Pearson's men were either killed or wounded. The Indians withdrawing, set fire to the

house of Daniel Galusha, living on Salmon Brook. One woman was killed, and another escaped from the flames by loosening the stones around a small window. A party of these Indians, on the same fatal day, entered the garrison-house of Nathaniel Blanchard, and murdered himself, his wife Lydia, his daughter Susannah, and also Mrs. Hannah Blanchard.

The Rev. John Pike, of Dover, wrote in his journals: "The whole number said to have been slain in Dunstable at this time was nine persons."

The noted Joe English was shot by the enemy near Holden's Brook on the 27th of July, 1706. He and another soldier were acting as a guard to Capt. Butterfield and his wife, who were passing through what is now Tyngsborough. The Indians shot the horse on which these people were riding, and then taking Mrs. Butterfield captive, while her husband escaped, pursued Joe English, firing upon him until he fell, wounded and exhausted, into their merciless hands. He well knew the exquisite torture to which they would subject him, and so provoked them with some taunting words that they immediately dispatched him with their tomahawks. His widow and two children received a grant of money from the government because "he died in the service of his country." He was brave, intelligent, and always faithful to the English people. His grandfather was Masconnomet, Sagamore of Agawam (now Ipswich).

In the year 1711 there were seven fortified houses in Dunstable, and they were named as follows:—Col. Jonathan Tyng's, Mr. Henry Farwell's, Mr. John Cummings', Col. Samuel Whiting's, Mr. Thomas Lund's, Queen's Garrison and Mr. John Sollendine's. Thirteen families, seven males, nineteen soldiers, total of eighty-six people.

The people, reduced to so small a number, lived in constant dread of the lurking foe. Their time was mostly spent in the garrisons, and but little improvement was made in the aspect of the town. They wore plain garments of their own making; their fare was very frugal, and their opportunities for mental cultivation very limited. As they ventured forth to labor in the fields they found the loaded musket a necessary accompaniment. Their crops were slender and they were very destitute of the common supplies of life. Had not fish, game and berries been abundant they would have been compelled to leave the lands which had been granted to them and to return into the older settlements.

Peace was at length secured by the treaty of Utrecht, April 11, 1713; the doors of the garrisons at Dunstable were opened, and the hope of returning prosperity began to cheer and animate the people. The town increased in numbers. Some of the large tracts of land, originally granted, were sold in sections for the accommodation of small farmers, and other inducements were held forth for an incoming population.

At the time of the death of Rev. Mr. Weld the town was so reduced in respect to population as to be unable then to settle another minister. In a petition to the General Court March 8, 1703–4, it is said that the inhabitants "can never hear a sermon without traveling more than twelve miles from their principal post." In answer to this petition the Court granted £20 towards the support of the ministry.

The Rev. Samuel Hunt, the Rev. Samuel Parris, the Rev. Amos Cheever, the Rev. John Pierpont and the Rev. Enoch Coffin preached successively. Thus one minister after another supplied the pulpit at Dunstable until Aug. 20, 1720, when the town gave a call to the Rev. Nathaniel Prentice (H. C., 1714) to settle in the ministry, with the same salary before offered to Mr. Coffin, and a settlement of £100.

CHAPTER LVII.

DUNSTABLE—(*Continued*).

Continued Attacks from the Indians—Growth of the Town—Church and School Affairs—1723–1768.

THE frontier settlements of Maine and New Hampshire became subject to frequent depredations from the Indians, who were instigated by Sebastian Rale, the celebrated Jesuit. His headquarters were at Norridgewock. Lieut. Jabez Fairbanks, with a company having in it several men from Dunstable, spent the early part of the year 1724 in searching for the enemy on Nashua River and adjoining localities.

On the 4th of September some French and Mohawk Indians came to Dunstable and carried captive Nathan Cross and Thomas Blanchard. These men were getting turpentine in the pine forest along the northerly margin of the Nashua River. A party of ten men or more, commanded by Lieut. Ebenezer French, at once proceeded in their pursuit. One of the number, Josiah Farwell, warned the leader to beware of falling into an ambuscade; but he, too venturesome, replied, "I am going to take the direct path. If any of you are not afraid, follow me!"

They followed him, and on reaching what is now Thornton's Ferry, on the Merrimac River, they were waylaid, fired upon by the treacherous foe, and all the party, excepting Mr. Farwell, who had concealed himself in some bushes, were either at once killed or taken captives.

The bodies of eight of those killed were recovered, and buried in one grave. The names of seven are given in the Boston *News Letter* as follows:—"Lieut. Ebenezer French, Thomas Lund, Oliver Farwell and Ebenezer Cummings, of Dunstable; Daniel Baldwin and John Burbank, of Woburn; and Mr. Johnson, of Plainfield." The name of the other man was Benjamin Carter. Four rude headstones in the old ceme-

tery at Little's Station, not far north of the State line, commemorate the sad event.

Instigated by these acts of Indian barbarity, it was thought best to carry on the war more vigorously. Bounties for scalps were again offered by the government and volunteer companies were formed.

Favored by a grant from the Assembly, Lovewell raised a company of thirty men. When commissioned captain, he started with his followers on an expedition into the wilderness. On the 10th of November his lieutenant, Josiah Farwell, received at Haverhill "four hundred and eighty-seven pounds and one-half of good bread" for the use of soldiers, and on the 19th of December they fell upon an Indian trail about forty-four miles above "Winnepisockee Pond." Coming to a wigwam they killed and scalped an Indian and took a boy about fifteen years old captive. They returned to Boston with these trophies, and it is recorded by the *News Letter* of January 7, 1725, that "the lieutenant-governor and council were pleased to give them £50 over and above £150 allowed them by law."

The intrepid Lovewell, thus encouraged, soon raised another volunteer company of eighty-eight men, among whom were his brother, Zaccheus Lovewell, Thomas Colburn, Peter Powers, Josiah Cummings, Henry Farwell, William Ayers, Samuel Fletcher and others, of Dunstable, and on the 30th of January, 1724–25, set forth on a second expedition against the Indians.

In this journey he came up with the enemy near a pond at the head of one of the branches of Salmon Falls River, now in the town of Wakefield, N. H. He killed the whole party, ten in all, then returned to Boston with the scalps stretched on poles, and there claimed the bounty. Penhallow mentions this incident of the march: "Our men were well entertained with moose, bear and deer, together with salmon trout, some of which were three feet long and weighed twelve pounds apiece."

On the 15th day of April, 1725, Lovewell, with a band of forty-seven men, left Dunstable with the design of attacking the Pequakets, under the noted Sachem Paugus, whose headquarters were in a beautiful valley on the Saco River, in what is now the town of Fryeburg, Maine. The distance was more than two hundred miles, and the country to be traversed a dreary wilderness, with occasionally an Indian trail or the track of some wild beast.

Such an adventure demanded men accustomed to hardship, fearless of peril, and such were Lovewell and his comrades.

After marching some distance, Toby, a Mohawk Indian, becoming lame, was obliged to return to the plantation. On reaching Contoocook, William Cummings, of Dunstable, being disabled by a wound previously received from the Indians, was sent back in charge of one of his kinsmen.

When the company reached the westerly shore of the Great Ossipee Lake, Benjamin Kidder, being unable to proceed farther, was left under the care of the surgeon, Dr. William Ayer, of Haverhill. Captain Lovewell here erected a stockade, and detailed eight soldiers to remain as a reserve.

Hastening forward with the rest of his company for about twenty miles, the heroic captain arrived, on the eve of the 7th of May, at the northwesterly margin of a beautiful sheet of water, about two miles long and half a mile wide, since known as Lovewell's Pond, and encamped for the night. The enemy had not yet been observed, and nothing but some confused noises in the distance, possibly the howling of wolves, caused any alarm; but while engaged in their devotions about eight o'clock on the following morning, they were startled by the report of a musket, which proceeded from the opposite shore of the pond. They then observed an Indian at the distance of about a mile, standing on a point of land extending into the lake, and supposing that he was acting as a decoy to draw them into danger, held a consultation as to the best course to be pursued.

The young chaplain, Jonathan Frye, of Andover, said, "We came out to meet the enemy, we have all along prayed God that we might find them, and we had rather trust Providence with our lives—yea, die for our country—than try to return without seeing them, if we may, and be called cowards for our pains."

Moved by this request, Capt. Lovewell ordered his men to go cautiously forward. Soon reaching a smooth plain, the men divested themselves of their packs, which they piled up together, under the impression that the main body of the enemy was in front of them. Having then gone through the forest, for about a mile, they came suddenly upon the Indian hunter whom they had before seen standing on the point of land across the lake. He was leisurely returning to his people with a couple of muskets and a brace of ducks upon his shoulder. Several guns were instantly fired at him, when, replying, he seriously wounded Capt. Lovewell and Mr. Samuel Whiting with beaver shot. Ensign Seth Wyman then firing, killed the Indian.

The company then turned back, and moved with their wounded leader towards the spot where they had left their packs. But in the mean time Paugus, at the head of about eighty warriors, on their return from an expedition down the Saco River, discovered the pile of packs, and judging from the number that the English force was much less than his own, determined to engage in battle. He, therefore, placed his men in ambush and awaited the arrival of his foe. When Lovewell's company came up for their packs the Indians rushed suddenly from their hiding-places, three or four deep, with their guns presented as if supposing their very numbers would move the English to surrender; but they were disappointed. Fearlessly did Lovewell's men advance upon the Indians

till within a short distance, when the combatants on both sides opened a deadly fire. The war-whoop mingled with the roar of musketry was appalling. Capt. Lovewell, with eight of his heroic company, was soon left dead upon the field. Three of his men were seriously wounded.

Having met with such a fearful loss and being almost defeated by the enemy, the English, commanded by Ensign Seth Wyman, withdrew to the pond, which served to protect them in the rear, while on their right an unfordable stream, and on their left a rocky point in part defended them. Their front was also covered with a deep morass. In this admirable position they bravely defended themselves against superior numbers for the remainder of the day. About three o'clock in the afternoon the gallant Chaplain Frye was seriously wounded. The Indians, by their yelling and horrid grimaces, rendered the fight more terrible. At one time they held up ropes, inviting the English to surrender. They, however, pointed to the muzzles of their muskets, signified their resolve to fight to the bitter end rather than be taken captive.

During the engagement Paugus, the long-dreaded chief of the Pequakets, fell, and probably, as the ancient ballad states, by a shot from Ensign Wyman, though there is a tradition that the exploit was due to John Chamberlain, of Groton.

Paugus and Wyman were standing near each other and loading their pieces on the margin of the lake, when it is said that Paugus, in the act of forcing down his ball, cried out to Wyman, "Me kill you quick!" To whom the latter answered, "Maybe not!" and his gun, priming itself, gave him the advantage of a little time, thus enabling him by a well-directed shot to lay the sachem prostrate and mortally wounded.

Either from the loss of men or want of ammunition, the Indians withdrew from the contest a little after sunset, removing most of their dead and all of their wounded from the field.

Soon afterwards the survivors in Lovewell's band, now destitute of powder and provisions, resolved to leave the fatal spot and return, if possible, to the stockade fort on Lake Ossipee. But some of them were suffering from loss of blood and could not proceed on the journey. Jacob Farrar was just expiring near the pond. Lieutenant Jonathan Robbins, unable to go, desired that his gun might be loaded and placed beside him. "For," said he, "the Indians will come in the morning to scalp me, and I'll kill one more of them, if I can!" Robert Usher, also of Dunstable, was too much exhausted to be removed. Regretfully leaving these three dying comrades, the rest of the men, of whom eleven had been wounded, started for the fort, a distance of more than twenty miles. Having traveled about a mile and a half, Chaplain Frye, Lieutenant Josiah Farwell, Eleazer Davis and Josiah Jones gave their free consent to be left on the way, hoping that aid might be sent back to them, but the two former perished in the wilderness. Chaplain Frye, after traveling some distance, sank under his wounds, telling his companions that he was dying and at the same time "charging Davis," says Mr. Symmes, "if it should please God to bring him home, to go to his father, and tell him that he expected in a few hours to be in eternity, and that he was not afraid to die." Lieutenant Farwell died of exhaustion on the eleventh day after the fight. Davis, who was wounded in the body and had one thumb shot off, reached Berwick in a deplorable condition on the 27th of May; and Jones came in at Saco, after wandering, with a severe wound, fourteen days in the wilderness. On reaching the fort, faint and hungry, the little band under Lieutenant Wyman had the grief to find the place abandoned. At the beginning of the fight Benjamin Hasseli, thinking all to be lost, had fled, and on reaching the fort had so intimidated the occupants that they all deserted it and made their way back, arriving on the 11th of May at Dunstable. Ensign Wyman returned home with his men on the 15th of May. On the 17th of the same month Colonel Eleazer Tyng, with a company of eighty-seven men, went to the scene of conflict, and there found and buried the bodies of Captain John Lovewell, Ensign Jonathan Robbins, Ensign John Harwood, Robert Usher, Sergt. Jacob Fullam, Jacob Farrar, Josiah Davis, Thomas Woods, Daniel Woods, John Jefts, Ichabod Johnson and Jonathan Kittridge. He also dug up and identified the body of the great warrior, Paugus.

Dr. Jeremy Belknap once visited the scene of the battle, and discovered the names of the fallen heroes, which Colonel Tyng had inscribed upon the trees.

For the defence of Dunstable during the absence of Col. Tyng, Col. Flagg was ordered to detach a number of men from his regiment.

Capt. Lovewell was the son of John Lovewell, and was born in Dunstable Oct. 14, 1691. His lands and meadows, in all about two hundred acres, and the buildings thereon, together with the half part of a saw-mill, were estimated at £420. In answer to a petition of Hannah Lovewell, to the General Court, June 8, 1726, "it was resolved that fifty pounds be paid to Capt. Henry Farwell and Col. E. Tyng, with which to discharge the claims against the estate of the late Capt. Lovewell." Fifteen hundred pounds were granted to the widows and children of the deceased soldiers, and in consideration of the services of Capt. Lovewell and his brave comrades, the General Court also granted to them and to the legal representatives of such as had deceased, "a township of six miles square, lying on both sides of Merrimack River." It is now the town of Pembroke, N. H.

The powder-horn which the hero of Pequawket used in the fight is still preserved by one of his descendants.

Capt. Lovewell was brave and adventurous. He

died with his gun loaded and pointed toward the foe. His life was not sacrificed in vain. The battle at Pequawket closed the war and insured safety. A treaty of peace was soon made with the different Indian tribes, and the Pequawkets, led by Adeawanda, removed to Canada.

The story of Lovewell's exploits was heard in every dwelling. The following ballad, said by John Farmer to have been written soon after the tragic event occurred, embodies the chief incidents of the battle. It is to be regretted that neither the name of the author nor the music to which the words were adapted, has been preserved. The ballad was for a long period the most popular song in the colonies.

THE BALLAD OF CAPT. JOHN LOVEWELL'S FIGHT AT PEQUAWKET.

I.

Of worthy Captain Lovewell I purpose now to sing,
How valiantly he served his country and his king;
He and his valiant soldiers did range the woods full wide,
And hardships they endured to quell the Indian's pride.

II.

'Twas nigh unto Pigwacket, on the eighth day of May,
They spied a rebel Indian, soon after break of day.
He on a bank was walking, upon a neck of land
Which leads into a pond, as we're made to understand.

III.

Our men resolved to have him, and travelled two miles round,
Until they met the Indian, who boldly stood his ground.
Then speaks up Capt. Lovewell, "Take you good heed," says he,
"This rogue is to decoy us, I very plainly see.

IV.

"The Indians lie in ambush, in some place nigh at hand,
In order to surround us upon this neck of land;
Therefore we'll march in order, and each man leave his pack,
That we may briskly fight them, when they shall us attack."

V.

They come unto the Indian who did them thus defy;
As soon as they come nigh him, two guns he did let fly,
Which wounded Capt. Lovewell and likewise one man more;
But when this rogue was running, they laid him in his gore.

VI.

Then, having scalped the Indian, they went back to the spot
Where they had laid their packs down, but there they found them not;
For the Indians, having spied them when they them down did lay,
Did seize them for their plunder, and carry them away.

VII.

These rebels lay in ambush, this very place near by,
So that an English soldier did one of them espy,
And cried out, "Here's an Indian!" With that they started out
As fiercely as old lions, and hideously did shout.

VIII.

With that our valiant English all gave a loud huzza,
To show the rebel Indians they feared them not a straw.
So now the fight began as fiercely as could be,
The Indians ran up to them, but soon were forced to flee.

IX.

Then spake up Captain Lovewell, when first the fight began,
"Fight on, my valiant heroes, you see they fall like rain!"
For, as we are informed, the Indians were so thick,
A man could scarcely fire a gun, and not some of them hit.

X.

Then did the rebels try their best our soldiers to surround,
But they could not accomplish it, because there was a pond,
To which our men retreated and covered all the rear.
The rogues were forced to flee them, although they skulked for fear.

XI.

Two logs that were behind them so close together lay,
Without being discovered they could not get away;
Therefore, our valiant English, they travelled in a row,
And at a handsome distance, as they were wont to go.

XII.

'Twas ten o'clock in the morning when first the fight begun,
And fiercely did continue till the setting of the sun,
Excepting that the Indians, some hours before 'twas night,
Drew off into the bushes and ceased awhile to fight.

XIII.

But soon again returned, in fierce and furious mood,
Shouting as in the morning, but yet not half so loud;
For, as we are informed, so thick and fast they fell,
Scarce twenty of their number at night did get home well.

XIV.

And that our valiant English till midnight there did stay,
To see whether the rebels would have another fray;
But they no more returning, they made off to their home,
And brought away their wounded as far as they could come.

XV.

Of all our valiant English there were but thirty-four,
And of the rebel Indians there were about four-score.
And sixteen of our English did safely home return;
The rest were killed and wounded, for which we all must mourn.

XVI.

Our worthy Captain Lovewell among them then did die;
They killed Lieutenant Robbins and wounded good young Frye,
Who was our English Chaplain; he many Indians slew,
And some of them he scalped, when bullets round him flew.

XVII.

Young Fullam, too, I'll mention, because he fought so well;
Endeavoring to save a man, a sacrifice he fell.
And yet our valiant Englishmen in fight were ne'er dismayed,
But still they kept their motion, and Wyman captain made,—

XVIII.

Who shot the old chief Paugus, which did the foe defeat,
Then set his men in order and brought off the retreat;
And, braving many dangers and hardships by the way,
They safe arrived at Dunstable the thirteenth day of May.

On the return of peace many families came to secure homesteads in a region so well stored with timber and so rich in pasturage. Roads were laid out to the distant settlements, fences were constructed and orchards planted. The church was the leading institution. The meeting-house afforded the people a rallying-point; but it was soon found inconvenient for those living in the remote parts of the town to assemble at the appointed place, and for this reason efforts were early made for a division of the territory. An area of two hundred square miles was too great for the practical purposes of a church, and so there was but little opposition against setting off "certain sections for the better accommodation of certain people."

On the 4th of January, 1732–33, certain families, bearing the names of Blodgett, Cummings, Cross, Colburn, Greeley, Hill, Lovewell, Marsh, Merrill, Pollard and Winn, who had commenced a settlement on the easterly side of the Merrimac River as early

as 1712, finding it inconvenient to attend church across the river, were incorporated into a town by the name of Nottingham. This town came into New Hampshire by the divisional line in 1741, and the name is now changed to Hudson.

In 1733 it was voted that the new meeting-house should be erected four rods west of where the old church was standing, but against this vote a number, living in the southerly part of the town, protested. A committee of three was chosen to determine a site for the new meeting-house.

The town derived considerable revenue from the preparation of pitch and turpentine, of which the primeval forests of pine furnished large quantities.

The excision of a part of the town of Dunstable to form Nottingham was followed by a still greater one in 1734, when the wide tract called *Nanticook* was incorporated under the name of Litchfield. Subsequently the section of the town west of the Merrimac River was incorporated under the name of Rumford; this was changed to Merrimac, the present name.

The number of families in Dunstable in 1730 was about fifty. The sum of £90 was raised for the salary of Mr. Prentice. A small sum was also raised for the support of a "writing school." Mr. Prentice, who was a good preacher, died February 27, 1737. He was much beloved by his people.

The Rev. Josiah Swan was ordained over the church December 27, 1738, and about this time a new church edifice was dedicated. Mr. Swan continued to preach in the new church until some time in 1746, when he resigned his pastorate. He afterwards became a noted school-teacher in Lancaster.

The westerly part of Dunstable, called by the Indians *Nissitisset*, was incorporated with the title of "The West Parish of Dunstable," which afterwards became the town of Hollis. The town of Dunstable was thus gradually reduced in size until 1741, when, by the running of the divisional line between the States of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, the above-mentioned towns, together with the territory which has since become the city of Nashua, were set off to the former State, leaving Dunstable proper, which then included Tyngsborough, in the State of Massachusetts.

During the month of February, 1741, Richard Hazen surveyed and established the line between the Provinces of New Hampshire and Massachusetts. About two-thirds of the inhabitants of the old parish were thus brought into this State. It is probable that town officers were that year elected in Dunstable, Mass.; but the first few pages of the earliest book of records are unfortunately gone, and it is not possible to know who were the public officers of that and the following year.

On the 8th of February, 1743, Eleazer Tyng, Joseph Eaton and Jonathan Taylor petitioned the General Court for permission to choose town officers, since the preceding selectmen had neglected to issue a warrant for that purpose. The petition was granted, and the first recorded town-meeting was held in the house of Ebenezer Kendall, March 5, 1743.

At another meeting held about this time at the house of Simon Thompson, it was voted that three men be appointed to assist the town clerk in recording the town votes. Some specimens of spelling on the archives of the town indicate there was ample need of such aid. When, however, the work and exposure of those early settlers is considered, it can be easily seen how small a margin of time could be left for consulting the dictionary. The church was then the principal school, the minister the instructor, and these were steadily supported, as the next record in the old stained folio testifies:

"March y^e^ 28, 1744, voted y^t^ Twenty Pounds in Lawful money shall be Raised & assessed to Suporte y^e^ gospel among us." Eleazer Tyng, Esq., John French, and Ebenezer Kendall were then chosen "to treate with the Reverend Mr. Swan, & to see if any Thing was due to him from y^e^ Town of Dunstabell before y^e^ Line was Run between y^e^ said Province."

In November, 1746, the town "voted to raise 8 pounds lawful money to pay for preach the current year;" but who was the recipient of such a salary for proclaiming the gospel in "Decon Taylor's Hous" the records do not indicate.

About this time the "vexed question" of erecting a meeting-house arose, and continued for several years to agitate the people. The town extended from Dracut on the east, some ten miles to Groton on the west. The families, numbering fifty-four, were pretty evenly settled over the whole surface. A new church had been erected in 1738, on the New Hampshire side of the line, and was partly owned by the people on this side of it. Some preferred to worship there. Others were in favor of buying the edifice and removing it to their own town. Among this class again there were differences of opinion. Some desired to locate it in the geographical centre, while others preferred the centre of population; still another party thought it best to erect a new building and choose a committee from some neighboring town, who should select the location. The Rev. Joseph Emerson, in his sermon at the dedication of the second meeting-house in Pepperell, doubtless had reference to the state of things in Dunstable when he said, "It hath been observed that some of the hottest contentions in this land hath been about settling of ministers and building meeting-houses, and what is the reason? The Devil is a great enemy to settling ministers and building meeting-houses; wherefore he sets on his own children to work and make difficulties, and to the utmost of his power stirs up the corruptions of the children of God in some way to oppose or obstruct so good a work."

A map of the town made by Joseph Blanchard, and dated Oct. 17, 1748, was brought before the General

Court, in order to show the centre of land, and also of population to that body, and the fitting place for the location of the church. On this plan the farms of Col. Tyng and Mr. John Tyng embrace an area six miles and fifty-six rods in length, and one mile wide. Mr. Jeremiah Colburn's house is designated as in the northeast, and Mr. Robbins' house in the northwest angle of the town.

For the purpose of building the meeting-house, the town voted to raise £100, lawful money, and also, Nov. 15th, "to build y^e^ said house 46 feet long, 36 feet wide, and 21 feet studes."

On the 27th of December, 1748, the town voted "to Raise thirty Pounds, old Tenor, for the Suporte of a school." This is the first mention of any action regarding a school on the records.

This was probably what was called a moving-school, that is, a school taught by the same person successively in various houses. The reading-books then used were the "New England Primer," with its plain cuts of Adam and Eve, Jonah and the whale, and simple rhymes, such as

"The idle fool
Is whipt at school,"

the Psalter and the New Testament. The birchen twig was freely applied to offenders, and the Assembly's Catechism often repeated. The spiritual good of such mental exercise was, perhaps, in some cases, lessened by frequent association with the aforesaid twig.

The Court declared, June 26th, that the people of Nottingham and Joint Grass had forfeited the benefit of being incorporated with Dunstable, and that "the meeting-house should be erected on the east side of the road from Capt. Cummings' to Simon Thompson's house, where the timber lies for it." The Joint Grass families at this time were those of John Swallow, Joseph Spaulding, Jr., Timothy Read, Joseph Fletcher, Benjamin Robbins, John Spaulding and Samuel Cummings. In July following, the Nottingham and Joint Grass people, being dissatisfied with the place fixed upon for the church, petitioned the Court that they might be annexed to Dunstable, that they might thus vote on the question.

People at this time were very much troubled by wolves. Occasionally bears and catamounts were seen. It is related that one evening, while Deacon Joseph Fletcher, who owned a tract of six hundred acres in the Joint Grass District, was absent at the mill, his wife, Elizabeth, hearing something like the screaming of a child, went to the door, and saw the eyes of a catamount glaring at her from a tree. She fastened the door upon her visitor; yet thinking he might gain an entrance through a window, she crept into a barrel, and in that constrained position spent the night.

The town voted, in 1749, to pay 12*s.* 6*d.* to any person from Dunstable, Groton, Littleton, Westford, Lunenburg, Harvard or Hollis, on condition that these towns should do the same, "that shall kill any Grone Wolf within one year, within the bounds of any of these Respective towns, or shall tak the tracte in any of these townes & folow it till thay kill it where they will if ye hed be produced by way of evidence & ye Ears cut off as the Law directs."

March 5, 1749–50, it was voted "to alow a town way from David Taylor's to Nathaniel Parker's;" and in July, following, £20 were to be raised for "ye supporte of the gospell."

On the 20th of May, 1752, it was voted that the meeting-house be erected "on a knowl by the Road that leads from David taylor's to Simon Tomson's, about five or six rods north where the road was lying;" and at the next meeting, July 6th, it was "voted that Dea. Stickny, of billerica, Capt. Nickols, of Reading, & Deacon Stone, of groton, be a committee to fix a place for a meeting-house."

Thus it appears that some positive action was finally taken regarding the proposed meeting-house. The decision of the aforesaid committee satisfied the majority of the town in respect to the long-contested point; for, on the 2d of September, it was voted "to erect a meeting-house on the East corner of David Taylor's land," as the committee had determined. At the next meeting, Oct. 26th, it was voted to raise £53 6*s.* 8*d.* to pay for that part of the New Hampshire church which the committee, consisting of Col. Tyng, Samuel Taylor and Joseph Pike, had purchased, and for "taking down, removing & rebuilding s^d^ meting house." On the 18th of December, following, a committee was chosen to petition the General Court that "those living in the Northeast part of Groton, at a place called Joynt grass, be ennexed to this town of Dunstable, as they formerly were."

From the records it appears that these people were willing, if the meeting-house were built upon a spot that suited them, to become again citizens of Dunstable.

This proposition found favor. "The General Court ordered that Joseph Fletcher, Joseph Spalding, Samuel Cummings, Benjamin Robins, Timothy Read, John Swallow, Joseph Parkhurst, & Ebenezer Parkhurst, Jr., with their families & Estates, etc., be annexed to the town of Dunstable, agreable to the vote of the Town of Groton on the 18th day of May, 1747." Thus those families added to the population of Dunstable, and became a constituent part of the town. It was finally resolved to erect a meeting-house forty-two feet long, thirty-two feet wide and with posts twenty-one feet high "by y^e^ Highway Side which Leads from y^e^ house of Mr. Temple Kendall to Mr. Robert Blood's house."

The spot selected is a rocky knoll on the left-hand side of the road leading from the village of Dunstable to that of Tyngsborough, and about one mile distant from the former place. There is here a fine view of the west, with the summit of Wachusett Mountain in the distance. The land is now covered

with more or less timber, and no trace whatever of the old church remains. The graveyard on the western slope of the hill alone indicates the place where the people for many years gathered for the transaction of civil and political affairs, as well as for the service of public worship.

The committee appointed to build the meeting-house consisted of Ebenezer Sherwin, Ebenezer Kendall and Samuel Cummins, and they reported to the town, December 24, 1753, as follows: "We have built said house, and have erected it on y^e^ north side of the road that leads from Ebenezer Butterfield's to Robert Blood's, about thirty-four poles from said centre and have finished it all saving the doors."

The raising of the edifice took place on the 18th of July, 1753. Most of the inhabitants of that region doubtless gathered together to assist in laying the massive sills, in erecting with long spike poles the heavy posts of oak, and in putting the rafters into place. Probably, in accordance with the custom of those days, they passed the flowing bowl freely from lip to lip—a custom fortunately less approved in these days. The bountiful dinner was an important feature of such festivals. But a sad accident occurred before the "raising" was completed, which filled every heart with anguish. When the frame was nearly up, two men suddenly fell from a spar, and one of them, Mr. Abiel Richardson, of Groton, striking upon a rock, died immediately; the other man, more fortunate, escaped with very severe bruises and contusions.

The frame was soon covered and a floor laid, so that the house could be used for public services, but the seats were furnished gradually and the structure was not completed for several years.

The church soon became a central point. Several highways or bridle-paths, converging towards it, were made by permission of the town. At a town-meeting in May, 1754, it was voted "to build ye two bodys of seats and to Provide Boards for the Pulpit."

Jonathan Tyng, John Alford Tyng and Willard Hall, Jr., petitioned the General Court, this year, that three hundred acres of land in Chelmsford should be annexed to Dunstable, and although strongly opposed by that town, the petition was granted.

A meeting was held at Oliver Colburn's house March 21, 1755, when Benjamin Farwell, Timothy Bancroft, Joseph Danforth and John Steel were chosen selectmen, and Ebenezer Sherwin was elected "Culler of Staves."

This article afforded considerable income. Trade in hoop-poles, shingles, peltry and flax was also profitable. The potato had been introduced and was beginning to take the place of the turnip at the table; fish and wild fowl were abundant. The people spun and wove their own flax and wool into good, serviceable cloth, which they colored with vegetable dyes and made into garments. The women rode to church on horse-back, seated sometimes behind the men. The tavern, the mill and the blacksmith-shop were the three several places where the men gathered to obtain the latest news or to discuss various questions. These subjects generally had reference to the building of roads, the state of the crops, the husking party, the last matrimonial engagement, the latest success in hunting or the singing or the sermon at the church.

The inhabitants of the eastern part of the town were not pleased with the location of the church on Meeting-House Hill, and therefore formed themselves into a precinct, called the First Parish of Dunstable. They erected a small meeting-house, with two porches and a tall steeple, near the spot now occupied by the Unitarian Church in Tyngsborough Centre. The steeple was blown down in the great gale of 1815. The Hon. John Pitts gave expression to his views of this church by the following lines:

"A very small meeting-house,
A very tall steeple;
A very proud minister,
A queer sort of people."

At a meeting of the members of this parish, Aug. 20, 1755, it was voted "that the place for a meeting-house in this precinct be on the west of Merrimack River, near Mr. James Gordon's Mills, where a fraim is erected for that purpose." It was also voted "to accept the fraim that is Now on the spot." It is also recorded "that John & Jonathan Tyng came into the Meeting & gave the Precinct-Glass for the Meeting-house." At a meeting of the precinct, held in 1756, Eleazer Tyng, Simon Thompson and Oliver Farwell were appointed a committee "to sett of the pew ground to those that have given & Pay^d^ most toward building Said house." In the ensuing year this parish raised £14 "to hire preaching."

The people of the westerly part of the town were also organized into a precinct or parish, about the time of the erection of the meeting-house. The act granting the authority for this precinct received the signature of Gov. William Shirley June 14, 1755. The first meeting of this Second Parish, or precinct, in Dunstable, was held at "y^e^ meeting house" on the 27th of October following, when Ebenezer Sherwin was chosen moderator, and John Steel parish clerk. John Cummings, John Steel and Joseph Fletcher were chosen as "committeemen and assessors of said parish." Joseph Danforth was chosen treasurer, and Benjamin Pike collector. These officers were then sworn "to y^e^ faithful Discharge of their Respective Trusts," and thus the Second or West Parish of Dunstable was fairly organized and started on its eventful way.

According to custom in those days, a few persons held slaves, and the following paper relating to the sale of one of them is still preserved:

"DUNSTABLE, September y^e^ 10^th^, 1756.

"Received of Mr. John Abbott, Junior, of Andover, Fourteen pounds, Thirteen shillings and Two pence. It being the full value of a Negrow Garl, named Dinah, about five years of Age, of a Healthy, Sound Con-

stitution, free of any disease of Body and I Do hereby Deliver the Same Garl to the said Abbott and Promise to Defend him in the Improvement of hear, as his Servan forever.

"Witness my hand,

"Robert Blood,
"John Kendall,
"Temple Kendall."

Robert Blood lived on the place now occupied by Dexter Butterfield, and there are many stories of his peculiarities. He is said to have called an Indian doctor to prescribe for him when sick; but fearing lest the medicine might be poisonous, he gave it to his negro boy, who died from the effects. The place of his burial is still called "Negro Hill." A sheriff once came into church to arrest Mr. Blood, who, seeing his pursuer, placed his handkerchief to his nose, as if it were bleeding, and quietly left the meeting.

On being asked afterwards why he left the church so suddenly, he said: "The sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them." (Job 1: 6.)

At a meeting of the Second Parish, held Nov. 20, 1755, it was voted that £20 be assessed "for y^e^ suport of y^e^ Gospel for y^e^ present year;" also, that a committee, consisting of Ensign Ebenezer Parkhurst, John Steel and Joseph Fletcher, "search into y^e^ accounts of how much Preaching we have Had in said meeting-house;" and John Steel, Samuel Taylor and Adforth Jaquith were appointed a committee to take a deed of Lieut. John Kendall and Ebenezer Butterfield, "of y^e^ land y^e^ meeting-house stands on."

The account for building the church edifice was £74 4*s.* 11*d.*, and the committee reported that "the preaching we have had in Said Meeting-house and ye Intertaining ye Ministers" amounts to £44 1*s.* Who these ministers were appears from various orders of the parish:

Of the several candidates, who received for their Sabbath services about £1, together with their "Intertainments," Mr. Josiah Goodhue was the favored one. It was voted to give him "a call to y^e^ Work of y^e^ Ministry with us in This Second Precinct of y^e^ town of Dunstable."

Mr. Goodhue presented his acceptance of the invitation under the following conditions:

"1. That you give me £100 for settlement, to be paid in y^e^ manner you voted the settlement.

"2. Fifty pounds as salary yearly, as long as I stand in y^e^ Relation of a pastor to this people.

"3. Twenty-five cords of wood yearly Brought cord wood Length to my Door

"4. That if Providence should order it, that you should consist of Eighty Ratea ble families, then y^e^ Salary to be Sixty Pounds.

"Josiah Goodhue.

"March y^e^ 15, 1757."

The parish voted to comply with these conditions. On the 12th day of May, 1757, a church was organized, consisting of thirty-eight members, nineteen of whom were males and nineteen females.

The covenant was probably drawn up by the Rev. Daniel Emerson, of Hollis, N. H., and was formally accepted in his presence.

"*A Chh Covenant, Dunstable, May* y^e^ 12th, 1757.

"Then y^e^ underwritten Brethren Solemnly Covenanted before God, & one with another by owning this Covenant before me, & accordingly were declared a Chh of our Lord Jesus Christ, regularly incorporated p^r^ Me, Daniel Emerson.

"We, whose Names are underwritten, do covenant with the Lord & one with another, & do Solemnly bind ourselves before the Lord & his People that we will, by the Strength of Christ, walk after the Lord In all his ways, as He hath revealed them to us in his Word.

"1. We avouch the Lord Jehovah to be our God, & give up ourselves with our Children after us, in their several Generations, to be his People, & that in the Sincerity & Truth of our Hearts.

"2. We give up ourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ, to be ruled & guided by Him in the matter of His Worship & in our whole Conversation acknowledging him not only our alone Saviour, but also our King, to rule over us, as well as our Prophet, to teach us by His Word and Spirit; accordingly we wholly disclaim our own Righteousness in Point of Justification, cleaving to Him for Righteousness, Life, Grace & Glory.

"3. We promise by the Help of Christ to walk with our Brethren & Sisters of the Chh in the Splrit of Love, watching over them & caring for them, avoiding all Jealousies, Suspissions, Backbitings, Censurings, Quarrellings & Secret Risings of Heart against them, forgiving & forbearing, yet seasonably admonishing & restoring them with a Spirit of Meekness, who, through infirmities, have been overtaken in a Fault.

"4. We will not be forward in chh Meetings to show our Gifts & Parts in Speaking, nor endeavor to disgrace our Brethren by discovering their Failings, but attend an orderly Call before we Speak, doing nothing to the offence of the chh, but in all things endeavouring our own & our Brethren's Edification.

"5. We further promise to Study how we may advance the Gospel & Kingdom of Christ, so as that we may gain them who are without, Setle Peace among ourselves & Seek the Peace of all the chhs not puting a Stumbling Block before any, but Shunning the Appearance of Evil.

"6. We promise to demean ourselves obediently in all lawful things towards those God has or shall place over us in Chh or Common Wealth.

"7. We resolve in the same Strength to approve ourselves in our particular Callings, shunning idleness, nor will we oppress any we deal with.

"8. We also promise, as God shall inable us, to teach our Children & Servants the good knowledge of the Lord, and to fulfill all relative Duties prescribed in God's Word, that all ours may learn to fear & Serve the Lord ourselves; to this end we promise to keep up y^e^ Worship of God in our Families, that our Houses shall be Bethels, wherein y^e^ morning & Evening Sacrifice shall assend.

"9. We do profess ourselves to be Congregational in our Judgments, & do hereby promise mutually one unto another that we will practice on Congregational Principles, which, according to our understandings, are most agreable to the Directions of God's Word; & will take the Platform of Discipline to be our Rule to go by in all matters of chh Discipline among us, which we look on as gathered out of the Word of God, & agreeing therewithall.

"Josiah Goodhue, pastor, Joseph Pike, John Kendall, Ebenezer Sherwin, Ebenezer Butterfield, Samuel Taylor, Josiah Blodgett, Ebenezer Kendall, Adford Jaqueth, Timothy Reed, Stephen Adams, Joseph Taylor, Samuel Cummings, Benjamin Robbins, John Swallow, Susannah Kendall, Alice Butterfield, Susannah Taylor, Jemima Blodgett, Hannah Kendall, Olive Taylor, Sarah Cummings, Elizabeth Robbins, Elizabeth Goodhue, Joseph Fletcher, Abraham Kendall, John Cummings, Robert Blood, Sarah Swallow, Elizabeth Fletcher, Ruth Kendall, Elizabeth Cummings, Sarah Blood, Sarah Parkhurst, Mary Cummings, Hannah Taylor, Susannah Haywood, Abigail Blood."

The ordination of Mr. Goodhue occurred June 8, 1757. The people of the West Parish were doubtless full of life in making preparations for the great occasion. New garments had to be bought, or the old ones repaired; houses had to be put in good order, stores replenished, the tunes in the Bay Psalm Book had to be rehearsed, and the church to be put in good array for the joyous services.

The first baptism of an infant performed by Mr. Goodhue was that of "Jonathan, y^e^ son of John &

Sarah Swallow;" the first marriage, that of "Oliver Farnsworth, of Townshend, & Jemima Haywood, of Dunstable," which occurred Nov. 2, 1757. The Half-way Covenant was then in vogue, admitting persons acknowledging the "Confession of Faith" as their belief to some of the privileges of the church, and hence the record of an admission to the church is made in accordance with the views of the member received in respect to this point.

The bounds between Dunstable and Groton were reviewed in April, 1756, and the line then commencing at Tyng's corner, passed on the easterly side of the old saw-mill, which stood where Cowpen Brook enters Massapoag Pond, "on the southerly side of the road that goes by Ebenezer Proctor's, in Dunstable, and terminates at a heap of stones on Flat Rock Hill." Feb. 15, 1757, a highway was laid out from the Province line by Joseph Danforth's barn, and thence onward to David Taylor's house.

March 5, 1759, the town voted that £16 should be assessed for "y^e^ suport of a school, or schools," and that it should be a "Writing School as well as a Reading School;" also, that "it should be a Moving School."

The town was well represented in the old French War, which commenced in 1755, and was closed by the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

Ensign John Cheney and William Blodgett were at the surrender of Louisbourg to the English, July 26, 1758. Their powder-horns are still preserved. That of Ensign John Cheney is elaborately ornamented with birds, fishes, deer, and the letters "F. C. W.;" it has also the inscription, "John Cheney his Horn, Cape Breton. Taken May 26, 1758." The horn of William Blodgett bears this inscription: "William Blodgett his horn, June y^e^ 7, 1760." Both these horns are still preserved.

It was the custom in those days for the men to occupy the seats on one side of the church, and the women those on the other. The elders sat upon an elevated seat in front of the pulpit, and the children and servants occupied the galleries. A tithingman, with a long pole, kept them all in order.

In August, 1760, a part of a family of the Acadians, or French Neutrals, whose sad fate is so touchingly told in the "Evangeline" of H. W. Longfellow, was brought to this town for support.

In Mr. Goodhue's records of the church it is found, under the date of December 11, 1763, that "'The Man Servant & Maid Servant of Benjamin Farwell were propounded in order to their owning the Covenant (Nov. y^e^ 27), and admitted to y^t^ Privilege, Decem. y^e^ 11th." Their names were Thomas and Margaret, and they were probably held as slaves.

On the 15th of June of this year a thunder-storm passed over the town, when hail-stones fell nearly as large as a hen's egg, by which the early grain was beaten down and the glass of several windows broken.

Joseph Fletcher was chosen a deacon of the church, February 23, 1764, and at the same meeting it was voted that "Brother Abraham Kendall, Brother Josiah Blodgett and Brother Sam^ll^ Cummings be Queresters in y^e^ Congregation." These men were expected "to set the tunes," for assistance in which a sort of a wooden instrument, called a pitch-pipe, was used, and also to lead the voices of the congregation in singing. The "lining out of the psalm" was generally done by the pastor or one of the deacons.

Robert Blood and Josiah Blodgett were chosen by the town, May 27, 1765, "to inspect the Salmon & Fishery according to law." No dams had then been constructed on the Merrimac or Nashua Rivers, to prevent the ascent of fish. There was a great abundance of shad, salmon and other fish in Salmon Brook and Massapoag Pond, and these were of great value.

The first general census of the population of the Province was taken this year, and by it Dunstable appears to have had in all ninety dwelling-houses, ninety-eight families, 138 males above sixteen, 143 females above sixteen, and a total of 559 inhabitants, of whom sixteen were colored people, and probably held as slaves. Of the thirty-six towns in the county, Bedford, Dracut, Natick, Shirley and Stoneham only had a smaller population.

The town voted, on the 25th of May of this year, "to Raise & assest £36 2*s.* for the use of a school, Repairing the pound, Building one pair of Stocks & other Town Charges." The pound stood and still stands beside the road from Dunstable Centre to Tyngsborough Centre, a short distance from the homestead of Dexter Butterfield. The stocks, sometimes called the "cage," stood in the vicinity of the respective churches. The whipping-post was near them; but as there is no record of it on the books of the town or parish, it may be presumed that the mere presence of such an instrument caused a wholesome restraint.

In accordance with the custom of that period, the Second Parish chose, April 21, 1768, Deacon Samuel Taylor, Benjamin Woodward and Robert Blood a committee "to seat this meeting-house, and that the Highest Payers in the Last year's Tax on the Reail and Personal Estate to be the Rule to Seat S^d^ house By and farther that they have No Regard to the Proprietors of the Pews in S^d^ house in seating the meeting-house." It was also voted to have regard to age in seating the meeting-house, also "to Peticion to the Great and General Court to Be Maid a Destrect."

Robert Blood, Benjamin Pike, Josiah Blodgett and Lemuel Perham each presented a protest to the action of this meeting in respect to one article. Among the reasons assigned by the latter, one is, "Because thay voted that Mr. Joseph Pike should sett in the fore seat when thire was Nothing in the Warrant thire."

The desire of having the chief seats in the synagogue seems to have been as strong as that of the Scribes and Pharisees of olden time. That spirit, however, is not wholly unknown in the present day.

CHAPTER LVIII.

DUNSTABLE—(Continued).

The Town as Represented in the American Revolution—Educational, Religious and Other Affairs—1768–1820.

MASSACHUSETTS issued a circular on the 28th of February, 1768, asking the co-operation of the Assemblies in opposing the restrictive measures of Parliament. The principles of civil liberty had been growing, and naturally these were destined to come in collision with arbitrary measures.

General Thomas Gage, with seven hundred soldiers, entered Boston on the 28th day of September. Armed oppression was not long after met by armed resistance.

Some of the best blood of Dunstable was freely shed in the cause of liberty. The first recorded act of the town in the impending conflict was to choose the Hon. John Tyng to represent them in a convention held in Boston on the 22d day of September, 1768.

The Boston massacre, March 5, 1770, taxation without representation, pledges against the use of tea and foreign manufactures, formed the leading topics of conversation in the tavern, shops and houses of Dunstable, and the old firelocks used in the French War, a few of which still remain, were promptly put into effective order.

In 1772 the town voted £84 for educational and other purposes. In 1773 £20 were appropriated for a school. A "town-way two rods wide" was laid out from "the Provence line," commencing north of John Kendall's house and running by Temple Kendall's house "to the road that was laid out by said Kendall's, and Samuel Taylor's house."

By a mutual council, consisting of seven churches, convened September 28, 1774, the pastoral relation between Mr. Goodhue and the church was dissolved. The council aver that they "can heartily recommend him as a person of conspicuous seriousness and piety, and as one whom they judge qualified to do service in the ministry."

During his pastorate of seventeen years sixty-five persons were admitted to the church, and he seems to have left for the simple reason that the people were at the time somewhat divided in sentiment. The arrearages in Mr. Goodhue's salary were all paid. He was afterwards settled and died in Putney, Vt. Rev. William Wells, in the sermon preached at his funeral, November 16, 1797, said of him :

"I believe you will all join with me in asserting piety to God and benevolence to man were leading features of his character. The great object of his life was to be useful in his station as a minister of the gospel of Christ, and exemplify in his own conduct and temper those virtues and graces which, with the greatest sincerity, he recommended to others. His end, like that of the godly man's, was peace, being not only resigned at the prospect of his dissolution, but desirous to depart and be with Christ."

Mr. Goodhue was married to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Deacon Joseph and Elizabeth Fletcher, July 28, 1757. They had five sons and one daughter. Some of the sons became eminent in professional life.

In 1774 there was an article in the warrant for town-meeting to build a school-house, but the town voted not to do it. This is the first reference to such a building on the records. The prospect of a war with the mother country probably prevented the town from undertaking the expense.

The first Provincial Congress in October, 1774, appointed a Committee of Safety, and provided that a fourth part of the enrolled militia should, as minute-men," be held in readiness for immediate service. This gave evidence that a collision between the American and British forces was impending. Dunstable, with patriotic haste, prepared to assist in the common cause of national liberty. The following pledge evinces that spirit in the very beginning of the great struggle :

"We the subscribers taking into our consideration the present difficulty, do hereby voluntarily engage with each other in defence of our country, Priveledges and Libertys for the space of six months from this date ; that we will submit ourselves to the Laws equally the same as if they were in full force respecting our officers that now are, or hereafter may be chosen in all Military Duty.

"DUNSTABLE, March 1st, 1775.

"Edward Butterfield, Nathaniel Holden, Lemuel Perham, George Bishop, Ebenezer French, Jonathan Bancroft, John Chaney, Samuel Roby, Eleazer French, Philip Butterfield, Jeralmeel Colburn, Wm. French, Jonathan Sherwin, John Manning, Reuben Lewis, John Cummings, John French, Zebedee Kendall, Joseph Farrar, John Marsh, John Cockle, Jacob Davis, Jesse Butterfield, Hezekiah Kendall, Henry Sheppard, William Glenne, Jonathan Woodward, Thomas Trowbridge. Total, 28."

The above valuable paper is owned by Dexter Butterfield.

The town voted, on the 4th of April, 1775, "to have menite-men agreeable to the desire of the Provincial Congress," and on the 12th of the same month it voted to assess £20 for "y^e^ encouragement & use of y^e^ minute men ;" and they were "required to hold themselves in readiness to march at the first notice." The notice soon came, nor did it find the Dunstable soldiers unprepared, since many of them had seen hard service in the old French War, and a weekly drill had long been held. Late on the 19th of April the startling news came that blood had been shed at Lexington and Concord ; but the engagement was over before the men from Dunstable had time to reach the scene of the battle. It is said that while the battle of Bunker Hill was raging a stranger called at the house of Mrs. Jonathan Woodward, near "The Gulf," and asked for something to eat. While partaking of her hospitality he began to berate Americans, and, boasting of the success of the British, declared that all would be subjects of King George, to whom they owed allegiance. Incensed at his inso-

lence, she opened the door and commanded him to leave the house, which he refused to do, saying he would go when he was ready. She then seized a chair, knocked him down and dragged him out of the house, giving him undoubted evidence of one woman's courage and devotion to the country. Eight days after the battle the town assembled and "voted to accept of y^e^ powder James Tyng, Esq., bought for this town."

Abel Spaulding, Lemuel Perham, Elijah Fletcher and Asa Kendall were chosen to join the Committee of Correspondence on the 12th of June, and at the same meeting Joel Parkhurst was chosen to represent the town in the Continental Congress at Watertown instead of John Tyng, whose health was poor, and James Tyng, who "had a multiplicity of business." These were trying times. Five days afterwards the Dunstable company, composed of fifty men, forming a part of the Massachusetts regiment, under the command of Col. Ebenezer Bridge, commissioned at Billerica, May 27th, was present and participated in the memorable action of Bunker Hill. During that sanguinary battle the company from Dunstable showed the bravery of veteran soldiers, as many of them indeed were, and it was only after their ammunition was gone that they left the field. Capt. Bancroft fought nobly in the redoubt and was wounded. Eleazer French had an arm shot off during the action, and picking it up, bore it as a trophy from the bloody field. His brother, Samuel French, had a ball shot through his right ear. Jonathan French, another brother, was in the battle. William French, and Jonas French, two brothers of another family, did good service on that day. The former discharged his gun with deliberate aim sixteen times. He was a shoemaker by trade, served through the war, and died in Dunstable at an advanced age. From his sobriety and uprightness he was called "Deacon William."

At the close of the battle these two brothers left the hill together. When crossing "the Neck" under the fire of the "Glasgow" man-of-war, they saw an officer severely wounded, and offered him their assistance. "I cannot live," he said; "take care of yourselves." They, however, raised him to their shoulders and bore him through the confusion to a place of safety. The suffering officer proved to be Capt. Henry Farwell, of Groton.

Mr. Ebenezer French was also at the battle of Bunker Hill. He was the grandfather of Benjamin French, Esq., who has now in his possession the bullet-moulds (which are of brass and will form twenty-four bullets of different sizes at one casting) the camp-kettle and musket of this brave soldier. He died April 14, 1808, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. A few of the Dunstable men were in Capt. John Ford's company, of Chelmsford. They reached the field a short time before the action began and fought bravely. While Isaac Wright was sitting exhausted on a bank near a house in Charlestown, a cannon-ball came rolling rapidly, and so near him that he could have touched it with his foot. Being asked why he did not stop it, he said, "I then should have returned home with only one leg." He was one of the first who enlisted.

During the siege of Boston many of its inhabitants went to the other towns in the State in order to avoid the ill treatment of the hostile troops. From the following vote it appears that several came to Dunstable, where they were kindly entertained:

Nov. 20, 1775, voted that "y^e^ Poor & Indigent inhabitants of the town of Boston which are now in this town be supported with y^e^ provisions of this town so long as it could be procured in S^d^ town therefor."

Jan. 4, 1776, the General Court gave order that four thousand blankets should be provided by the respective towns for the soldiers in the army, and paid for out of the public treasury. Dunstable furnished about one dozen of them.

On the 31st of May, 1776, Oliver Cummings was commissioned captain of the Dunstable company in the regiment of militia of which Simeon Spaulding was the colonel.

Each soldier was provided with a fire-arm, bayonet, cutting sword or hatchet, cartridge-box, from fifteen to one hundred pounds of balls, six flints, a knapsack, blanket and canteen. The muskets were long and heavy, and very inferior instruments as compared with the needle-guns of the present day. The ammunition was stored in the loft of the meeting-house, and the place of rendezvous for the minute-men was at the house of Asa Kendall, which was, subsequently owned by Dr. A. W. Howe.

At a meeting of citizens of the town, June 8, 1776, Major Ebenezer Bancroft, Capt. Reuben Butterfield and Mr. Timothy Reed were chosen "a committee to prepare y^e^ Draft of a vote," which contained many patriotic sentiments.

It was the reception of such spirited resolutions from the various towns of the Province that gave the leaders of the Revolution courage to make the celebrated Declaration of Independence, which followed in a few weeks.

The following letter evinces the feelings of the soldiers at the post of duty, and also reminds the reader that the town, as yet, had enjoyed only the advantages of a "moveing school," and that continuous toil had been the lot of most of the inhabitants:

"TICONDEROGA, Oct. 15, 1776.

"Honored father & Mother, after my Dutey To you & Love to my Brothers and Sister, I have Taken this oppertunity to Let you now that I am Well at present and Blessed be god for it, & hope these Linds will find you the Sam. I shant Rite much at present only the Raglars have drove Our fiet Back here, we have sustained Lors of Men & Vessels, & the Ennies armey is at Crown point or near their, & we expect them hear Quick. Phillip Butterfield is got Better. Jeass Butterfield is pooley yet. Rember me to all Inquirin friends. So I Remain your Dutiful Son.

"JAMES CUMINGS."

The town was always ready to respond to the repeated calls for men and money, and meetings were often held either at the "alarm post," or at the tavern, or at the church, to take measures for doing its part in carrying on the war. Several of the Dunstable soldiers served in companies of other towns, and some from other places joined the Dunstable companies.

In Dunstable, as well as in other towns, there were some persons holding Tory principles. The town promptly brought them to an account for their opposition to the common cause. At a public meeting held Sept. 11, 1777, Lieut. Nathaniel Holden was chosen "to procure and lay before y^e^ court y^e^ evidence y^t^ might be had of y^e^ Enimical disposition of any of this town that may be complained of that they may be proceeded with agreeable to an act of this State."

Some of the British soldiers were quartered on Dunstable. Three were drowned while attempting to cross the river at Wicasuck Island, and their remains were buried near that spot.

On the 9th of February, 1778, the town approved of the Articles of Confederation between the thirteen States. At another meeting held April 23d, the town chose John Tyng, Esq., Joseph Danforth and Joel Parkhurst to examine the new Constitution of the State, proposed by the General Court. After hearing the report of this committee, June 2d, the town "voted to reject y^e^ Constitution for y^e^ following reasons, viz.: Because it invests y^e^ governor with too unlimited a power. 2dly, because there is not an Equal Representation. 3dly, Because y^e^ Governor ought not to have y^e^ Title of Excellency. J. Blodgett, Town clerk."

This Constitution was prepared by a committee of four members of the Council and twice that number of the House of Representatives. It was submitted to the people of the State in March, 1778, and by them rejected. The vote stood 10,000 against 2000, as many as 120 towns not voting. The general objections to it were that it did not contain a declaration of rights, that it made representation unequal, and that the duties of State officers were not accurately defined.

Paper-money had at this time greatly depreciated in value, taxes were high, many of the able-bodied men were absent in the army, and the American cause seemed, in the minds of many, to be sinking; yet the citizens of Dunstable still went resolutely forward to meet the demands made upon them.

The term of service of many of the Continental soldiers had closed, and two thousand men were now called for to fill up the sixteen depleted regiments of the State. Fifteen hundred more were to be raised as ordered by vote of Congress. Dunstable resolutely bore her share of this draft, and nobly responded to the call. Shirts, shoes and stockings were also required of the town; and since the women as well as men were patriotic, those articles were promptly furnished.

On the 15th of February, 1779, the parish voted £100 "for the support of famalies of those Persons this Parish have hired to Engag into Contenental Army."

The town this year appropriated £130 for public schools and other expenses, which included the providing of clothing for the soldiers.

Notwithstanding the expenses of the war, it appears from records of that date that the institutions of the gospel were supported. For about six years the pulpit had been supplied by such ministers as they were able to find and had the means to pay, and now, in hope of having a pastor of their own, they considered the question of uniting with the other parish in building a church and settling a minister.

On the 23d of March the Second Parish agreed to "Raise five Hundred Pounds for the support of such minister or ministers of the gospel as may be caul'd to Preach to this People." At an adjourned meeting the above-named sum was increased by £500.

The 19th of May, 1780, is celebrated as the Dark Day. The obscurity was so great that birds sought their perches at mid-day, and the people had to light candles in order to distinguish objects in their houses. The superstitious were inclined to think the day of doom was approaching. "About ten o'clock," wrote Mr. Phineas Sprague, of Malden, in his journal, "it began to Rain and grew vere dark, and at 12 it was almost as dark as Nite, so that wee was obliged to lite our candels and Eate our dinner by candel lite at Noonday." The darkness of the evening of that day was very remarkable. "A sheet of white paper," says Dr. Tenney, "held within a few inches of the eyes, was equally invisible with the blackest velvet."

This darkness might possibly have been caused by the burning of extensive forests in Northern New Hampshire, the smoke of which might have floated over a section of New England and obscured the sun. Alarm at the coming of the darkness was naturally increased when the spirits of the people were depressed in consequence of the war. It was common to attribute unusual phenomena to supernatural agency, for there was at that time less scientific knowledge than at present. The belief of the people in ghosts and haunted houses was then very prevalent. It was generally considered ominous to see, for the first time, the new moon over the left shoulder, to spill salt, or to sit thirteen at the table. A horseshoe was nailed to the posts of the door to keep off witches, and the sight of a white spider gliding down its thread foreboded evil. The Bible, interpreted literally, was the guide-book of our fathers, and science, which sheds light upon the meaning of many a perplexing passage in the Scriptures, was a word almost unknown to them. The spirit of God's teaching they, however, usually understood.

Another State Constitution was framed this year by delegates chosen by the towns of the Commonwealth, and submitted, in March, to the people for their examination.

It appears that in Dunstable there was a strong opposition to the instrument. It was chiefly against granting protection to all religions, against the liberty of the press, against so great a number of Councilors and Senators, against the power of the Governor to march the militia to any part of the State, against the appointment of all judicial officers by the Governor, against the Governor and other officers declaring themselves of the Christian religion, against the form of the oath,—they being desirous that the words "living God" should be included,—against the Quakers being excused from taking an oath, and against the time appointed for the revision of the Constitution.

That instrument was, however, ratified as the organic law by more than two-thirds of the votes of the State. Hon. John Hancock was the first Governor chosen under it. The election was held on the 4th of September, and Dunstable gave sixteen votes for Hancock. The small vote thrown may have indicated the disaffection of the people in respect to the new Constitution, and may have been owing partly to the absence of many voters in the army.

The town this year furnished 7500 pounds of beef which the General Court called for to supply the army, and voted to raise £2500 for school and other purposes. In the exigencies of war, paper-money was issued to such an extent that one dollar in silver came to be equal to forty dollars in what was called the "Continental currency." The one-dollar bill had on its face the Latin words, "*Depressa resurgit,*" which is in English, "The down-trodden rises," and which had, at that time, much meaning; but so great was the depression in its value, that a blanket bought by a soldier cost £100, and the salary of the Rev. Ebenezer Bridge, of Chelmsford, for eight months, "was set" at £3600. Ebenezer French was heard to say that he once paid $40 of it for a breakfast in New York. This paper-money, becoming worthless, went out of use the following year and was never redeemed.

At this time the country was passing through one of its darkest periods. The life-blood of the nation had been freely given; there were many desolate homes; family ties had been sundered; many had grown gray in military service; the young had come to a premature manhood; cities and dwellings were falling into decay, and many of the farms were half-tilled.

Dunstable, however, continued to furnish and to pay its quotas of soldiers, to support public worship, and to make appropriation, as ability allowed, for the education of its children. All classes cheerfully denied themselves, foregoing common luxuries and devoting themselves to labor. No sound was more frequent than that of the loom and spinning-wheel, and the wives and daughters, during the absence of their husbands and their brothers at the seat of war, were always ready to help the aged man on the farms.

The defeat and capture of the British forces under Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, Va., virtually terminated the war. In furnishing men and money, Massachusetts bore about one-quarter of the burden, and of this the town of Dunstable its full share.

The news of the victory of the allied French and American forces under Washington was received throughout the country with demonstrations of joy. "From every family altar," says Mr. B. J. Lossing, "where a love of freedom dwelt, from pulpits, legislative halls, the army and from Congress (October 24), went up a shout of thanksgiving and praise to the Lord God Omnipotent, for the success of the allied troops, and these were mingled with universal eulogies of the great leader and his companion in arms. The clouds which had lowered for seven long years, appeared to be breaking, and the splendors of the dawn of peace burst forth, like the light of a clear morning after a dismal night of tempest."

The Second Parish of Dunstable had no bell at this time to ring in expression of its joy over the great victory; still, every citizen exulted in the success of Washington and Lafayette. The drooping spirits of the people were revived by the return of the soldiers from their long campaigns.

The following notices of some men from Dunstable actively engaged in the War of the Revolution are still preserved:

Oliver Cummings, Jr., was a private in the battle of White Plains, October 28, 1776. He returned to Dunstable and subsequently removed to the town of Sumner, Me., where he died.

James Cummings was at the taking of Ticonderoga, July 12, 1777, and in engagements during the war.

Josiah Cummings entered the army when a mere boy, and served as a guard over the soldiers of General Burgoyne, subsequent to their capture in October, 1777. He also performed duty with the army in New Jersey. After the Revolution he was commissioned as captain of the Dunstable militia company.

William French was a private at the battle of Bunker Hill. On the expiration of his term of service at Cambridge, he re-enlisted and well performed his duty through the war.

Jonas French, born August 7, 1757, and youngest brother of the above, was with him, as already stated, at the battle of Bunker Hill. He also served as a faithful soldier through the war. He was often employed as a school-teacher. Both he and his brother William received pensions for services in the war.

Ebenezer French, to whom reference has already been made, served through the war, and died in Dunstable April 14, 1808, in his seventy-seventh year.

Samuel French had a ball shot through his right ear at the battle of Bunker Hill. He died in Dunstable, and is buried on Meeting-House Hill.

Eleazer French, wounded in the same battle; died of consumption soon after his return home.

Jonathan French, brother of the two last named, was with them in the first great battle of the Revolution, and was subsequently, together with his two sons, in the service on Lake Champlain.

William Blodgett served as a private during the war. He had learned to face danger in the old French War. He was four times cast away at sea.

John Cheney had acquired great experience as a soldier in the old French War, and served his country faithfully during the Revolution. He was at the capture of Quebec. He was a very useful citizen, and held many town offices.

Temple Kendall was a lieutenant under Captain John Ford at the battle of Bunker Hill.

John Proctor came home from the war and died of consumption.

Colonel Ebenezer Bancroft, as already stated, fought bravely at Bunker Hill and in other battles during the war. He purchased and enlarged the house once owned by Henry Farwell and now occupied by his grandson. He went into the French War at the age of sixteen years. He was commissioned lieutenant-colonel April 21, 1780, and justice of the peace in 1798.

Jonathan Woodward served as a private through the war. He lived to be a centenarian, and a sermon was preached on his one hundredth birthday. He retained the use of his faculties until near the close of life, and was an excellent man.

Ensign *Leonard Butterfield* was a private in the war. He lived near Meeting-House Hill. Leonard Butterfield, the father, lived on the south side of the road on Meeting-House Hill; his son, Philip Butterfield, lived on the same side of the road, a little towards the west. The cellar-holes of both houses still remain. Leonard Butterfield, Jr., built the house now owned by Dexter Butterfield, east of Meeting-House Hill.

Jesse Butterfield served as a private in the war, and removed to Farmington, Me., where he died.

Philip Butterfield, brother of the above, was also a private in the war.

Paul Woods went into the naval service, and was killed by falling from the mast of a ship.

Joel Parkhurst, father of Leonard Parkhurst, was a private in the war, and died at Dunstable. His house stood about twenty rods north of that of Mr. John A. Parkhurst.

His son, *Leonard Parkhurst*, also served in the war.

Ephraim and *Nathan Taylor*, brothers, living in the easterly part of the town, went into the army, and were never heard from afterwards.

Daniel Jaques, died September 2, 1835, aged seventy-eight years. He is buried in Tyngsborough, and on the headstone is written, "To die is to go home;" and also, "A soldier of the Revolution."

March 3, 1783, the town appropriated £30 for education. On the 7th of April the town cast sixteen votes for John Hancock as Governor, and eleven votes for Thomas Cushing as Lieutenant-Governor. At the same time a committee, consisting of Jonathan Fletcher, Nathaniel Holden, Jonathan Emerson and Temple Kendall, reported that it was advisable that the town should be divided into five districts for school purposes, as follows:

1. All to the east of the Merrimack River.
2. All the First Parish on the westerly side of the Merrimack River, excepting Lieutenant Perham and Mr. John Bridge.
3. All the Second Parish on the great road from Mr. Ezra Thompson's to Hollis up to Salmon Brook, living on and to the north of said road.
4. All to the west of Salmon Brook, excepting Mr. Bridge's.
5. All the remainder of the town.

In May this report was accepted, and the districts were established. The Hon. John Tyng was chosen representative, and it was voted that the selectmen should build a pound.

On the 3rd day of September, a definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States was signed at Paris. Dunstable shared in the general rejoicing over the welcome tidings of peace once more. The oft-used musket was now hung above the oaken mantel-piece.

The westerly part of the town had now become generally settled, and the centre of population had advanced somewhat in that direction. It was thus thought advisable that the place of public worship should be changed, and at the meeting held Nov. 8, 1784, it was "voted to move the meeting-house from the place it now stands on to some other convenient place in said Parish;" it was also voted that the place "be between the Dwelling-house of M^{r}. Jonathan Procters and the house that Mr. Jonathan Woodward now Lives in, on the north side of the rode that goes from one house to the other a little to the west of north from said Procter's new Barn."

In 1785 the town raised £40 for schools, gave twelve votes for James Bowdoin as Governor, and chose the Hon. John Pitts to represent it in the General Court.

The snow on the 22d of April was two feet deep and the surface so much incrusted with ice as to bear up an ox-sled.

Jan. 25, 1786, the Second Parish "voted & chose Mr. John Chaney, Jun^{r}, to Lead in Singing in Publick Worship."

There is no other reference to music on the records of the Second Parish; but it would seem from those of the church that the practice of "lining out" the hymns had not yet been abandoned. About this time church choirs were formed in the State, and the "deaconing out of the hymns," to which our worthy ancestors were accustomed, was practiced no longer. The psalms and hymns of Dr. Watts also took the place of "the Bay Psalm Book," and some of the fugue tunes of William Billings were now occasionally sung.

The town this year, for the first time, elected overseers of the poor. The poor were kindly treated, sometimes receiving a small sum of money from the town to help them in their efforts to maintain themselves, and sometimes living in the family of a relative or friend, who received some compensation for their expense and trouble. The number of paupers probably did not exceed the number of the committee appointed to take care of them.

In 1787 and for some time previous efforts were made to unite the two religious bodies known as the First and Second Parishes. This union was at one time nearly consummated, but was prevented by the donation of Mrs. Sarah Tyng Winslow. Ecclesiastical affairs being now under control of the town, it voted in 1787 to raise £60 for preaching, and also that services should be held alternately at the east and west meeting-houses.

On the 21st of February, 1788, the church held a solemn fast "to look up by Prayer to the Supreme Head of the Church for his Direction in Choise of a Minister," but it appears that no minister was found to suit all the congregation.

On the 22d of June, 1789, what is now the town of Tyngsborough was incorporated into a district and received for its own use the donation of Mrs. Winslow, which, as a town, it still enjoys.

The church edifice on Meeting-house Hill was removed to Dunstable Centre in 1791 and finished in approved style.

The land for the site of the building, consisting of one acre and one hundred and thirty rods, was well chosen, and was conveyed by Jonathan Proctor to the town in a deed bearing date August 25, 1790, and it is

described as "the land on which the school-house now stands, and bounded beginning at the southerly corner of said land at a heap of stones by the road, thence running northerly about twenty-nine rods to a heap of stones by a black oak tree, thence south forty-four degrees west twenty rods to a heap of stones, thence south six and a half degrees west elaven rods and a half to a heap of stones by the great road, thence east eleven degrees south by the north side of the said road fourteen rods and a half to a heap of stones first mentioned." This condition is mentioned in the deed—"that the inhabitants of the said Dunstable shall, within the term of three years from the date hereof, have caused to be erected upon the said land a Meeting-house for publick worship and a School-House, and shall never suffer said land to be destitute of said buildings for more than three years at any time, and that no other building shall ever be erected on said land than such as shall be necessary to accommodate the inhabitants when attending on Publick Worship."

David Fletcher, joiner, gave bonds to Zebulon Blodgett, town treasurer, to finish the meeting-house at or before the 1st day of July, 1794. He was to build thirty-three pews and a pulpit, "and the breast-work in the gallery not inferior to that in the meeting-house in Tyngsborough."

The edifice was dedicated to the service of God, "agreeable to ancient example and more modern practices," on the 2d day of October, 1793.

The ordination of Mr. Heywood took place on the 5th day of June, 1799, several ministers taking part in the services. The expense to the town for the ordination was twenty-three dollars.

At the incoming of the present century Dunstable was in a prosperous condition. Its population had increased to 485 persons.

In April, 1800, the church chose Deacon Zebedee Kendall, Captain J. Fletcher and Captain S. Stevens a committee to attend the meetings of the singing-school, for the purpose of choosing leaders, and it also invited all "who are skilled in sacred harmony to come forward and assist the church in that part of public worship."

Efforts had been made to introduce the bass-viol into the church service, but serious objections were urged against it. One called it "the Lord's fiddle," and another said he should get up and dance if it came into the church. At one meeting it was "voted to suspend the introduction of the Bass-Viol for the present on account of an objection made by Lieutenant Simeon Cummings;" but on the 20th of March, 1804, the innocent instrument triumphed over all opposition, the church voting that the bass-viol be introduced into the meeting-house on days of public worship, and that those who have skill to use it, bring it and perform on Sabbath-days.

The Middlesex Canal, extending from Boston to a point near Pawtucket Falls, in the Merrimac River, was opened this year. The transportation of lumber, cattle and grain from Dunstable to the metropolis was thus facilitated. The canal was about twenty-seven miles long, thirty feet wide and three feet deep, and served for conveying merchandise from the Merrimac River to Boston until the opening of the Boston and Lowell Railroad, in 1836, when the canal gradually became useless.

The town in 1805 provided a book containing the Constitution of the United States for each of its schools, and the next year voted $700 for building five school-houses.

The district of Tyngsborough was incorporated as a town February 28, 1809, and the population of Dunstable was thereby greatly diminished.

A few soldiers from Dunstable engaged in what was called Mr. Madison's War of 1812. The decisive victory of General Andrew Jackson over the British forces, at New Orleans, on the 8th of January, 1815, terminated the war, and on the 18th day of February following, President James Madison issued a proclamation of peace. This was hailed with joy by the people of Dunstable. A day was set apart for the celebration of the event. The people assembled in their best attire, and when the soldiers had gone through with their evolutions, all partook of a bountiful collation, and then, proceeding to the church, they listened to a patriotic address from the Rev. John Perkins, a Baptist minister of Chelmsford. Dunstable shared in the general prosperity which followed the long and exhausting war. The people increased in wealth, numbers and intelligence. A more generous style of living soon became manifest. Newspapers were taken, and the chaise and Jersey wagon were brought into use.

On the 2d day of September occurred what was long known as "the great gale." The wind blew with such violence from the southeast and south as to overturn fences and forest trees, and, in some instances, barns and dwelling-houses.

This was the severest storm that had occurred in New England since Aug. 15, 1635, when, according to the historian William Hubbard, "many houses were blown down, many more uncovered. The Indian corn was beat down to the ground so as not to rise again. The tide at Narragansett rose twenty feet perpendicularly. The Indians were obliged to betake themselves to the trees, and yet many of them were drowned by the return of the tide before the usual hour."

The year 1816 was exceptional for the severity of the cold. Frosts appeared during each of the summer months, and the crop of Indian corn was nearly destroyed.

In the year 1817 the town raised $300 for schools, and the same amount for preaching.

The church in 1817–18 was favored with an extensive revival, and as many as seventy-three persons, many of whom were heads of families, made a profession of religion.

A Universalist Society was formed by citizens of Dunstable and the towns adjacent, and a constitution adopted Jan. 21, 1818.

The society used the old meeting-house as a place of worship, and the pulpit was supplied by such preachers as could be from time to time obtained.

The number of inhabitants in 1820 was 584.

CHAPTER LIX.

DUNSTABLE—(*Continued*).

Church Erected—Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion—Dunstable Cornet Band Formed—Nashua, Acton and Boston Railroad Opened—Bi-Centennial Celebration—1821–90.

THE church, though somewhat strengthened by a revival, was still unable to support a minister, and therefore applied, Feb. 7, 1822, to the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for some assistance, representing that "about one-half the property of this town stands on sectarian grounds;" that "the church had been destitute of a settled minister for seven years;" that "the church now consists of about one hundred and five members;" that "it is decidedly orthodox;" and that "for nearly three years past the Rev. Samuel Howe Tolman has labored among us a part of the time;" and that they had given him a call to settle over the church for the term of five years. In reply to this petition the society agreed to pay, conditionally, $100 per annum towards the support of Mr. Tolman. He was, therefore, installed over the church and society.

Dec. 24th it was voted "to adopt into our church the use of the Select Hymns selected by Dr. Samuel Worcester, of Salem, Mass." This book took the place of the Psalms and Hymns of Dr. Watts. Musical instruments, as the bass-viol, violin and clarionet, had been introduced into the choir, and it does not appear that any one now objected to their use in the services of the church.

A post-office was established in the town on the 13th of February, 1829, and Josiah Cummings, Jr., was appointed postmaster. Before the establishment of this office mail matter was received at the office in Tyngsborough.

It was this year decided by the evangelical part of the religious society to withdraw from the old meeting-house, and to build a new one. An advisory council was therefore called, which unanimously recommended the proposed undertaking. Subscriptions were at once taken, a site was purchased of Jasper P. Proctor for the sum of $100, and the present substantial edifice, under a contract with William Rowe, of Groton, was soon erected. As already seen in the opening chapter, this building has been much improved within recent years. The dedicatory sermon was preached by Rev. Amos Blanchard, D.D., Dec. 21, 1831.

The Orthodox Church voted, July 9, 1831, that "for the future we meet in the new meeting-house for divine worship on condition that the pews be rented and the rents be appropriated to the support of the gospel in the new house."

October 10th of the same year a call to the pastorate of the church was given to the Rev. Eldad W. Goodman, which he accepted.

The town, in 1834, voted to appropriate $100 for a singing-school, and chose Henry Parkhurst, Captain George Wright and Cyrus Taylor a committee to superintend the same.

On the 25th of August the Rev. Mr. Goodman, at his own desire, was dismissed from the pastorate of the church. He was regarded a faithful minister.

The Rev. Dana Goodsell supplied the church for a few months, declining, however, a call to settle as pastor. On March 15, 1837, the Rev. Levi Brigham was ordained pastor of the Evangelical Church.

In 1845 the town appropriated $400 for the use of public schools. Mr. John Hayward, in his "Gazetteer of Massachusetts," published in 1846, makes some errors in statements regarding Dunstable. "The soil," he said, "is sandy, and generally unproductive of other crops than hops and rye." This is plainly incorrect, the land being well adapted to the growth of all the cereals, and as good as that of any other town in this part of Middlesex County.

In 1848 the amount appropriated for public schools was raised to $500.

The Worcester and Nashua Railroad, which enters the town from Pepperell, and passes along its western border near the Nashua River, into Nashua, was opened on the 18th of December; but as it is remote from the centre, and leads to Boston by a circuitous route, it has been of little value to the place. It has no station in the town.

The town voted, at one of its meetings, "to sell the old town standard at auction," and also to receive Ira Hall and Webb and Bowker, with their estates, from Groton. The Rev. Levi Brigham was dismissed, at his own request, March 21st, from the pastorate of the Evangelical Church. He was an able pastor, and rendered the town much service from an educational point of view. He was succeeded by Rev. Darwin Adams, son of the celebrated school-book maker, Daniel Adams, M.D. About this time the meeting-house was enlarged and repaired. Miss Lucy Fletcher gave the church a pulpit, Dr. Daniel Adams presented to it a clock, and Mrs. Spaulding a set of chairs for the communion table. And here it will be fitting to mention that in later years the church has been remembered with valuable gifts. Mr. Jonas Kendall, of Framingham, has presented a beautiful communion service, and $3000 for a permanent fund. Mrs. Zilpha Woodward gave $500 and Miss Mary Wilson $200 as permanent funds.

The Rev. William C. Jackson, of Lincoln, was installed over the church November 2, 1859.

The number of inhabitants in 1860 was 487, of whom 243 were males and 244 females; 11 were over eighty, and 1 was over ninety years old.

The Dunstable Cornet Band was organized September 15th, with Hiram Spaulding as leader, treasurer and collector. It has attained a good reputation for skill in its musical performances, as well as for the gentlemanly bearing of its members. Its services are in good demand for processions and other public occasions in neighboring cities and towns.

On the breaking out of the War of the Rebellion the town manifested great activity in the enlistment and support of the soldiers. In this patriotic effort the ladies bore a conspicuous part. Volunteers promptly entered into the service of their country, and as many as sixty-four soldiers from Dunstable shared in the privations and battles of the war.

Notwithstanding the demand upon resources, then made by the war, the town raised, in 1862, $400 for the support of public schools. July 26th it was voted to borrow, if needed, $500 for the volunteers.

In 1863 it was voted to put up guide-posts throughout the town, for which it paid about $50. And here may be given an example of the public spirit of the young people of the town. The Dunstable Temperance Union, holding regular meetings once a month, purchased, in 1889, six lamp-posts, with accompanying lamps and fixtures, and caused them to be set out in different parts of the village. By not only thus furnishing, but arranging for the lighting of these lamps, the said organization takes a very practical method of letting its light shine. The money expended for these lamps was raised by dramatic entertainments given by the young people in Parker's Hall.

On the 8th of October, 1863, the old church in the Centre was destroyed by fire. It was never supplied either with an organ or with a bell. In front of the pulpit, on the gallery, was the inscription, "Finished in 1793." The old line of sheds for the horses on the side of the Common are the only memorials that remain of this ancient church building. After the division of the society the Revs. Hiram Beckwith, Russell Streeter, Josiah Gilman and William Hooper preached in it permanently. The pulpit was occasionally supplied by the Rev. Hosea Ballou, the Rev. Adin Ballou, the Rev. Thomas Whittemore, and other clergymen.

The names of the soldiers sent from Dunstable into the late war are as follows:

Anderson, Henry, private, three years, Thirty-second Regiment.

Baker, Esau, served one year in the navy.

Barnes, James, served one year in the navy.

Bean, Francis, enlisted for three years, December 19, 1863; mustered in January 5, 1864, private, Company B, Fifty-ninth Regiment.

Brady, Frederick, private, three years, Twenty-second Regiment.

Burrows, Charles, volunteer, three years, private, Company K, Fourteenth Regiment.

Butterfield, Dexter, enlisted and mustered in October 14, 1861, three years, private, Company A, Second Regiment; made a sergeant June 1, 1864; discharged October 14, 1864.

Carkin, Harrison, volunteer, private, Company C, Fourteenth Regiment, U. S. A.

Cheever, Alvin, enlisted and mustered in August 31, 1862, for nine months, Company A, Sixth Regiment.

Conway, Michael, private, mustered in August 14, 1862, three years, Company G, Forty-first Regiment.

Currier, Warren (2d), enlisted and mustered in July 11, 1865, three years, Fifth Battery.

Daglish, John J., enlisted and mustered in for one year, February 21, 1865, Company F, Thirty-eighth Regiment.

Dalyn, Simon, private for three years, mustered in August 14, 1862, Company G, Forty-first Regiment.

Davis, Ancil, private, nine months; enlisted October 12, and mustered in October 17, 1862, Company G, Fifty-third Regiment; died of chronic dysentery at Baton Rouge, July 1, 1863.

Davis, James A., enlisted and mustered in as a private for three years October 14, 1864, Company A, Second Regiment; wounded at the battle of Antietam and discharged; re-enlisted for one year, December 30, 1864, Company E, Cavalry, Frontier Service.

Donahue, Patrick, enlisted and mustered in July 14, 1865, for three years, Fourteenth Battery.

Douley, Joseph, enlisted and mustered in August 31, 1861, nine months, Company B, Sixth Regiment; discharged November 2, 1862, for disability.

Doyle, James, private, three years, Fifteenth Battery.

Eldredge, Frank W., private, three years, Twenty-sixth Regiment.

Farrar, Edward, private, three years, Fifteenth Battery.

Finley, Michael, three years, mustered in August 14, 1862, Company G, Forty-first Regiment.

Fletcher, Albert W., private, enlisted September 2, 1862, for nine months, Company D, Fifty-third Regiment. On the night previous to the battle of Port Hudson he gave his knapsack and money to a wounded comrade, to be conveyed to his mother in the event of his being killed in battle. He was last seen amongst his company bravely making the charge in the sanguinary contest of June 14, 1863. What more noble record could be made of him?

Foss, Charles V., private, three years, Company B, Fifty-ninth Regiment; enlisted December 19, 1863; mustered in January 5, 1864.

Gilson, James H., volunteer, private, mustered in August 6, 1864, for three years, Company K, Thirty-third Regiment; farmer.

Hartwell, Alonzo, private, three years, Company B, Fifty-ninth Regiment; enlisted December 19, 1863.

Hartwell, Warren, private, three years, Company B, Fifty-ninth Regiment; enlisted December 19, 1863.

Hickey, James, enlisted August 13, 1864, private, three years, Second Massachusetts Cavalry.

Hinds, Hiram H., enlisted August 8, 1864, Reserve Veteran Corps.

Hobbs, George, three years, Fifteenth Battery.

Hunter, George, volunteer, private, three years, Company K, Fourteenth Regiment.

Ingalls, James S., volunteer, three years, Company C, Twenty-sixth Regiment; discharged and died at New Orleans.

Jackson, Edward P., private, nine months, enlisted September 26, 1862, Company D, Forty-fifth Regiment; he was promoted to a corporal.

Jaques, Josiah S., Company K, Thirty-third Regiment, three years; mustered in August 6, 1862.

Jones, Cornely R., three years, enlisted and mustered in August 8, 1864, Reserve Veteran Corps.

Kahoe, Michael, private, three years, Eleventh Regiment; enlisted August 16, 1864.

Kelleiky, James, three years, Twenty-eighth Regiment.

Keyes, Peabody, volunteer, three years, Twenty-sixth Regiment.

Keyes, Samuel P., volunteer, private, mustered for three years, December 20, 1861, New Hampshire Eighth Regiment.

Knights, Isaac S., private, enlisted for three years, January 2, 1864, Fifth-ninth Regiment.

Lyons, Thomas, private, nine months, enlisted August 31, 1862, Company K, Sixth Regiment.

Marshall, George E., volunteer, private, three years, Company H, New Hampshire Seventh Regiment; enlisted and was mustered in October, 14, 1861. He died at Charleston, S. C., July 24, 1863, of wounds received at the storming of Fort Wagner six days previous. He was a prisoner at the time of his death.

Mayo, Willard M., enlisted as a private and volunteer, October 14, 1861, in Company H, New Hampshire Seventh Regiment, and was killed July 18, 1863, at the storming of Fort Wagner, in Charleston Harbor.

Murray, Michael, enlisted and was mustered in August 19, 1864, Company G, Seventeenth Regiment.

Osborne, Prescott E., private, three years, Twenty-sixth Regiment.

Page, David H., private, volunteer, three years, Company C, Twenty-sixth Regiment. Died at New Orleans, August 30, 1863, of dysentery.

Parker, Luther S., private, volunteer, three years, Company C, Twenty-sixth Regiment.

Pearl, Gilman A., Company B, Fifty-ninth Regiment; enlisted as a private for three years, December 19, 1863; mustered in January 5, 1864.

Pevey, Lyman E., enlisted March 4, 1865, for three years, Detachment of Ordnance, Arsenal, Watertown.

Pool, Leonard H., enlisted August 8, 1864, for three years, Reserve Veteran Corps.

Raupuck, Harold A., three years, navy.

Rich, Everett, was mustered in March 11, 1862, three years, navy.

Robertson, William, private, three years, Fifteenth Battery.

Robinson, John, two years, navy.

Rusmussen, Christian, two years, navy.

Short, William, Company B, Sixth Regiment, nine months; enlisted August, 31, 1862, and was discharged at the expiration of his service, June 3, 1863.

Stevens, Kimball A., private, Company B, Sixth Regiment; enlisted for nine months, August 31, 1862.

Stickney, Henry, private, Company G, Thirty-third Regiment, mustered in August 11, 1862, and died at Falmouth, Va., January 20, 1863.

Styles, John, enlisted August 8, 1864, for three years, Third Regiment of Infantry.

Taylor, George E., private, three years, Company A, Second Regiment, he enlisted October 14, 1861, and died at Frederick, Md., February 8, 1862.

Teagreean, John N., enlisted for three years in the Sixty-second Regiment.

Welch, Patrick, volunteer, three years, Company G, Forty-first Regiment.

White, Lucius, volunteer, private, three years, Company D, Eleventh Regiment Regular Infantry; wounded at the battle of Gettysburg, July 2, 1863, and died on the following day.

Wilkins, Luther, private, Company D, Fifty-third Regiment, nine months; enlisted October 12, 1862; returned home with his regiment, and was discharged September 2, 1863.

Wilkins, Luther E., enlisted for nine months as a private, Company D, Fifty-third Regiment, October 12, 1862. He was in the battle of Port Hudson, returned home with his regiment, and was discharged September 2, 1863.—Total, 64.

The following from this town enlisted in other places:

William W. Cummings, First Minnesota Regiment.
Hiram R. Kendall.
Alfred G. Parkhurst, Sixth Massachusetts Regiment.
Charles R. Swallow.
Richard H. Knights.

The town, under two calls, paid $3100 for bounties.

The Rev. William C. Jackson, at his own request, was dismissed from the pastorate of the church November 13, 1867. One or more revivals of religion occurred under Mr. Jackson's ministry. He was long a faithful missionary in Asiatic Turkey, and, previous to his coming to Dunstable, was settled over the church in Lincoln, Mass.

The Rev. Edward P. Kingsbury, of Newton, was ordained, but not installed over the church, on the 28th of November, 1869, the Rev. Eben B. Foster, D.D., of Lowell, preaching the sermon. Mr. Kingsbury continued to supply the pulpit acceptably until March 12, 1871, when failing health compelled him to retire. He died two weeks after returning to his home in Newton Centre, beloved by all who knew him.

The Rev. Charles Rockwell supplied the church for two years, beginning May 4, 1871.

The valuation of the town in 1872 was $326,185.22.

July 1, 1873, the church engaged the services of Rev. Franklin D. Austin as stated supply.

This year the town voted $2000 to defray the annual expenses, $900 of which were for the public schools, and $500 for the repairing of highways and bridges.

The Nashua, Acton and Boston Railroad, running near Flat Rock Hill, along the valley of Salmon Brook, centrally through the town, was opened for travel in June, 1873. The ceremony of breaking the ground for this road took place at Wall Hill in December, 1871, when speeches were made by the Hon. Levi Wallace, then of Pepperell, and now of Ayer, James T. Burnap, first superintendent of the road, and others, after which the company partook of a collation provided by the ladies of Dunstable. The occasion was enlivened by salutes from a cannon and by music from the Dunstable Cornet Band.

In 1873 the two hundredth anniversary of the original incorporation of the town was reached. At a legal meeting of the citizens, held in March, it was voted to appropriate $500 for a bi-centennial celebration, to be observed on Wednesday, the 17th day of September following. Josiah C. Proctor, Dexter Butterfield, James M. Swallow, Jonas Spaulding and John A. Parkhurst were chosen a committee to make arrangements. To this committee were added William N. Kemp, Washington E. Blood, Ira B. Hall, Benjamin French and George W. Fletcher. This committee received the following presents, unsolicited: $50 from Dexter Roby, of Boston, $50 from A. N. Swallow, of Charlestown and $20 from Hiram Kemp, of Boston, all sons of Dunstable, to aid in defraying the expenses of the celebration. Benjamin French was appointed chairman of the committee of arrangements.

Printed letters of invitation were sent out to those specially interested in the welfare of the town. Great preparations were made for the festivities of the occasion as the time for the anniversary drew near. Josiah C. Proctor was appointed president of the day; Isaac O. Taylor and Jonas C. Kendall were vice-presidents; Benjamin French, chairman of the committee of arrangements; Dexter Butterfield, chief marshal, together with James A. Davis and Andrew J. Woodward, assistants. Dr. George B. Loring was invited to deliver the oration. Ample accommodation was afforded by Yale's mammoth tent, and a good variety of refreshments were provided by C. E. Reed, a caterer from Boston.

The morning of the 17th of September dawned propitiously. At ten o'clock a procession was formed at the railroad station, which proceeded to the centre of the town in the following order:

Dexter Butterfield, marshal of the day, and aids, with the Dunstable Cornet Band; two four-horse barouches, one containing Gov. William B. Washburn, the Hon. George S. Boutwell, the Hon. George B. Loring, with Josiah C. Proctor, Esq., president of the day; the other barouche containing the Hon. E. Rockwood Hoar, of Concord, Gen. Israel Hunt, of Nashua, together with Messrs. Isaac O. Taylor and Jonas C. Kendall, vice-presidents of the day. Then came in order, Capt. Christopher Roby's company of cavalry with seventy sabres, followed by the Pepperell Engine Company, No. 1, thirty-three men, with the Pepperell Cornet Band, and citizens in carriages and on foot.

An appropriate stand for the speakers had been erected on the south side of the Common, and a large number of seats were provided. "*Welcome Home,*" and other beautiful mottoes adorned the platform. The dates 1673–1873, in wreaths of flowers, ornamenting the speaker's desk, could be clearly seen by the audience. Salutes from a piece of artillery announced the arrival of the long procession, and many flags were waving. Never before had Dunstable Common been so richly decorated or visited by so large a throng. As many as 3000 people were present.

The exercises were opened by the reading of selections from the Scriptures, and a prayer by the Rev. Franklin D. Austin. Animating music from the Dunstable Cornet Band then followed, and an original song of welcome, rendered with much expression, by the Clark family, of New Ipswich. Josiah C. Proctor, Esq., then, in a few appropriate words, extended a cordial welcome to the vast assemblage, and read the resolution of the town in respect to the celebration. He then introduced the Hon. George B. Loring as the orator of the occasion. This gentleman, rising, then gave an historical address, speaking effectively for an hour and a half to an attentive audience. At the conclusion of the oration the Clark family sang "The Star-Spangled Banner." This was followed by an original song, composed by Mrs. Maria A. Whitcomb, and by music from the Dunstable and Pepperell Cornet Bands.

SONG BY MRS. M. A. WHITCOMB.

SUNG BY THE DUNSTABLE CORNET BAND.

(Tune, "Yankee Doodle.")

This town was all a forest deep,
Two hundred years ago, sir;
The vales were low, the hills were steep,
And streamlets wandered through, sir.

CHORUS.

Yankee doodle, this the place,
Yankee doodle dandy;
We like the good, old-fashioned days,
The people were so handy.

A few brave men, a pilgrim band,
Sought this far-off location;
They saw it was a goodly land,
And here they fixed their station.—CHORUS.

From time to time the settlers came,
And built as they were able;
At length the town must have a name,
And so 'twas called *Dunstable*.—CHORUS.

No draught from China's sultry land
Was seen at morn or e'en, sir;
The "black cow" gave a beverage bland.
Few drank black tea or green, sir.—CHORUS.

In homespun were the people dressed,
Of woollen, tow or linen,
Their Sunday suits which were their best,
Were nicely made by women.—CHORUS.

The girls could wash and brew and bake,
And also were good spinners;
The maids could ply the hoe and rake,
While matrons cooked the dinners.

CHORUS.

Yankee doodle, this the place,
Yankee doodle dandy;
We like the good, old-fashioned days,
The people were so handy.

After the exercises were closed at the speakers' stand, the people spent some time in exchanging congratulations and reminiscences of former days, and then proceeded to the immense tent south of the Common to partake of the banquet prepared by Mr. Reed. The Rev. Mr. M. Smith, of Tyngsborough, invoked the divine blessing, and about an hour was spent in partaking of the bountiful repast. When this was concluded the Pepperell Band gave music, and the president of the day felicitously introduced Mr. O. C. Moore, as the toast-master of the anniversary. Having spoken for a few moments, he announced as the first toast: "Old Dunstable! she divided her estate among ten sons, and to-day she calls them home and bids them welcome." The response was in the form of the following original poem, contributed from the pen of Mrs. Mary Rockwell, and read by Mr. James T. Burnap:

DUNSTABLE.

My childhood's home! what music in the sound,
Dear to each heart, wherever man is found!
By every nation, every clime and tongue,
In sweetest praise their dwelling-place is sung.
Go to the Indian in the Western wild,
Ask him where Nature has most kindly smiled;
He'll point you to his dark, old forest home,
And to his cheerless wigwam bid you come.
Go to the regions of the frozen zone,
Where naught but stinted shrubs and moss are grown,
Ask the poor native what delights *his* eye;
He'll point you to his hut of snow hard by.
Enlightened man no pleasure here can find,
And blesses God that he has not designed
To cast *his* lot in regions cold and drear,
Removed from all he holds on earth so dear.
Across the ocean, in the Eastern world,
Where freedom's banner ne'er has been unfurled,
Where superstition rules with tyrant sway,
And man, degraded, wears his life away,
Yet even here the heart clings to one place,—
Here is his home, here dwells his kindred race.
To nations proud in wealth and culture turn;
From their attachments, too, we plainly learn
How strong, how deep, the feeling of the heart
For one dear spot of this great earth, small part,
And yet within that little space, close curled,
Lies love's rich treasure, making it a world.

And thus, fair Dunstable, thy children come
To celebrate the birthday of their home.
Two hundred years! We'll bridge across time's space,
And turn thought backward on its swiftest race;
Call back the forms and faces that were here,—
In mental vision they will reappear,
Show us the regions that around them lay,
Rude and untilled, two centuries to-day.
Then brute creation, tenants of the wood,
Untamed and fierce, were prowling for their food;
And savage man, more to be feared than they,
Would lie in ambush to make man his prey,
Lurk round the dwellings, slyly watch and wait
Till on the pale-face he could wreak his hate;
With torch to burn and tomahawk to destroy,
Rending the air with wild, mad whoops of joy.
On scenes like these we will but briefly dwell,
Truths, stern and sad, the historic page must tell.
We use the past to contrast shade with light,
And make the present look more clearly bright.

Fair Dunstable! sometimes they call thee old;
Thy youthful days are not yet fully told;
The peaceful tenor of thy even way
Has left no furrows time and age display.
Thy fields are fair, thy woods are bright and green,
Thy lakes and streams are dressed in silvery sheen;
On thy smooth brow is written early life,
Untrodden yet the paths of vice and strife.
But changes soon will come thy peace to mar;
E'en now is heard the rattling railroad car
Along thy wood where quiet reigned around,
And the lone night-bird's song the loudest sound,
Till the last year of two long centuries past
Proclaimed, by engine, "Men were going fast."
Business and hurry bring on middle age,
They're foes of youth, a war they quickly wage,
Turn peaceful streams from their calm, gentle course,
Restrain their waters for propelling force.
The hills are brought on level with the plain,
And plains made hills to answer hope of gain.
If such of sister towns has been the fate,
Thy turn may come, though it be rather late,
When on the morning breeze the factory bell
Shall to the sleeper hours of labor tell,
When whizzing cars on every side shall go,
And prove this place is neither slack nor slow,
We'll not attempt to use prophetic ken,
We know what has been and may be again!

Fair Dunstable! a tribute we would pay
Thy worthy children, long since passed away!
Of the first century history contains
A warlike record, full of griefs and pains.
Hearts brave and noble were compelled to yield,
And for a season leave the foe the field.
No doubt that race were men of sterling worth,
Beloved, respected, while they dwelt on earth.
But of the century now just passed away,
More of thy children we can know and say:
Some have been worthy tillers of the soil,
Substantial men, rewarded by their toil;
Some in mechanic arts have spent their days,
Their works declare them men deserving praise;
And some have sought a livelihood by trade,
Have bought and sold, and thus their fortunes made;
Others preferred in learning's paths to go,
In three professions Dunstable can show
Men who have made their mark and won renown
In other places than their native town.
But time forbids to pass each in review,—
One name we'll mention of the noted few,
A name this place may well be proud to own,
Virtues like Amos Kendall's wide are known!
Called by his country to high posts of trust,
Honored and honest, numbered with the just;
His friends and relatives are with us here,
And all who knew him hold his memory dear.
An *aged woman lives*, still pleased to tell,
She made him coats and pants, —he liked them well.
In politics this town has borne its part,
Both parties know the tricks of party art;
And to the statesmen who are here to-day,
We pay due honor, —better than "back pay!"

Fair Dunstable! thy sons have had their praise,
And shall thy daughters share not in these lays?
To "Woman's Rights" they ne'er have laid their claim,
To be right women is their highest aim,
Act well each part within their sphere of life,
A faithful mother and devoted wife.

And now, fair Dunstable, our work is done!
Another century has for thee begun!
Throughout thy realms, may peace and temperance reign,
Increase each virtue and each vice restrain!
And when life's changes all with us are o'er,
Safe may we meet upon that heavenly shore
Where centuries are uncounted and unknown,
And joys are endless round the Eternal throne.

The second toast was, "The President of the United States." In response the Dunstable Band played "America." The third toast was "Massachusetts,—the earliest and foremost in the cause of civil and religious liberty. The lapse of two hundred years has added lustre to her renown, force to her example and prominence to her high place in history. All honor to the Governor! and the governed of the old Commonwealth!"

Governor Washburn rose and responded happily, and among othr remarks said, "The influence of old Dunstable upon those that were born here has caused them joyfully to return, and in the celebration demonstrate their full appreciation of the benefits received by them from the place of their birth."

The fourth toast was, "Our Representative in Congress,—the eminent jurist, the practical statesman, the honest politician: old Dunstable can trust him, and he will honor her." Hon. E. Rockwood Hoar, M.C., pleasantly responded. The following sentiment affords a sample of his remarks:

"The ideas of free education were always cherished in Dunstable, and will always be cherished as long as the great and undying principles of justice and truth shall continue."

The fifth toast, "New Hampshire—bleak are her hills in winter, and warm are the hearts of her sons all the year round," was responded to briefly by the Rev. Mr. Philbrook. The Hon. Levi Wallace responded to the sixth toast, "Our railroad,—the tie that binds two cities that Act-on as one."

The seventh toast, "New England—her townships were the nurseries of Republican institutions; to-day they are the model democracies of the World," received a response from the Hon. George S. Boutwell, who said:

"There were three points in the history of New England which he never liked to pass, when New England is concerned—namely, the municipal system, the public-school system, and the religious tolerance of the forefathers. It may be said of the Puritans

that they recognized the right of government to set up a church, in which all should worship and should pay toward its support; but they were willing to have any church established not interfering with that church, and thus they should be excused from intolerance. The public-school system is due entirely to the Puritan Protestantism which prevailed in Massachusetts long ago. Its first object was to train up youth to be able to examine and judge of the Scriptures for themselves. He deemed it a loss to the municipal system that the towns, as towns, are not represented in the General Court.

"The larger cities and municipalities are absorbing and corrupt. They are to be saved, if at all, by large legislative bodies. The civil government should be in the hands of those who are well paid. The assembly should be large, and the cost would, of course, be great; but we must pay for government. He desired to see the municipalities strengthened and their pride encouraged. One means of connecting these celebrations will be by a celebration every half-century."

The eighth toast, "The City of Nashua," brought remarks from General Israel Hunt.

The ninth and last toast was "The Orator of the Day—by the ability, research, and eloquence which he has displayed to-day, he has proved himself worthy to be a son of old Dunstable, and we adopt him."

Mr. Loring responded with a few fitting words. The Clark family then sang an original parting song, composed by Mrs. Mary Rockwell.

A salute was fired at the conclusion of the singing, and the people having mutually enjoyed their meeting together, and with many felicitations on all that was connected with the occasion bade each other good by, and withdrew to their several homes.

The Rev. F. D. Austin closed his services as pastor of the Congregational Church in 1879. As the result of a revival which occurred during that period, nineteen were added to the church. Mr. Austin was succeeded by the Rev. Bernard Copping, now of Groveland, Mass. Mr. Copping continued with the church in Dunstable five years. His labors were prospered and many improvements were made upon the parsonage, promoting the comfort and convenience of the building.

In August, 1885, the Rev. Henry M. Perkins was called by the people to be their pastor, and continues with them at the present date, 1890. During this time several special expenditures have been made for needed improvements on the church edifice. A new bell costing $300 has replaced the old one, which, through age and long usage, had begun to give an "uncertain sound." The beautiful hymn-book "Laudes Domini," is now used instead of the old "Sabbath Hymn and Tune Book." Extensive repairs and improvements have been made at an expense of about $1500, by which two rooms have been added to the vestry for social and religious uses, and the whole building rendered more beautiful and convenient. A "Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor" has been organized and has proved itself a very valuable adjunct of church work. Within the past few months the church has been spiritually quickened, and several have been added to the membership.

The members of the Universalist Society continue to worship in Parker's Hall, though they contemplate the erection of a building when pending questions respecting a location have been settled.

CHAPTER LX.

DUNSTABLE.—(Continued).

BIOGRAPHICAL.

DR. NATHAN CUTLER practiced in town before the Revolution, and was a surgeon in the war. He lived on the river road near Cutler's Brook, a little north of the State line.

DR. EBENEZER STARR came to Dunstable from Dedham soon after the Revolution and lived on a Kendall place in the northerly part of the town. He was highly esteemed both as a physician and a citizen. His death occurred September 7, 1798.

DR. MICAH ELDREDGE practiced long in Dunstable, living near Salmon Brook. He married Sally Buttrick, of Concord, and had a family of twelve children, several of whom received a liberal education. He held various offices in the town. He was a deacon of the church and was twice elected representative to the General Court. The degree of M.D. was conferred upon him from Dartmouth College. He died in Nashua, N. H., in 1849. His son, HEZEKIAH ELDREDGE, succeeded him in the practice of medicine at Dunstable.

DR. ADONIJAH W. HOWE practiced in town several years. He married Miss Martha D. Butterfield. His death occurred in 1886.

SAMUEL MARK FLETCHER graduated at Amherst College in 1846. He was a son of Capt. Mark, grandson of Phineas and great-grandson of Deacon Joseph Fletcher, the first settler of the name in Dunstable. He studied medicine in Philadelphia and practiced two years in Westerly, R. I. He was assistant surgeon in the War of the Rebellion; he then practiced medicine in Denver City and Chicago, where he died, October 3, 1875.

THE HON. ISAAC FLETCHER, grandson of Deacon Joseph Fletcher, was born in Joint Grass, in the northwesterly part of Dunstable, November 22, 1784; was graduated with honor at Dartmouth College, in the class of 1808, and taught for some time in the academy at Chesterfield, N. H. He afterwards stud-

ied law with Messrs. Prescott & Dunbar, at Keene, N. H. In 1811 he removed to Lyndon, Vt., where he enjoyed an extensive practice. He was for some time State attorney for Caledonia County, was also a Representative of Lyndon in the State Legislature, and was twice elected Representative to Congress, serving in that office from 1837 to 1841. He was a prompt and energetic man, and possessed many other admirable traits of character. His death occurred October 19, 1842.

The Hon. Isaac Fletcher once wrote to his son, Charles B. Fletcher, as follows:

"From my earliest recollection, my constitution and health have been feeble, and have continued so to the present time, but yet able to endure much application, labor and fatigue. One rule of my father's economy was that all the money spent by the children must be earned by themselves. By the greatest industry in raising potatoes and tobacco, I possessed myself of money enough to buy Pike's large Arithmetic, and commenced the study of it during the leisure evenings I could spare. By dint of perseverance, I mastered every rule, and could solve any problem in the whole book. This laid the foundation for mathematical studies, which have been of use to me through life. I have ever devoted myself, when opportunity would allow, with more pleasure to the study of that science than any other." He also said: "In 1803 my father came to a resolution to suffer me to acquire a liberal education. He informed me that all he could do for me was to give me my time, and if I thought, by industry and economy, I could succeed in the attempt, I might make the experiment, but should I fail, there would be always a seat at his table and food enough and work enough for me to do on his farm. Thus encouraged and supported by my father, I collected all my movable effects, consisting of clothes and a few books, and left home with a fixed and determined resolution to tax my genius and industry to the utmost to acquire an education. With budget in hand I took my departure for Groton to prepare for college. At this time I was possessed of a yoke of oxen, a few sheep, and other property, in all to the amount of about $150, which I converted into cash and funded in order to draw upon as necessity might require. I did not feel myself able to take board near the academy, but at the distance of a mile and a half, where I could get it cheaper than in the village. I commenced fitting for college in September, 1803, and entered the Freshman class in Dartmouth College in 1804. I may as well say, once for all, my feelings suffered much, for my means were scanty and my dress and style humble."

In addition to the other offices, already mentioned, which Mr. Fletcher held, was that of adjutant and inspector-general of the militia of the State. Gen. Fletcher continued his classical studies through life, and to them added the study of the French language and literature. Of him his biographer says: "He was an indulgent parent, a kind-hearted friend, charitable to all, unwilling to offend or pain any one, hospitable and generous, and accomplished more for good and less for evil, I think, than most others."

Amos Kendall, son of Deacon Zebedee and Molly Kendall, was born in the northerly part of Dunstable, near Salmon Brook, on Sunday, August 16, 1787. His boyhood was spent in hard work on his father's farm, and in attending school during the winter season. He had a fondness for books, and employed many of his leisure hours in reading. His general demeanor gained for him the title of deacon. He was fitted for college, partly at the academy in New Ipswich, N. H., and partly in that of Groton. In graduating at Dartmouth College, in 1811, he took the highest honor of his class. William M. Richardson, Esq., of Groton, taught him the profession of law, in his office. In the spring of 1814 Mr. Kendall removed to Kentucky, where he was for some time employed as a tutor in the family of Henry Clay at Ashland. His acquaintance with this great statesman resulted in the formation of political views and aspirations. On leaving the family of Mr. Clay he commenced the practice of law, and soon afterwards became the editor of a Democratic journal, called the *Argus*, published at Frankfort, Ky. He exerted his influence and effort for the election of Gen. Andrew Jackson to the Presidency, and in 1829 received from him the appointment of fourth auditor of the treasury. He held the office of Postmaster-General from 1835 to 1840. He introduced many reforms into this department, and removed the burden of debt. In 1845 he assumed the entire management of the interest of Prof. Samuel F. Morse in the magnetic telegraph, and was the founder and first president of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum at Washington. He married for his first wife Miss Mary B. Woolfolk, by whom he had four children; and for his second wife Miss Jane Kyle, by whom he had ten children. Dartmouth College conferred on him the degree of LL.D., in 1849. He strongly advocated the common-school system, and was a liberal benefactor of good causes. He was led to join the Calvary Baptist Church at Washington, from hearing a sermon by the Rev. A. B. Earle on, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian," delivered March 23, 1865. He was an active member of this church, and gave to it in all $115,000. He also contributed about $20,000 to the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, $6000 to found a scholarship in Columbia College, and about $25,000 in aid of two mission schools, one of which is called Kendall's Chapel. In the autumn of 1862 he went to live at Kendall Green, in Taunton, N. J., and in 1866 visited Europe and the Holy Land. He died at Washington, on the 12th day of November, 1869, leaving in manuscript an Autobiography, which has been published in a handsome volume of seven hundred pages.

Mr. Kendall faithfully served the Cabinet of which he was a member, and was so influential as to be called the President's "right-hand" man. He was a leading figure in American politics for nearly a third of a century. He was a public-spirited man, and an earnest Christian. As he looked at the rising sun on a beautiful morning his last words were, "How beautiful, how beautiful!" He soon closed his eyes in peaceful death.

The Rev. Dr. Sunderland said at his funeral, "He was a man of great modesty of disposition. He sought no display, and if he had a fault it was that he was altogether too retiring and diffident. He was an honest man, purely and exactly a faithful man. Honest and faithful to his fellow-men, he was no less so to his God." Rev. Dr. Samson also said of him, "From his youthful editorials up to his elaborate papers there were a clearness and force and a fascina-

tion of which many still speak as having riveted their attention whenever they took up anything coming from his pen. . . . As age and the refining influence of growing religious faith and hope mellowed the ripening fruit of his last years, a sweetness and serenity of temper came over him, which made his family and every circle where his hoary locks were seen moving take on a new delight because of his presence."

Mr. Kendall thus vividly describes the discipline of his father's family: "Grace before and thanks after meat, and morning and evening prayers, with the reading of a chapter in the Bible and the singing of a hymn of Sunday, accompanied by the bass-viol, played by their eldest son while he was at home, constituted the regular religious exercises of the family. The father and mother never failed to attend church on Sunday, except in case of sickness or when absent from home; and the entire family, one member only excepted, were required to maintain a like regularity in Sabbath observances. Except in special cases, all labor beyond the simplest preparation of food for man and beast, and all recreation, were strictly prohibited on Sunday. The evening was spent in learning and reciting the Westminster Catechism, in reading religious books, and in practicing sacred music. The whole family could sing, and, when all were present, could carry all the four parts of ordinary tunes."

A change seems to have come over the good Dea. Zebedee Kendall, in respect to the use of an innocent instrument, as indicated by the following:

"When Amos was a little boy, a fiddle was an abomination to his father and mother. His eldest brother, who had quite a taste for music, having constructed a bass-viol or two, determined to try his hand upon a fiddle, and produced a very good instrument. Not daring to bring it to the house, he kept it in a cooper's shop not far distant. His father, hunting there for something one day, mounted a bench so that his head was raised above the beams of the shop, when his eyes fell upon the unlucky fiddle. He took it by the neck, and apostrophizing it, '*This is the first time I ever saw you!*' dashed it into the fireplace.

"Being on a visit to his parents about thirty years afterwards, Amos Kendall went to meeting in Dunstable on a Sunday, and there sat his father in the deacon's seat, beneath the pulpit, as in former times, and *there was a fiddle in the choir!*"

Mr. Kendall sometimes wrote poetry. The following graceful lines were sent to his wife in 1829:—

TO A WILD FLOWER.

BY AMOS KENDALL.

On the white cliffs of Elkhorn, with cedars o'erspread,
Where beauty and wildness in silence repose,
A gay little wild flower raised up its head,
By Zephyrs caressed as in sweetness it rose.

Its beauties no culture could ever impart,
No garden or meadow can boast such a gem;
All native it blossomed, for never had art
Transplanted its root or enameled its stem.

I saw it and loved it; and now on my breast
It breathes out its fragrance, its beauty displays;
My heart leaps to meet it, in ecstasy blest,
The dream of my nights and the charm of my days.

And oh, thought of rapture! not like other flower
Does it droop on the air, life and loveliness flinging;
But its charms and its fragrance increase every hour,
And sweet little buds all around it are springing.

—*Autobiography*, p. 288.

The Rev. Samuel Howe Tolman was born here Aug. 12, 1826. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1848, and at Andover Theological Seminary in 1852. He was, for a few years, city missionary in Bath, Me., and was ordained as pastor of the church at Wilmington, Mass., Aug. 14, 1856. He was dismissed in 1870, and became pastor of the church in Lenox, Mass. His mind became shattered, and he committed suicide at Nelson, N. H., Oct. 6, 1873. He was faithful and highly esteemed in his work as a minister of the gospel.

The Rev. John Spaulding, D.D., was born in Mason, N. H., Nov. 30, 1800. He went to Middlebury College in 1821, from Dunstable, where he had been for some time employed in working on a farm. Having studied theology at Andover, he was ordained as an evangelist at Newburyport Sept. 25, 1828. He was married on the same day to Miss Olive C. B. Kendall, daughter of Capt. Jonas Kendall, of Dunstable. She died March 14, 1852, and her remains were brought to her native town for burial. Dr. Spaulding's early labors were in the West. In 1841 he became secretary of the American Seamen's Society in New York City. He delivered a very able historical discourse in the church at Dunstable Nov. 19, 1865. He also published an autobiography entitled "From the Plow to the Pulpit," which is full of interest.

Aside from its college graduates, Dunstable has sent forth into the world many sons and daughters who have been useful and honored in the several stations in life which they occupied.

The French Family.—The family of French claims its origin in France, from Rollo, Duke of Normandy, who married Gisla or Giselle, daughter of Charles the Simple, King of France. Rollo is said to have been so "mighty of stature that no horse had the size to carry him;" consequently, he was always obliged to go on foot, and received the appellation of Rollo, the Marcher. In 912 A.D., at the time of his marriage, his father-in-law, Charles the Simple, gave him a tract of land, now known as modern Normandy, in return for which Rollo received Christian baptism by the Archbishop of Rouen, and was called Robert from his godfather, Robert, Count of Paris.

From Harlovan, the third son of Rollo, in direct line, is said to have descended Sir Maximilian de French, whose son, Sir Theophilus French (Freyn), went with William the Conqueror to England, and took part in the Battle of Hastings. Thus was the first branch of the French family planted in English soil, where it became firmly rooted and extended its branches into various sections of that country.

I may state here that the name of French was not, as one might suppose, taken from the name of the people where the family originated, for, in searching



Jonas H. Huck

its etymology, it is found that the name was originally Fraxinus or Freyne, or, with the French prefix, De la Freyne, having two significations, ash tree and ashen spear. The handle of the latter was made from the wood of the ash, on account of its lightness and durability, and from that received its name. The ash-tree indicates the name of an estate, while the spear suggests warfare or military life. The following list, taken from a "History of the French Family," by one of its members, shows the various orthographic changes the name passed through before it became really anglicized:

Frane.	Freynsce.	Frensche.
Frene.	Freynsh.	Frenshe.
Frein.	Freynssh.	Frensch.
Freyne.	Frainche.	Ffrench.
Freyns.	Freinche.	French.
Freignee.		
Freygne.		

It is stated that as early as the eleventh century the name of Frene is found in various parts of England.

Within less than 140 years from the baptism of Rollo, says Lingard, the Normans were ranked among the most polished, as well as the most warlike nations of Europe, and from such men was Al-Frin, the founder of this sept, and from whom his descendants, says Lodge, derive the name of De Freyne.

"In the establishment of Norman power in England, De la Freigne acquired a tract of land, by grant, in Herefordeshire" (as it does not appear in the Doomsday Book, it must have been after the year 1086), "where he established his line, which was continued for centuries." "It is believed that this line may be considered common to all the branches that subsequently diverged from it."

"In 1337 took place the celebrated tournament of Dunstable, where, on the roll of Knights who tilted there, appears the name of Monsieur Hugh De Freigne.

"About the year 1348 a Robert Frensh was seized of other lands in Herefordshire, on whose decease, in 1370, the custody of his estate was committed in wardship *durante minoritate heredis*. This record is one of many that, even at this early date, evinces the transition from Freyne to French."

Individuals of the name of Freyne or French are traceable by territorial and historic notices in Norfolk from 1200, in Kent from 1270, in Sussex from 1278, in Buckingham from 1279, in Northamptonshire from 1313, in Essex from 1323, where they gave the name to the Manor of Frenches.

In Halsted, Essex Co., England, was born March 13, 1603, Lieut. William French, who came to America in the ship "Defence," from London, in the year 1635, and settled in Dunster Street, Cambridge. His lot was numbered twenty-four and contained one hundred and fifty acres. He resided on the westerly side of Dunster Street, about midway between Harvard Square and Mt. Auburn Street. This estate was sold June 10, 1656. From him, in direct line, is descended the subject of this biography, Col. Jonas Harrod French.

The following quaint list of passengers in the "Defence" has been preserved:

Jully, 1635. In the Defence de Lond. Mr. Thomas Bostocke vrs. New England p. cert from Minstrs Justice of Peace of his conformity of ye Gou'mt of Englde. No subsidy man. Roger Harlakenden, aged 23, toke the othe of allegiance and supremacie. Then follow the names of those in charge of Harlakenden, among whom are those of William French, aged 30, and his wife, Elizabeth, aged 32.

(See John C. Hotten's list of emigrants, p. 100.)

William French was made a freeman at Cambridge 1636, and removed to Billerica about 1652; was its first deputy in the Colonial Assembly, one of its first selectmen and a man of prominence in its early history; he died 1681.

First Generation.—William French, of England, married Elizabeth ——, and had, *inter alias*, Samuel, born in Cambridge Dec. 3, 1645 [Savage says later], and died in Billerica Nov. 20, 1681. He was one of the selectmen of Billerica in 1660, and here he married Mrs. Mary, widow of John Stearns, by whom he had four daughters—Mary, Sarah, Abigail and Hannah. He had in Billerica the authority to solemnize marriages.

Second Generation.—Samuel[2], the youngest son of Lieut. William French, was born in Cambridge Dec. 3, 1645 or 1648, and settled in Dunstable on the easterly side of Nutting's Hill.

He married, December 24, 1682, Sarah, daughter of John Cummings, Sr., who had taken up lands in that vicinity, and had:

1. Sarah[3], born in February, 1684.
2. Samuel[5], born September 10, 1685.
3. Joseph, born March 10, 1687; grandfather of Colonel Joseph French, who died March 21, 1776, aged sixty-three, and is buried in the old cemetery at Littles, in Nashua, N. H.
4. John[3], born May 6, 1691.
5. Ebeneazer, born April 7, 1693; killed by the Indians at Naticook, September 5, 1724. He was buried, with his comrades, in the above-mentioned cemetery, and the head-stone that marks his grave bears this quaint inscription:

"Here lyes ye Body of Thomas Lund, who departed this life Sept. ye 5th, 1726 in ye 42d year of his age. This man, with seven more that lies in this grave, was slew in a day by the Indians."

6. Jonathan[3], born February 1, 1694.
7. Richard[3], born April 8, 1695.
8. Alice[3], born November 20, 1699.

Samuel French[2] was one of the first founders of the first church in Dunstable, organized December 16, 1685, the Rev. Thomas Weld being pastor and also one of twelve to defend a garrison established in Dunstable in 1702. He was one of the selectmen of the town in 1725, and that year signed a petition to the Governor and Council for assistance in defending the town against the incursions of the Indians. He took

up a large tract of land in Dunstable—perhaps 180 acres—some of which remains to this day in the hands of his descendants. He probably lived on the site of the house immediately on the east of Nutting's Hill. (*Town Records.*)

Third Generation (*III.*).—JOHN FRENCH[5], born May 6, 1691; married and had issue:

1. John, born March 1, 1719.
2. William, born October 18, 1721.
3. Hannah.
4. Eleanor.
5. Elizabeth.
6. Ebenezer, born in 1732; married Sarah Proctor, of Acton, May 10, 1765, and died April 14, 1808. He was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and had, *inter alias*, John, the father of the present Benjamin French, Esq., of Dunstable.

John French[3] was by trade a wheelwright, and his house stood near that of Benjamin French, Esq. A part of it still remains. It was used at one time as a school-house. He bought land of his father, Samuel French, and the deed, dated July 4, 1714, is now in possession of Benjamin French. He bought the millstone meadow of Henry Farwell in 1721, and twelve acres of land in Mr. Thomas Brattle's farm, of Jonathan Taylor in 1732. His rate in 1744 was: poll, 8*s.* 4*d.*; real estate, 3*s.* 10*d.*; personal estate, 2*s.* 10*d.* (*Town Records.*)

"He was one of a committee chosen March ye 28, 1744, with the Rev. Mr. Swan, to see if anything was due him from ye town of Dunstable before ye line was run betweene ye said Province." (*Town Records.*)[1]

He was a highway surveyor in 1752, and held several other town offices. The date of his death is not known.

Fourth Generation.—John French[4], born March 1, 1719; married Mary ——, and had issue:

1. William, born July 13, 1752, was a shoemaker by trade, and lived and died at the old homestead at the base of Nutting's Hill. He was at the battle of Bunker Hill, and was at one time during the action stationed at the rail fence, where he loaded his gun and with deliberate aim discharged it sixteen times in succession at the enemy. He became a member of Captain Oliver Cumming's company in 1776, and was at thebattle of Trenton and in several other engagements. In his latter days he received a pension. He was never married.
2. Mary[5], born March 21, 1754, and married Isaac Pike October 30, 1772.
3. John, born October 25, 1775.
4. JONAS[5], born August 17, 1757, was baptized by the Rev. Josiah Goodhue the same year. (*Church Records.*)

John French[4] held a lieutenant's commission as early as 1752. On the 26th of October, of the same year, he was appointed, with John Woodward and Adford Jaquith, as a committee "to purchase a suitable quantity of land to set the Meeting House for the town of Dunstable." The meeting house, after long contention, was finally erected on a rocky eminence now covered a growth of pine, about one mile easterly from Dunstable Centre. Lieutenant John French, Jr., as he was designated, served the town as constable in 1754 and 1755. He was a farmer, and occupied a good substantial two-story house fronting the south, and having on the east a beautiful meadow, through which flows How's Weld Brook, with the pine-wooded eminence on the west called Nutting's Hill. He died March 15, 1761, aged forty-two years. (*Town Records.*)

Fifth Generation.—Jonas French[5], born August 17, 1757; married first Betty Marshall; and had issue:

1. Mary[6], born March 14, 1781.
2. Jonas[6], Jr., born August 12, 1782.
3. William, born June 5, 1789.
4. John Marshall, born March 9, 1795.

Betty [Marshall] French died October 8, 1799. Jonas French then married Mrs. Anna Mitchell, a lady of much personal worth and beauty, who was then a member of Deacon Zebedee Kendall's family, in Dunstable. She was the widow of a Mr. Mitchell, by whom she had two children, Nancy and Bela; the former of whom died of typhoid fever in Dunstable; the latter settled in Athol, Mass.

A sister of Mrs. Anna Mitchell married Mr. Timothy Thompson, of Charlestown, Mass. Mr. Jonas French died in 1840, at the advanced age of eighty-three years. He was well educated, and took an active part in the public affairs of the town. At the early age of seventeen he, with his brother William, shouldered their muskets and joined the Continental Army and saw much active service.

On crossing the neck after the battle of Bunker Hill, they found an officer badly wounded, and though exposed to the galling fire from the "Glasgow," a man-of-war, they tendered to him their services. He declined their aid, thinking himself past recovery, and at the same time urged them to flee from the imminent peril to which they were exposed. The humane brothers raised, however, the wounded officer tenderly and bore him through the carnage to a place of safety. The wounded officer proved to be Captain Henry Farwell, of Groton.

A musket-ball was extracted from his spine, and he survived the operation many years [See Butler's "History of Groton," p. 268]. Jonas and William served through the war, rendering efficient aid to the country and leaving an honored name to their posterity. Jonas French was sometimes employed by the town of Dunstable as a teacher; and this entry appears upon the records: "Allowed out of the town treasury in 1778 £3 4*s.* to Jonas French for keeping school." He bought, Aug. 30, 1792, for £12 18*s.* pew No. 12 in the meeting-house recently removed to the

[1] The line between New Hampshire and Massachusetts was run Feb. 1741.



James M. Swallow

centre. He was town clerk in 1796. The present buildings of the old French homestead, on the east side of Nutting's Hill and a little south of the New Hampshire line, were erected by his hands. Two twin oaks in front of the house are noble representatives of the solid sterling qualities of himself and brother.

Sixth Generation—Children of Jonas and Betty [Marshall] French:

1. Mary, born March 14, 1781, lived and died July 3, 1846, in Dunstable. She was never married.

2. Jonas, Jr.[6], born August 12, 1782, and married first, Martha Jewett, of Hollis, N. H., April 3, 1809, by whom he had several children. Martha [Jewett] French died July 25, 1821, aged thirty-nine, and was buried in the Central Cemetery in Dunstable. Jonas French, Jr.[6], then married, second, Mary Pike, Nov. 20, 1824, by whom he also had several children. He died August 13, 1860, aged seventy-eight.

3. William French[6], born June 5, 1789, lived with his father in Dunstable until the age of twenty-one, when he came to Boston and commenced business as a distiller in Distil House Square. He married Sarah, daughter of Reuben and Sarah [Farmer] Baldwin, of Billerica.

Issue:

1. William Edward, born in Boston, April 24, 1820.
2. Sarah, born in Boston, Jan. 28, 1822.
3. Harriet, born in Boston, Jan. 9, 1824.
4. Emeline, born May 5, 1826, in Boston.
5. Jonas Harrod French, born in Boston, Nov. 4, 1829.

William French[6] died of consumption July 1, 1846, and his widow, Sarah [Baldwin] French, died Oct. 24, 1866. They are buried side by side in Linden Avenue, Forest Hills Cemetery.

John Marshall French, youngest son of Jonas[5] and Betty [Marshall] French, born March 9, 1795.

From the above genealogical record it appears that Col. Jonas Harrod French is of the seventh generation from the original settler of his family in America. His mother, Sarah French, *née* Baldwin, born August 6, 1790, was a lineal descendant, on the paternal side, from John Baldwin, who had a grant of land in Billerica in 1657, and on the maternal side from John Farmer, who emigrated to this country from Ancely, Warwickshire County, England, prior to 1673. He was a man of distinction and a large land-holder in Billerica. He died 1723.

The motto upon the coat of arms of the French family is: "Malo mori quam foedari"—"I would rather die than be debased."

Jonas Harrod French, son of William and Sarah Baldwin French, was born in Boston, November 4, 1829. He was educated in the Boston public schools, graduating from the English High School in 1845. He began his business career as a grocer. He afterwards became largely interested in distilling; to an otherwise varied and extensive business he has added the granite industry, managing a large interest as president of the Cape Ann Granite Company.

Mr. French was married in Boston, in 1857, to Fanny E., daughter of Newall A. and Susan (Wyman) Thompson. Of this union are two children—Fanny T. and Henry G. French. In 1883 he married Nella J., daughter of William and Lucinda Pearson, of Boston. Mr. French, in 1869, organized the Cape Ann Granite Company, the quarries of which are located in Gloucester. He has furnished the granite for numerous public buildings and monuments—notably the Boston post-office and sub-treasury building, Baltimore post-office, the bases of the Scott monument, Washington, D. C., the spandrel-walls of the great Brooklyn Bridge and the new court-house in Boston. He was scarcely of age when he enrolled himself in the City Guards, the favorite Boston company of those days. He was elected captain of the company, holding the position three years. He served two years on the staff of Governor Gardner. In 1861 he was commander of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery of Boston, and is to-day one of the oldest living commanders of that time-honored corps. In 1853, 1855 and 1856 he was a member of the Common Council of the city of Boston. In November, 1861, at Camp Chase, Lowell, he raised the regiment known as "the Eastern Bay State," afterwards designated as the Thirtieth Massachusetts. In January following he sailed in command of that regiment for Ship Island, attached to General Benj. F. Butler's expedition against New Orleans. He was provost-marshal-general of Louisiana and subsequently served under General N. P. Banks.

Colonel French was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention at Cincinnati in 1880, and at St. Louis in 1888, and was a member of the State Senate 1879 and '80, doing brilliant work on leading committees, and was chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee for three years.

He was three years president of the Louisville, Evansville and St. Louis Railroad and ten years a director in the New York and New England Railroad. He has been a director in the West End Land Company since 1887, and has been since 1873 a director of the Maverick National Bank, Boston. He is a prominent Mason and one of the founders of St. Bernard Encampment and Revere Lodge.

James M. Swallow is a native of Dunstable; was born April 14, 1821, and is the only son of James and Sibbel (Parkhurst) Swallow. James Swallow was for several years a director of the Worchester & Nashua Railroad, was a man of benevolence and left by his will a legacy of $1000 to the Congregational Church of which he was a member.

Mr. James M. Swallow was married, in 1844, to Lucinda Chapman, youngest daughter of Davis and Rhoda Chapman. A surviving sister of Mr. Swallow, Mrs. Dr. O. A. Woodbury, resides in Nashua, N. H.

Mr. Swallow is one of the oldest living members of

the Congregational Church in Dunstable, and has held different offices in connection therewith. As a townsman he holds an influential place. He was elected when a young man to membership in the Board of Assessors, which at that time was separate from the board of remaining officers. During the first two years of the late Civil War he was connected with the board of town officers. At different times, when serving the town as selectman, he has given satisfaction by faithful and prudent management of affairs. In the fall of 1889 Mr. Swallow was elected to the General Court from the Thirty-first District of Middlesex County.

By occupation Mr. Swallow is a farmer. He inherited a portion of his farm, and has made additions thereto during his life. He is also one of the trustees of the City Savings Bank, of Nashua, N. H.

At the bi-centennial celebration of the town of Dunstable, a very interesting occasion which occurred in 1873, Mr. Swallow was one of the committee of arrangements. He has been a member of the Republican party since its organization, and fills a useful place in the Legislature, where he is a member of the Committee on "Fisheries and Game."

JONAS KENDALL is the third of a family of eight children. He is the son of Jonas and Olive (Butterfield) Kendall, and was born February, 1804, at the homestead of the Kendalls—the English name being Kentdale—in Dunstable, Mass.

At an early age he evinced a decided taste for mechanics, and was not content with a farmer's life. With his parent's consent, he left school and went to Lowell, Mass., where he learned the trade of a blacksmith. From his parents he inherited the qualities of integrity, energy and perseverance. During these years of service manly traits of character were developed. The filial spirit was shown by occasional visits to his parents, and the feeling of attachment to home grew with his years.

When Mr. Kendall's time of service was over he went to Saco, Me., where he remained a short time. He there became acquainted with Miss Caroline Partridge, of Paris, Me., to whom he was afterward married. In 1855 she died, leaving him with two daughters,—Cynthia A. and Elmira C. The former is unmarried; the latter married Edmund E. Stiles; now living in Newtonville, Mass. Mr. and Mrs. Stiles have two sons, named Herbert Kendall and Percy Goldthwait. The first is now in Amherst College, and the second is a member of the High School in Newtonville.

In 1857 Mr. Kendall married Miss Lucy Fletcher, of Amherst, N. H., who died in 1875, leaving no children. Reference has already been made to the fact that Mr. Kendall was one of a family of eight children. His only brother, Chiles, resided in Dunstable, was a deacon of the Congregational Church, and lived to an advanced age. One of his sisters, Olive C. B., married Dr. John Spaulding, who was secretary of the American Seamen's Society in New York City.

Jonas Kendall's business education was acquired by the study of mechanical works, this study being often protracted into the hours of night. He was aided by a keen observation and contact with mechanical artists. All his efforts were characterized by patient application.

Early in Mr. Kendall's business career he had an urgent invitation to become superintendent of the shops belonging to the Ames Manufacturing Company at Chicopee Falls. That company then manufactured breech-loading carbines, together with various other articles. This position he successfully held until the winter of 1847–48. He was then called to Holyoke by the South Hadley Falls Company to superintend the arranging and building of the large machine-shop of that company, and to fill the same with tools suitable for building cotton machinery. This position he retained till the close of the affairs of the company and the final sale of the property. Immediately he was invited to the superintendency of the Ames Company's shops in Chicopee; accepting, he remained until April, 1862. Then, from excessive labor, his health became so impaired that he was compelled to relinquish business and seek rest. In July of the same year he purchased an estate in South Framingham, to which he at once moved, and where he continues to reside.

At a later period, by relaxation from all care and business, with good medical advice, he so far regained his strength as to act in the capacity of advising engineer in converting the large machine-shop in Holyoke to the well-known Hadley Thread-Mill. Since that time he has been largely engaged in arranging and superintending the building of various dams and mills, in the performance of which he has traveled nearly 60,000 miles.

While at Holyoke he was strongly urged by prominent citizens of that place to accept the position of representative, but felt compelled, much against their wishes, to decline, as business demanded his time.

A few statements from ex-Lieutenant-Governor Weston, of Dalton, Mass., give a good general impression of Mr. Kendall's character and efficiency: "Since a boy I have heard the name of Jonas Kendall used in connection with the names of other wise men, great mechanical and hydraulic engineers, such as John Chase, of Chicopee, and Horatio Tower, of Dalton. He was the man people relied upon to build safe dams and to examine them. To him was left the settlement of disputed questions. He was appointed arbitrator and his decision was law. No one appealed from Jonas Kendall's opinion or judgment. At times he was seemingly cold and stern, but away from business was very entertaining and agreeable. He was a man of temperate habits and wonderful physical endurance. Honesty was a distinguishing trait, and his loyalty to truth was a well-known char-



Jonas Kendall

acteristic. For many years Jonas Kendall was consulted by county commissioners and town and city officials."

The following reminiscences are from Mr. C. W. Ranlet, president of the Hadley Falls National Bank of Holyoke, Mass. These words are well suited to help young men by showing that faithfulness and integrity are foundation stones in successful character building.

"I first became acquainted with Mr. Kendall some time in 1848. He came to Holyoke from the Ames Company, at that time of Chicopee Falls, as assistant in chief of General Agent John Chase—'Uncle John,' as he was generally called, who was the founder and builder of factories and canals in Holyoke. Mr. Kendall occupied the position of master mechanic and superintendent of the machine-shops. The heavy and complicated machinery of the guard-gates, locks and reservoir pumps was designed and built under his oversight and from plans of his own drawing. The water connections from the canals to the several mills were all constructed under his own eye. All these stand complete to-day without a break or serious accident. Mr. Kendall was a man of few words, but when he did speak, those who heard him knew *precisely* what he *meant*. No one ever suspected him of receiving a bribe in the too prevalent form of a 'commission' or *percentage* in purchases or sales, and no one acquainted with him would risk a good trade by such a proposition. If any stranger ever approached Mr. Kendall with an offer of this kind he never did it a second time. For integrity, fair dealing and every quality that constitutes a good citizen, no one in Holyoke stood higher than Jonas Kendall, and no one ever went away with more hearty good wishes from a wide circle of friends and acquaintances."

After making South Framingham his place of residence he was often recalled to Holyoke by the various corporations and mill-owners for consultation, advice and supervision of matters pertaining to hydraulic engineering. A few years after his retirement the great dam showed signs of weakness, and a serious depression appeared near the middle of the dam. Mr. Kendall was summoned by the *new Water Power Co.* for examination and advice. No satisfactory examination could be made without a thorough inspection of the dam itself; and with eighteen inches of water pouring over the crest this was no easy job. But Mr. Kendall was equal to the emergency, and with that determination so characteristic of the man, he proposed to go *through* the dam behind the falling sheet of water. In order to do this, one must crawl the whole length of the dam through open spaces between the timbers, 12 by 24 inches for 1013 feet. The timbers were wet and slimy, the rock-bottom was uneven and slippery, and the confined air both damp and murky. The undertaking was therefore a perilous one for a man of Mr. Kendall's years. Friends tried to dissuade him, and pointed out the dangers to be encountered, advising the employment of some younger and more robust man. But he could rely upon the reports of no one not familiar with this kind of work. Having provided himself with a rubber suit and a strong staff Mr. Kendall started one morning to go under the dam through an opening in the abutment. Three strong men were employed to follow and render aid in case of accident. Mr. Kendall being rather spare in flesh, but wiry in muscle, went through the open spaces without much difficulty, and soon distanced his followers. He waited, but they did not come up. He called aloud, but no response came. The thirty feet of falling water in front drowned the strongest voice. So Mr. Kendall pushed forward alone, probing the timbers as he went along, to see if they were sound. In the mean time the "*helpers*," who had penetrated about ninety feet, returned much fatigued and badly scared. They reported the entire impracticability of going *through the dam*, and the great dangers attending such an undertaking. People gathered on the river-banks and bulkheads watching for any sign of the explorer. Some scrutinized the rapids to see if any dead body appeared. Along in the afternoon efforts were made to organize an exploring force for the discovery and rescue of the lost engineer; but after the dire accounts of those who returned no one could be found willing to take the risk. About three o'clock in the afternoon Mr. Kendall himself emerged from the opposite abutment amid the shouts of the assembled people. As he ascended the ladder he appeared somewhat fatigued, and, covered as he was with mud and slime, he was not an attractive object to look upon. After a short rest in the sunshine and fresh air he revived, and seemed as "good as new," and jocosely remarked to a friend: "I guess I have broken the record for walking on *all-fours* under trying circumstances." Mr. Kendall made a full report of his investigation to the Water Power Co., and this led to the needed reconstruction of the dam.

In the building of several works there have been those who supposed that Mr. Kendall bestowed too much care and expense. Those works have, however, proved to be of permanent value.

Mr. Kendall has always given freely for the support of the Gospel, has been ever ready to help the needy and has been a generous contributor to benevolent, charitable and all other objects having in view the good of society.

Mr. Kendall, as one of the prominent citizens of South Framingham, was elected to the Legislature in 1872. He has been connected with banks and other places of trust. Several offices tendered to him have been declined. He has not been one to seek office, but office has sought him. Unassuming in manner, and averse to notoriety, Mr. Kendall has always possessed the entire confidence of the different communities in which he has resided.

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